

Cornelia Ilie · Stephanie Schnurr *Editors*

Challenging Leadership Stereotypes Through Discourse

Power, Management and Gender

 Springer

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*To Augusto, for joining in the question-asking
and the answer-questioning (CI)*

*To Sophie and Lena, who, I'm sure, will
grow up to challenge more leadership
stereotypes (SS)*

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Chapter 1

Scrutinising Recurrent Stereotypes in Leadership Discourse Practices

Cornelia Ilie and Stephanie Schnurr

1.1 Introductory Considerations

Research on the topic of leadership has witnessed a dramatic expansion over the last couple of decades, resulting in the development of a diversity of leadership approaches and theories, evolving from studies exclusively focusing on the traits, roles and effectiveness of the leader, to multilayered investigations of the interactive, relation-building, context-specific leadership-impacting and leadership-impacted practices that involve the participation of many organisational players. Challenging the notion of the all-powerful leader steering the organisation at will, an increasing number of studies (Hosking 2006; Carroll et al. 2008; Crevani et al. 2010; Cunliffe and Eriksen 2011) are focusing on micro-level analyses that bring to the fore shared and relational forms of leadership as part of collaborative and communication-driven action in organisations. Empirical evidence shows how leadership emerges from the dynamics of everyday contextually embedded interactions and processes that involve multiple and interdependent organisational agents. Building on the assumption that “organizations exist only in so far as their members create them through discourse” (Mumby and Clair 1997, p. 181), more recent discursive approaches, also referred to as the ‘linguistic turn’ in organisational studies (Alvesson and Kärreman 2000), explore and scrutinise leadership development as an emergent relational practice (Carroll and Simpson 2012) of co-construction and negotiation of meaning through situated communication.

On discussing the distinction between managers and leaders, it has been argued that managers “win the game” by understanding the rules, applying them, and

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purposely breaking them at times (Nielsen 2009) while leaders ‘win’ by understanding that rules change, by anticipating that things move in different directions, and by inspiring their teams to follow—even without evidence (Bolden and Gosling 2006). Recent work in this area has given evidence of the crucial role of language in this leadership game (Clifton 2012), and it has been argued that communication lies at the heart of the leadership process (Tourish and Jackson 2008). Such insights call for a new strand of research that is no longer quantitative, rooted in social psychology and focused on what leaders are, but qualitative, oriented towards discourse and interested in what leaders do and how leadership is enacted.

This volume brings together wide-ranging empirical research that goes behind the scenes to unravel discursive leadership practices as they unfold in situ in a wide range of different contexts, including business organisations, the media, as well as political and sports domains. In all these contexts leadership emerges in different forms and shapes, and the chapters in this book explore different aspects of leadership discourse in these different contexts and challenge some of the most prevailing stereotypes about what leadership is and how it is allegedly performed. Although they use different kinds of data and different theoretical and methodological approaches to focus on specific aspects of leadership, they all demonstrate the complexities of leadership in action and challenge existing stereotypes and established thinking about effective leadership. They convincingly illustrate that leadership is highly context dependent and that any stereotyping or attempt at generalising is fraught with difficulties.

The various case studies in this volume move beyond questions of who is a leader and what leaders do, to how leadership is practiced in various communities of practice and how leadership makes change possible. The different cross-cultural and interdisciplinary approaches used across the chapters provide deeper insights into the competing, multi-voiced, controversial and complex identities and relationships enacted in leadership discourse practices. They thereby provide an enhanced understanding of how leadership is discursively constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed in a variety of formal and informal leadership activities from organising and motivating to managing change and making decisions.

1.2 Redefining ‘Leadership’ and ‘Leadership Discourse’

Perhaps because the question of what leadership is, is central to leadership research across different disciplines (Jackson and Parry 2001), it has led to a heated debate among academics (and practitioners) with relatively little agreement. Grint (2010, p. 3) distinguishes between four different ways of conceptualising leadership and argues that many definitions are based on “the *person* regarded as the leader”, while others conceptualise leadership as a *process* (focusing on the practices that leaders engage in); yet others take a *positional* approach and “define leadership by simply considering what those in authority do”; or follow a *results* approach and “lock leadership into mobilising a group or community to achieve a purpose”.

These different approaches, however, are not necessarily mutually exclusive and some overlap exists.

The concept and practice of *person*-based leadership have been approached over time from a number of perspectives, some of which are complementary or convergent, while others are divergent. However, all these perspectives share the view that leadership involves a process of influence, i.e. by means of which a person influences others to accomplish an objective and directs the organisation in a way that makes it more cohesive and coherent. Consequently, leadership is described as an interpersonal process in which a leader influences followers. In many traditional definitions, the basic elements of leadership usually include a leader, a follower, and their relational interactions. This explains why the focus in earlier leadership studies was mainly on why leaders are influential (e.g. Stogdill 1974), while in more recent research the focus has shifted from the leader to the interdependence and relationship between the leader and the followers (e.g. Rost 1997; Van Knippenberg et al. 2004).

A subsequent stage in leadership research was marked by defining leadership as a *process*, which confers on it a dynamic and cohesive dimension deriving from a two-way interaction between leaders and followers, whereby “an individual influences a group of individuals to achieve a common goal” (Northouse 2010, p. 3). The process-based perspective on leadership signals a shift from understanding leadership as an individual to viewing it as a relationship. By introducing the concept of ‘transforming leadership’, Burns (1978) was the first to conceptualise leadership as a social process that involves leaders and followers interacting and working together to achieve common interests and mutually defined ends. By contrast, ‘transformational leadership’ (Bass 1996), which focuses more on attaining practical organisational objectives, is conceptualised as a reciprocal process, whereby each party is transformed by the other (Dvir and Shamir 2003).

A more recent conceptualisation is the *relational leadership* which is viewed as a process of social influence through which emergent coordination (e.g. evolving social order) and change (e.g. new values, attitudes, behaviours) are constructed and produced (Uhl-Bien 2006, p. 655). This perspective does not restrict leadership to hierarchical positions or roles. Rather than focusing merely on the way in which a leader might relate to his/her followers, the emphasis is on how organisational members, as participants, interactively define and negotiate leadership as a process of organising (Brower et al. 2000; Hosking 2006). As a result, leadership is perceived as contextually constituted throughout the organisation wherever it occurs rather than simply being what ‘leaders’ do. Complementary to relational leadership is the *leadership-as-action* approach (Carroll et al. 2008; Raelin 2011), which draws attention to the ways in which organisational actors (practitioners) get on with the work of leadership in the context of specific institutional and organisational settings (praxis), highlighting the ‘nitty gritty details’ (Chia 2004) of routine and practice.

While focusing on the shared and everyday practices of leadership as a contextualised and interactive process with its locally constructed meanings and outcomes, scholars like Fairhurst (2007) have showed how leadership is constituted in and through discourse(s). These discourses, involving many practitioners, serve to

prioritise certain lines of action, encourage particular behaviours, elevate and foreground specific challenges and opportunities, advocate different courses of action, etc. They are not fixed, but are emergent, being constantly remade and re-produced. Furthermore, they are not universal, but are organisationally and institutionally contextualised.

Problematising leadership as a discursive process leads to a consideration of leadership as ongoing sensemaking (Weick 1995; Pye 2005). From a relational leadership perspective, there are certain sets of behaviours which are consistent with the encouragement of the practice of *emerging leadership*: disrupting existing patterns, encouraging novelty and sensemaking, sense-giving activities and stabilising feedbacks. Emerging leadership is exhibited when others perceive a person to be the most influential member of their group or organisation, regardless of the person's assigned formal position. This perspective highlights the importance of sensemaking as a collective enterprise, encouraging and cultivating collaborative work, open communication and a capacity to generate and accommodate change.

By focusing on the shared and everyday aspects of leadership, the above-mentioned approaches highlight the need to approach leadership in depth and in breadth through a focus on the relational and interactional power of language used in the enactment of discursive practices underlying processes of change initiated and carried out by organisational members in specific contexts. Starting from the consideration that "organizations exist only in so far as their members create them through discourse" (Mumby and Clair 1997, p. 181), these approaches envisage discursive activities as either reinforcing existing power relations or challenging them. Studies that have examined leadership from a discursive perspective have found that continuity and change were co-constructed by means of a wide range of interpersonal and interactive strategies legitimising or de-legitimising behaviours and actions. The various chapters in this volume illustrate this as they differ from each other in how they conceptualise leadership. While some of the studies in this book understand leadership as a process (e.g. Schnurr et al., Chap. 5; Clifton, Chap. 3; Wilson, Chap. 7), others focus on individual agents (e.g. Holmes, Chap. 2; Ilie, Chap. 4; Boxer et al., Chap. 9) or on specific positions within an institution (e.g. Nakamura, Chap. 11; Nickerson and Goby, Chap. 10). But in spite of this diversity they all acknowledge the crucial role of discourse as a site and means through which leadership is enacted and negotiated, and where leadership stereotypes are responded to and often challenged and rejected.

1.3 Recent and Current Approaches to Leadership Discourse

While the crucial role of language for leadership has been widely acknowledged for a long time, it is largely since Fairhurst's (2007) seminal work on discursive leadership, that leadership discourse has been established as an important site for

analysis. Acknowledging the central role of discourse for leadership, discursive leadership is interested in understanding how leadership is *done* in and through discourse. With its focus on the specific discursive processes through which leadership is enacted at the micro-level of interaction, discursive leadership research aims to gain “a better understanding of the everyday practices of talk that constitute leadership” (Clifton 2006, p. 203). It is not interested in generating ‘grand theories of leadership’ as much of the earlier research on leadership in organisational and business studies has attempted to do (see Clifton 2009).

Despite the emphasis in the literature devoted to leaders needing to articulate their vision effectively and communicate it convincingly, there are relatively few studies of how different leaders use the resources of language to do that. Research on leadership discourse is increasingly gaining momentum, and scholars across disciplines have begun to approach leadership from a discourse analytical perspective (e.g. Holmes et al. 2011; Goebel 2014; Choi and Schnurr 2014; Schnurr 2009; Clifton 2006, 2012; Baxter 2010; Svennevig 2008; Larsson and Lundholm 2010; Crevani et al. 2010). This research has mainly focused on business organisations (e.g. Schnurr 2009; Holmes et al. 2011; Larsson and Lundholm 2010), educational settings (e.g. Choi and Schnurr 2014; Wodak 1997), and the political domain (e.g. Fetzer and Bull 2012; Schnurr et al. 2014), but some studies have also been conducted on leadership discourse in NGOs (e.g. Schnurr and Mak 2011), government departments (e.g. Goebel 2014), manufacturing companies (e.g. Svennevig 2011; Schnurr and Chan 2009), and a factory outlet (Ladegaard 2012).

Research in these workplace domains has identified and described several discursive practices through which leadership is enacted and reflected, such as getting things done and assigning tasks to others (e.g. Schnurr and Mak 2011; Svennevig 2008), solving disagreements and conflict (e.g. Choi and Schnurr 2014; Holmes and Marra 2004; Saito 2011), managing meetings (e.g. Holmes 2000; Clifton 2012) and acting as chairs (e.g. Ford 2008), sensemaking (Clifton 2006), gate keeping (van de Mierop and Schnurr 2014), mentoring (Holmes 2005), and creating a positive working atmosphere in a team (e.g. Schnurr 2009).

The contributions to this volume underscore an increasing interest for an under-represented area of leadership research, namely stereotypes underlying leadership discourse and the context-specific interplay of various leadership discourse styles. Discourse analytical research, like the studies in this volume, promises to be a fruitful way of moving forward towards a better understanding of actual leadership practices in situ. Such studies provide rich insights into the ways in which leadership is enacted during a particular encounter. They thus offer an opportunity for researchers to capture the actual practice of leadership rather than having to rely on participants’ recollections of specific incidents. As the various contributions in this volume illustrate, this focus on actual leadership practice relativises and often challenges the many leadership stereotypes that circulate in academic and practitioner realms, and provide a more complex and authentic picture of how leadership is done in situ.

1.4 Structure of the Volume

The contributions of the authors featured in this volume problematise and highlight the implications and challenges of questions like the following:

What are the discourse based interactions and negotiations through which leadership arises and develops in different fields of professional activity, such as business, politics, law, academia and sports?

How is leadership communicating and dealing with change: Acting? Enacting? Reacting?

In what ways do discourses of leadership agency and power overlap or interact?

How are leadership roles discursively shaped and distributed throughout the workplace among organisational members?

Which types of leadership discourse strategies can be seen to reinforce or challenge socio-cultural stereotypes in constraining or enabling action and change?

What are the manifestations of and reactions to gender stereotypes in various leadership discourse practices and at different organisational/institutional levels?

The volume is divided into two parts, each addressing a specific area of leadership stereotypes. The contributions in Part I challenge stereotyping practices in leadership conceptualisation and performance, while Part II provides several case studies specifically focusing on exposing and problematising culture-specific gender stereotypes in leadership discourse practices, and challenging a range of gender stereotypes often associated with leadership.

In Chap. 2, **Janet Holmes** explores how society-wide gender and culture stereotypes interact with traditional ‘hero leader’ stereotypes (Jackson and Parry 2001) in the context of three New Zealand workplaces. Her particular focus is how the leaders respond to the challenge of managing innovation and change in their particular workplace environment. Her findings call into question traditional gender and ethnic stereotypes, as well as the stereotype of the solo, all-powerful hero leader, and provide evidence of dynamic distributed leadership. She shows that while it may be useful to draw on leadership stereotypes as an analytical starting point, the precise instantiation of leadership is more complex than these stereotypes suggest and is strongly influenced by the context in which the leadership occurs, including the speaker’s ongoing dynamic assessment of the relative weight of factors, such as the size, purpose and relative formality of the meeting and the setting, the nature of the topic, and the composition of the meeting in terms of the status, roles and gender of participants.

Chapter 3 by **Jonathan Clifton** also challenges heroic notions of leadership and argues in favour of more distributed forms of leadership. He challenges the stereotypical assumption underlying much earlier leadership research resting on a tripod approach based on leaders, followers, and goals. Conducting an in-depth case study of a decision-making episode during a meeting in a training organisation in France, he shows that leadership is a collaborative effort and that stereotypical claims, which associate leadership with individuals in hierarchical positions who influence others to follow them in achieving certain organisational goals, are hard to

maintain. In his fine-grained analysis of sequences of talk, Clifton shows that rather than being monolithic and static entities, leader (and follower) identities are constantly constructed and negotiated throughout the interaction and often shift on a turn-by-turn basis. Due to this fluid nature of leader identity, he argues for a post-heroic approach to leadership which takes the (heroic) individual leader out of leadership.

Questioning the trait perspective on leadership, **Cornelia Ilie**'s approach (Chap. 4) envisages leadership as an interactive and relational process that occurs in the culture-specific context of an organisation and is marked by the capacity of leaders to deal with glocal challenges and opportunity-creating changes. The focus of her investigation is on the discursively articulated performance of leadership in the context of competition-driven organisational change. The author exposes stereotypes and counter-stereotypes in discourses of leadership in a comparative perspective, scrutinising the ways in which they contribute to constructing and reconstructing corporate and culture-related identities, as well as being impacted by them. Drawing on presentations in letters to employees by the CEOs of two multinational companies, Nokia (Finland) and Ericsson (Sweden), a discourse-analytical and pragma-rhetorical comparative analysis provides evidence for the varying internal and external challenges underlying the discursive construction and reconstruction of leadership aimed at ensuring shared commitment and interconnectedness between a company's values and its competitive performance qualities.

Exploring leadership discourse in two workplaces in Hong Kong, **Stephanie Schnurr, Angela Chan, Olga Zayts** and **Joelle Loew** (Chap. 5) examine the complex relationship between leadership and culture, and challenge some of the cultural stereotypes that exist about leadership in this particular socio-cultural context and contrast them with insights gained through a fine-grained in-depth analysis of leadership discourse that occurred in actual workplace encounters. The authors demonstrate the importance of looking beyond cultural stereotypes in order to capture the complexities of actual leadership practice. Like Holmes, they argue that leadership is a highly complex and multifaceted concept, and that people draw on a wide range of different leadership styles to meet the situational demands. Leadership stereotypes, in particular those pertaining to culture, are thus fraught with difficulties as they always oversimplify the complexities and dynamics of actual practice.

In Chap. 6, **Kevin Knight** focuses on the conceptualisation process of leadership itself by analysing how leadership is conceptualised by U.S. leaders in semi-structured interviews. Although Knight did not define leadership a priori in his study but rather let it emerge from the data, the leaders in his study, who come from business, law, non-profit, and academia, produced rather stereotypical conceptualisations of leaders as agents of change. He argues that one reason for this finding is the behavioural questions of the researcher which may have influenced participants' replies. The study concludes that leadership conceptualisations should thus be viewed and accounted for in connection with input from multiple perspectives—including practitioners and researchers.

The last chapter in the first part of the book (Chap. 7) is by **Nick Wilson** and explores leadership in the largely under-researched domain of professional sports. Like the other chapters in this section of the book, Wilson's study of New Zealand rugby players also challenges the stereotype of leadership as being located within an individual. His in-depth analysis of leadership discourse in a rugby team questions the assumption that leaders are born, and instead shows that leadership is a skill that is acquired through situated learning within a community of practice, and is conjointly performed among many players. He argues that the emergence of multiple leaders in an organisation is an effective way of structuring leadership, and of responding to the immediate needs of a team.

Part II of the volume focuses specifically on stereotypes around leadership and gender. The four chapters in this section critically discuss and challenge specific assumptions about how men and women arguably do leadership by conducting case studies in a range of different socio-cultural contexts. Taken together, these contributions show that stereotypes around leadership and gender exist around the globe, and emphasise the need for closer scrutiny of actual practice in order to change these common misleading and often discriminatory perceptions.

Part II starts with a chapter by **Judith Baxter** (Chap. 8), in which she shows how newspaper discourse mobilises gender stereotypes of women leaders in the UK. Although women leaders are regularly portrayed as iron maiden, mother and pet (Kanter 1993), Baxter argues that newspaper representations are rarely uniformly reductive but provide gaps and ambiguities that allow for a feminist critique of dominant readings. In her analysis she focuses on three political leaders—German Chancellor Angela Merkel, former Ukraine President Yulia Tymoshenko and British Minister of State, Theresa May—who are often stereotyped in negative ways by male journalists. Reading newspaper articles about the leaders 'against the grain' she illustrates how such an approach leads to the production of more positive and multifaceted constructions of women leaders' identities, which ultimately enables scholars to challenge male journalism that continues to entrap women leaders within narrow, sexualised stereotypes.

Staying in the political domain, the chapter by **Diana Boxer, Lennie Jones and Florencia Cortés-Conde** (Chap. 9) analyses the discourse of three female political leaders and challenges assumptions about political leadership as male-dominated. Analysing the inaugural addresses, oaths, political speeches, and visual and media representations of Cristina Fernández de Kirchner, former president of Argentina, Michelle Bachelet Jeria, president of Chile, and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf, president of Liberia, they show that the feminine has become institutionalised in global political culture. These women leaders face common obstacles and challenges with respect to managing and manipulating globalised gender expectations, which they successfully overcome by manipulating gender perceptions through the skilful execution of successful discursive and semiotic strategies. They thereby not only challenge but actually defeat antiquated perceptions of masculine stereotypes dominating political contexts world-wide.

Moving the discussion of leadership and gender stereotypes to the corporate world, **Catherine Nickerson and Valerie Priscilla Goby** (Chap. 10) investigate

what is considered to make a successful leader in the United Arab Emirates. They used a questionnaire to find out whether Emirati nationals prefer leadership styles stereotypically associated with women (such as transformational leadership and collaborative communication) or whether they favour styles more readily assigned to men (such as laissez faire, transactional or paternalistic styles, and competitive communication). Their findings show that Western understandings of leadership may be too narrow to account for the diversity of leadership styles in the Gulf, and also that leaders effectively draw on and combine a wide range of discursive strategies stereotypically ascribed to male and female leaders.

In the final chapter in the volume, **Momoko Nakamura** (Chap. 11) explores the representation of Japanese business women in different online articles. Like the previous chapters in this section, her study critically analyses the ways these women leaders are portrayed and what stereotyped identities are assigned to them. Her findings show that participants in the group-talk articles discursively construct negative stereotypes for women leaders, which were also mobilised in the interview–narrative articles with women executives. However, while these stereotypes were used to portray female leaders negatively in the group-talk articles, they were used as a resource to represent the women leaders in a positive light in the other texts. These findings show that stereotypes simultaneously enable and restrict identity construction.

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Part I
Challenging Stereotyping Discourse
Practices in Leadership Conceptualisation
and Performance

Chapter 2

Leadership and Change Management: Examining Gender, Cultural and ‘Hero Leader’ Stereotypes

Janet Holmes

2.1 Introduction

The concept of leadership has attracted a great deal of research and, since much of it has been collected using surveys and interviews, the results provide useful information about people’s prototypes and stereotypes of good leaders, and about what people consider constitutes ‘good leadership’. Many people’s notion of the conventional good leader, for example is someone who is authoritative, articulate, decisive, and until recently, typically male.

Among citizens in many Western nations, the ideal leader is also white, despite the election of Barack Obama to the USA Presidency in 2009. As this proviso suggests, however, stereotype and reality are often usually rather different. This chapter explores how three very effective leaders manage organisational change, and illustrates the (ir)relevance of traditional gender and ethnic stereotypes, as well as the stereotype of the solo, all-powerful hero leader. The chapter begins with an outline of the theoretical framework, a critical realist approach which explores how macro-level societal norms are instantiated at the level of micro-level face-to-face interaction. Then the methodology and data collection, involving recorded interviews as well as naturally occurring workplace talk, are briefly described. A detailed analysis of three case studies follows, facilitating discussion of ways in which society-wide gender and culture stereotypes interact with traditional hero leader stereotypes in specific workplace contexts.

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2.2 Theoretical Framework

New Zealand leadership discourse has been a focus of a great deal of research within the Language in the Workplace Project (LWP) team (e.g. Holmes et al. 2009, 2011; Holmes and Marra 2011; Marra et al. 2008), including the work of our Research Associates (e.g. Jackson 2012; Jackson and Parry 2001, 2011; Schnurr 2009; Wilson 2011). Adopting a critical realist approach, the Language in the Workplace Project team has focussed, especially in recent work, on how macro-level societal norms are instantiated at the level of micro-level face-to-face interaction (e.g. Holmes et al. 2011, 2012; Marra et al. 2014). See Fig. 2.1.

Critical realism provides an account of the relationship between wider social structures and individual agency, proposing that individual behaviour (including language) is influenced by outside ‘reality’ (Bhaskar 2008; Collier 1994; Coupland 2001; Coupland and Jaworski 2009, p. 17). In other words, our behaviour is constrained by the parameters of broad societal norms and ‘inherited structures’ of belief, power, opportunity and so on (Cameron 2009, p. 15). These constraints involve institutional norms and ideologies which members of society are aware of, whether they conform to them or contest them (Coupland 2001, pp. 16–17), and they are inevitably the source of stereotypes, including stereotypes of effective leaders. The ‘gender order’ (Connell 1987) is one example of a strong ideological constraint which influences what is regarded as appropriate behaviour for women and men in different contexts (e.g. Embry et al. 2008; Jackson and Parry 2011; Johnson et al. 2008; McCabe and Knights 2015). The workplace is a prime site for investigating the (ir)relevance of gender as a component in current leadership performances, as I will illustrate.

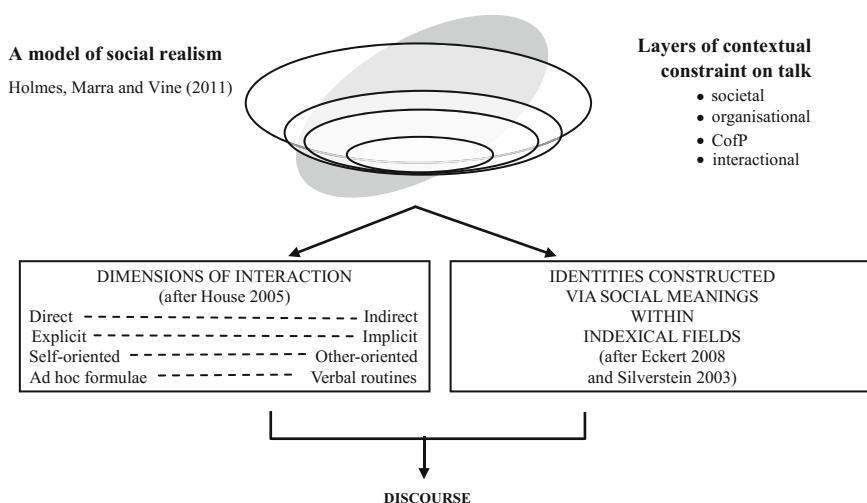


Fig. 2.1 A model of social realism

Racial and ethnic inequalities may also be a component of societal ideologies, and we might talk of the ‘culture order’ which reinforces the notion that members of some ethnic groups are more suitable for senior and responsible roles than others, or that members of particular cultural groups will endorse more conservative or traditional ways of doing things (e.g. Acker 2006; Macalpine and Marsh 2005; Ward 2008). The literature offers some very articulate and moving accounts of how members of minority ethnic groups have been excluded from positions of power and influence in different societies (Grimshaw 2000; Ibrahim 1994; Kaba 2012; Mandela 1995). Again the workplace offers a specific context to examine the relevance of ethnicity in the construction of leadership stereotypes. Moreover, a focus on how leaders manage organisational change provides a rich context for this analysis, since discursive leadership construction and organisational culture are inextricably intertwined and mutually reinforcing (Fairhurst 2007; Schnurr and Zayts 2012).

The management literature distinguishes many different kinds of organisational change (e.g. structural, technical, cultural, symbolic) and describes many different approaches to managing change (e.g. Darwin et al. 2002; Dawson 2003; Jackson and Parry 2011; Kotter 2007). For my purposes in this chapter, the concepts of structural change and cultural change are sufficient: i.e., where an organisation’s structure is radically altered through expansion or reduction or reallocation of roles (structural), and where there is change in the ways of doing things and interacting in the organisation (cultural). Jackson and Parry (2011, p. 18) argue that aspiration (for change) is a crucial component of leadership, stating uncompromisingly: “If you do not aspire to change something and you don’t have a good reason for changing it, you cannot and should not lead”.¹

The three leaders discussed below are all involved in radical structural changes, as well as managing cultural changes in their organisations. Such changes inevitably involve workplace discourse. As one of our focus leaders, Penelope, argued, changing workplace culture means changing people’s behaviour, including their linguistic behaviour. In one case this meant “stamping out negative, corrosive bad-mouthing and modelling appropriate, positive, courteous behaviour”, which she regarded as an essential aspect of constructing a professional identity as an effective leader. Using interactional sociolinguistic analysis (Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz 2007), described in detail in Vine et al. (2008), together with a social constructionist approach, the analysis below examines the different ways in which the three leaders managed organisational change in their specific workplace contexts, with specific attention to gender and ethnic, as well as leadership, stereotypes. First, however, I briefly describe our methodology.

¹See also Nadler and Tushman (1990).

2.3 Methodology and Database

The material discussed in this chapter derives from the Wellington Language in the Workplace (LWP) Project (www.vuw.ac.nz/lals/lwp). Detailed qualitative analysis of day-to-day workplace discourse is an invaluable means of relating macro-level social stereotypes to micro-level interactions in specific contexts (Clifton 2012; Nielsen 2009). As Osborn et al. (2002, p. 797) state: “[m]acro views need increasing recognition, but to supplement rather than replace currently emphasised meso/micro perspectives”.

The basic methodology involves an ethnographic approach: following a period of participant observation, we ask volunteers to collect recordings of samples of their normal everyday workplace interactions over a period of 2–3 weeks. This is followed by debriefing interviews to collect comments and reflections on this process. Where possible we video record meetings of groups, using small video cameras which are fixed in place, switched on and left running for the whole meeting. As far as possible, our policy is to minimise our intrusion as researchers into the work environment. As a result, our database includes some excellent examples of workplace interaction which are as close to ‘natural’ as one could hope for.²

The complete Language in the Workplace Project Corpus currently comprises more than 2000 interactions, involving 700 participants from 30 different New Zealand workplaces which include commercial organisations, government departments, small businesses, factories, building sites and eldercare facilities. The data used for the analysis below draws from material recorded in meetings in professional white-collar workplaces, as well as interviews conducted after the recording phase with workplace leaders. I conducted the interviews with female leaders, while Brad Jackson, an expert in leadership and a Research Associate of our team, conducted the interviews with male leaders. The first section of the analysis addresses the issue of gendered stereotypes of leadership, using a case study of a Pākehā³ woman leader in a national organisation to examine the complex reality of leadership in action. The second section focusses on cultural stereotypes, drawing on a case study of a Māori leader in a Māori national organisation to illustrate how a modern Māori leader enacts leadership in a context where competing cultural expectations operate. The third section challenges the hero leader stereotype more generally. Using a case study of a Pākehā man in a commercial company, the analysis demonstrates that the reality of leadership often involves shared or distributed responsibility with leadership a constantly shifting and dynamic construction. The final section provides a discussion of the ways in which the three case studies illustrate that gender, cultural and hero leadership stereotypes quickly fragment when we begin to examine how specific leaders operate in particular workplace contexts.

²See Holmes and Stubbe (2015, Chap. 2) for a more detailed description.

³Pākehā is the Māori term for the majority group of European, mainly British who colonised New Zealand in the nineteenth century.

2.4 Analysis

2.4.1 *Gender and Leadership Stereotypes*

A great deal has been written about gender and leadership discourse (e.g. Baxter 2010; Gunnarson 2001; Holmes 2006; Kendall and Tannen 1997; Liu et al. 2015; Mullany 2007; Schnurr 2009; Sinclair 1998) including chapters in this volume (CROSS-REFER), and challenges to Western gendered stereotypes of leadership have been a common theme in this research. This hegemony is evident in popular leadership stereotypes which portray good leaders as authoritative, strong-minded, decisive, aggressive, competitive, confident, single-minded, goal-oriented, courageous, hard-nosed and adversarial (e.g. Bass 1998; Embry et al. 2008; Johnson et al. 2008; Marshall 1995; McCabe and Knights 2015), characteristics associated much more often with males than with females. And even research which takes a more dynamic approach, and which analyses leadership as a process or an activity, rather than a set of identifiable characteristics, tends to present a rather masculine conceptualisation of how leadership is ideally performed (e.g. Northhouse 2001). Leadership qualities within this framework include willingness to challenge, ability to inspire, problem-solving approach, tough and willingness to take risks (Heifertz and Laurie 2001; Jackson and Parry 2001). In terms of norms and stereotypes, these undoubtedly favour the masculine end of the scale, suggesting that change will be most effectively managed by leaders with a more masculine approach.

In addition, the norms for behaviour in many workplaces, including norms for interaction, are often predominantly masculine norms (e.g. Baxter 2008, 2010, 2011, 2012; Koenig et al. 2011; Liu et al. 2015; Sinclair 1998), and in many contexts men's discourse styles have been institutionalised as ways of speaking with authority (e.g. Fletcher 1999; Pearson et al. 1991). The tendency to 'think leader, think male' is discussed by a number of feminist analysts (e.g. Baxter 2010, 2012; Gunnarsson 2001; Holmes 2006; Kendall and Tannen 1997; Mullany 2007; Sinclair 1998), and references to 'hero' leaders (e.g. Jackson and Parry 2001) reinforce this tendency. As Eagly (2015) points out, "Men ...can be tough, ruthless types and do well and people admire them as heroic leaders".

Thus many women leaders begin from a position of disadvantage; challenging the very masculine popular stereotype of a good leader is an uphill battle. Current theories of leadership and management, however, highlight the importance of assertiveness and authority, attributes normatively associated with masculine styles of interaction, as well as well-honed relational skills, attributes associated with feminine interactional styles (Eagly and Carli 2007). Jackson and Parry (2011) discuss, for example the 'feminisation' of the leadership prototype, highlighting the gendered nature of the different characteristics that are associated with effective leadership rather than the gender of effective leaders, and arguing that "leaders who conform to the feminized stereotype, that of a balance between relationship-orientation and task-orientation, will be the better leaders, irrespective of whether they are women or men" (Jackson and Parry 2011, p. 20). Clearly, both women and men must negotiate a complex path

through the social expectations which surround the leadership role to construct a satisfactory identity in their specific communities of practice. In this process, they can draw from a wide and varied discursive repertoire, selecting appropriate discursive strategies in response to particular interactional contexts. The discourse of Penelope, the woman leader who is the first focus of analysis, illustrates this well.

2.4.1.1 Penelope

Penelope had been involved in managing change in a number of organisations, and my interview with her elicited many thoughtful reflections on how she had accomplished this in very different contexts. She described for instance how in one organisation she had been required to manage a major restructuring after a very radical review by a team of Australian experts who she described as ‘very intelligent and good thinkers’. She noted that “they had actually come up with a good structure for the organisation, but in doing so they had alienated everybody” because, she interestingly notes, “they just used the wrong language and had the wrong attitudes and came on much too hard-edged”. By contrast, Penelope describes her own style as ‘reasonably soft-edged and friendly’ and ‘very consultative’. This does not mean she was not decisive when appropriate, as Excerpt 1 illustrates.

Excerpt 1

Context: interview with Penelope, Chief Executive.

1. Penelope: several people said to me at organisation X
2. it’s such a relief to have somebody in this role
3. who will make decisions + and so actually
4. I found that it did actually work to be decisive
5. and to ++ um + n- not think oh I can’t make this decision
6. until I’ve talked to six other people [laughs]: you know:
7. just sort of like I’m in charge (of you) here
8. and I am the chief executive and I can make this decision
9. and I will [sniffs]

There is some hedging and a number of interactive pragmatic particles in this excerpt: *actually* (lines 3, 4), *you know* (line 6), *just sort of like* (line 7), perhaps indicating Penelope’s reluctance to self-promote.⁴ Nevertheless, she clearly describes her assertive behaviour as well as people’s positive reaction to it. She then

⁴See Holmes et al. (2011, 2012) on self-deprecating discourse from New Zealand leaders.

goes on to provide evidence that she managed, with great consideration and compassion, the negative effects of the structural change on people whose jobs changed radically or disappeared.

Our recordings of Penelope in a different organisation where her primary task had been to manage a cultural change following a major restructuring provides further support for this analysis, though unsurprisingly recordings of day-to-day interaction indicated some of the complexities involved in managing change, as well as providing rich insights into how particular issues were negotiated and resolved. In the interview, she emphasised that cultural change takes much longer than structural change; it is best managed incrementally if the organisation is relatively functional, she argued, and in this case she used her 'very capable' senior management team to facilitate the process.

Penelope's interactions with her senior managers illustrated how she guided her team members through the process of turning a predominantly voluntary organisation based in regions into a national professional organisation. There is abundant evidence that her overall style is indeed 'friendly and soft-edged': she pays compliments and thanks people generously, and she encourages discussion and negotiates agreement rather than imposing decisions (see Holmes 2006 for detailed examples). There is also a good deal of humour at various points indicating the relaxed atmosphere she encourages. However, she also moves discussion along and makes sure that clear decisions are reached and recorded on key issues. An extensive discussion which revolves around the introduction of a new title 'senior practitioner' illustrates some of these discourse features.

Penelope introduces the discussion by stating that Ingrid, one member of the senior management team, has "run up against a bit of resistance to the idea of the senior title in the practitioner role". Ingrid then articulates at considerable length the reservations of some members of her local team; they have "a collaborative consultative approach to performance review and performance planning", she says, and the new title is inconsistent with their flat management structure, and introduces unnecessary hierarchy and a power relationship which is "neither helpful nor consistentwith the mission of the organisation". She concludes: "so the request is for us to change the title to practice team coordinator". Wide-ranging discussion then follows, with other team members arguing points such as the importance of "the positional authority that comes with the role" and that it is important that "the positional requirements do not differ too markedly from region to region".

Penelope then makes an extended comment that addresses the contentious issue of power and hierarchy. Excerpt 2 is a short section from this:

Excerpt 2

Context: Senior management team meeting of a national organisation; the team consist of four men and four women.

1. Penelope: I think responsibility's probably a better word
2. than power or [breathy laughs]: authority:
3. XX mm
4. Penelope: it's respon/sibility\\
5. XX: //mm\\
6. Penelope: that those people have and accountability um +
7. and sometimes that can be a bit isolating /you know\\
8. XX : //mm\\
9. Penelope: to hold that responsibility they might not
10. the peer group might be elsewhere as you were saying
11. if their peers are elsewhere in the organisation um
12. but I mean if I- I- I don't think any of us
13. XX: mm mm
14. Penelope: it's clear from what's been said
15. anybody has a problem with you trialling a new title

Penelope argues here that responsibility and accountability are better words than power and authority, thus changing the discourse in a direction she has been working towards, and she concludes that they have all agreed to a trial as requested by Ingrid. She begins with a firm, 'deliberative pragmatic particle', *I think* (Holmes 1990), though she diplomatically phrases her comment as a suggestion *probably* (line 1). Her breathy laughing pronunciation of *authority* (line 2) suggests that this is not a word she associates with the way the organisation's employees work. She then indicates sympathy for the position of the disaffected employees *sometimes that can be a bit isolating* (line 7), adding the other-oriented pragmatic particle *you know* which invites understanding, and which elicits an agreeing response *mm* (line 8). She continues to demonstrate empathy *the peer group might be elsewhere* (line 10), attributing this point to Ingrid *as you were saying* (line 10), and thus inviting her support. She concludes by carefully, and somewhat indirectly (*I don't think ... anybody has a problem* (lines 12, 14–15)), presenting the position as something that has been discussed *from what's been said* (line 14) and agreed. Finally after a further 20 min of discussion, Penelope asks Ingrid to go back to her team and explain the final decision.

In this discussion, Penelope negotiates her way through a difficult issue which is symptomatic of many others which have been raised by the new structure which has been imposed on the organisation. The team members express their views fully and without interruption until finally Penelope summarises the discussion and seeks endorsement of the plan of action that has been negotiated. Though it may appear to

address a relatively small point, namely a new title, the long and detailed discussion about issues of status, power, hierarchy, responsibility and accountability indicates that this is one important symbol of the cultural change that Penelope has been employed to accomplish. And the excerpt illustrates well her way of addressing such issues: contentious views are given full expression and exhaustively discussed until a solution is negotiated and she then clearly and succinctly summarises and indicates the action to be taken.

There is also humour and laughter in Penelope's meetings, though it is low key and generally not too extended. Excerpt 3 is a typical example. Ralph is describing how he and Ingrid took over a situation where they faced a large deficit inherited from previous managers.

Excerpt 3

Context: Senior management team meeting of a national organisation.

1. Ralph: so we stemmed the bleeding
2. we've //stuck I've ()\ we don't have
3. Penelope: /I think that's true\\
4. we're no longer haemorrhaging
5. it's just a slow seepage
6. [all laugh and several incomprehensible overlapping comments]
7. Ralph: yeah no that's ()
8. Penelope: it's gonna take longer
9. Scott: a bit of incontinence yeah
10. [all laugh]
11. Penelope: oh dear
12. [all laugh]
13. Howard: the image is (wonderful) isn't it
14. but on the income side um you know

Everyone participates in this brief humorous exchange which builds on Ralph's metaphor for the loss of income as a bleeding wound (line 1), but it is Penelope who leads the diversion with her comment *we're no longer haemorrhaging it's just a slow seepage* (lines 4–5) which elicits general laughter. Scott's extension *a bit of incontinence* (line 9) generates more laughter and evokes a mock dismayed response from Penelope, *oh dear* (line 11). Howard's metalinguistic comment *the image is wonderful isn't it* (line 13) brings the diversion to a close as he follows this with a comment which returns to the serious accounting topic, *on the income side*

(line 14). This brief episode with multiple overlaps and general participation typifies the humour in Penelope's meetings; it generally emerges organically from the topic and provides a bit of light relief before the participants return to business, often under Penelope's firm hand, though in this case it is Ralph who picks up his topic again.

In sum, Penelope manages change, as she indicates in her interview, through her trusted senior managers, eliciting and attending to their opinions and concerns with patience, thoroughness and good humour, while providing strong guidance concerning the interpretation of important issues such as power and responsibility within the organisation. Her leadership discourse and behaviour illustrate clearly the complexities of change management and indicate the irrelevance of the unsophisticated gender stereotypes which abound in the popular literature (e.g. Baron-Cohen 2003; Gratch 2001; Gray 1992).⁵ The stereotype of women leaders as relational, consultative, caring and empathetic described in the popular literature and critiqued by sociolinguists (e.g. Holmes 2006, 2014; Schnurr 2009; Baxter 2011) is clearly challenged by the nuanced ways in which leadership is enacted by women leaders such as Penelope.

2.4.2 *Culture and Leadership Stereotypes*

Cultural conceptions of leadership have not attracted as much attention as gender stereotypes, though the expectation that Western leaders will be white went unchallenged for many centuries (e.g. Bradbury 2013; Liu and Baker 2014; Ward 2008). Jackson and Parry (2011) note that most leadership research has been conducted in a North American context, although researchers have attempted to address a variety of cultural groups and contexts, there is nevertheless a restricting effect because "the researchers themselves are products of a specific cultural context" (2011, p. 77) and this often affects the focus of the research. As a result, they argue that "our understanding of leadership processes is still very geographically limited and skewed towards the West" (2011, p. 77). The relatively little research on non-Western leadership illustrates how divergent Western versus indigenous models of leadership can be, and strongly contests Western views of indigenous leadership (Warner and Grint 2006), and Western theorising of leadership (Prince 2005). In the New Zealand context, Māori intellectuals have been developing a distinctively Māori research paradigm, 'Kaupapa Māori', in resistance to a Eurocentric colonial heritage and hegemony (Henry and Pene 2001; Smith 1999). This emphasises the importance of working with Māori as research partners which was one of the positive aspects of our own research from which we greatly benefited (Holmes et al. 2011).

⁵See Cameron (2007) for a convincing critique of such books.

The predominant culture in New Zealand is Pākehā and consequently European in origin. Thus certain sociocultural constraints are widely recognised, of which the most relevant for this discussion is the New Zealand egalitarian ideology (Bönisch-Brednich 2008; Lipson 1948, 2011, p. 457; Nolan 2007). Commitment to this egalitarian ethic is evident in many different ways in New Zealand society, and in workplace interaction in particular. Many Pākehā New Zealanders do not comfortably tolerate explicit demonstrations of power, and, in general, people often seek ways of reducing status differences and emphasising equality with their colleagues (Bönisch-Brednich 2008; Kennedy 2007; Nolan 2007; Jackson and Parry 2011). As noted in Holmes et al. (2012), one consequence is a general expectation that formality is kept to a minimum. At the macro-level, many New Zealand institutions tend to engage in less formality or ‘pomp and circumstance’ than, say, British institutions. And New Zealand leaders, whether in politics, sport or business are generally expected to demonstrate a relaxed and casual style in their interactions with the public.

At the micro-level of face-to-face workplace interaction, this sociocultural constraint is evidenced in a preference for informal ways of interacting in many New Zealand workplaces, even in large meetings, and especially in one-to-one interaction. Relevant strategies include avoiding linguistic labels and titles which indicate status, a preference for first names and informal address forms, as well as a range of other strategies which construct informality and debunk conventionalism and ‘decorum’. In other words, the macro-level societal value of egalitarianism is instantiated at the micro-level of face-to-face interaction by sociopragmatic strategies which index informality.

This preference for informality is not shared by all New Zealanders, however. Polynesian customs and values index a respect culture with more emphasis on ritual and formality than in Pākehā communities, especially in formal contexts. In particular, Māori custom requires a formal welcome and introduction at meetings of any sort, even departmental meetings in the workplace, though the length and complexity vary in different contexts (see Holmes et al. 2011, for specific examples). Oratory is highly valued and important issues require extensive discussion.

These cultural norms are especially evident in what we have labelled *ethnicised* Māori workplaces (Holmes et al. 2011; Schnurr et al. 2007), where the ways of doing things are strongly rooted in Māori custom and values. As one Māori leader, Quentin, said during a meeting discussing priorities, “Basically I’m here to do stuff for Māori”. And his approach to his work was deeply imbued with Māori principles and included some very traditional Māori practices. In his workplace, for example *tikanga* Māori (Māori ways of doing things) played a significant and explicit role in the day-to-day operations of the organisation and the Māori language was used for extended communication, especially within Quentin’s team (see Holmes et al. 2009). In short, Quentin subscribed to a relatively traditional model of Māori leadership, enacting leadership in a dignified and culturally conservative way, and paying a great deal of attention to maintaining positive relationships and taking explicit care of colleagues. This traditional approach contrasts in a number of ways with the leadership style of Daniel, my second focus leader.

2.4.2.1 Daniel⁶

Like Quentin, Daniel is a Māori leader in a Māori organisation, pseudonymed Kiwi Consultations, who is committed to doing positive things for Māori people, as discussed in some detail in Holmes et al. (2011). Here I focus on his distinctive approach to innovation and change within his organisation. Although, like Penelope, Daniel is sensitive to the importance of the relational dimension of interaction, his approach to change management is rather different in style from hers in a number of ways. While Penelope had no formal management qualifications, Daniel had completed postgraduate management courses in the United States of America, and as a result he was committed to modernising his organisation in a variety of ways.

Describing how he managed structural change within the organisation, he portrays himself in his interview with Brad Jackson as a decisive and even ruthless leader, who has got rid of a lot of ‘dead wood’ from the organisation and drastically restructured it.

Excerpt 4

Context: interview with Daniel, Chief Executive.

1. Daniel: I reshaped the the er the um the reporting lines you know
2. the previous c e had eight people reporting to him directly
3. and that just comes about from when you start an outfit
4. it just expands and expands and it m-
5. they may as well report to you
6. um and you don't you don't notice
7. with an incremental increase like that
8. just how how much more work you've got
9. and when people come you know titles and reporting lines
10. are a big deal to them you know [*voc*]
11. I wouldn't want to be reporting to anyone else
12. except the CEO
13. so when I did that we had a few casualties
14. er in terms of you know people who felt that they'd been +
15. um treated less respectfully than they'd thought
16. and they don't work here anymore

⁶The discussion of the leadership styles of Daniel and Seamus draws on material in Holmes et al. (2011, 2012), and Vine et al. (2008).

It is clear that Daniel's leadership philosophy is rather different from that of the traditional Quentin as well as from Penelope's. Although, inevitably, people also have had to be asked to leave from time to time in their organisations, Penelope and Quentin's attitude to this situation is overtly very much more person-oriented and sympathetic than the decisive, hard-nosed approach which Daniel depicts here. There is no hint of traditional Māori cultural values in Daniel's rather abstract description of how he approached the restructuring process. He goes on to describe how he reshaped the senior management, creating *an elite group*, and then proceeded to dramatically change the ways of interacting which obtained between the Board and the management team.

In all this Daniel constructs himself as a modern leader, familiar with current Western conceptions of management theory. A number of features of his discourse contribute to this construction, such as his choice of lexical items e.g., *reshaped the reporting lines* (line 1), *incremental increase* (line 7), and his preference for simple syntactic constructions e.g., *and they don't work here anymore* (line 16), expressed fluently in a steady rhythmic delivery. He makes fun of those who regard *titles and reporting lines* as *a big deal* (lines 9–10), and parodies their complaints *I wouldn't want to be reporting to anyone else except the c e o* (lines 11–12) with a mocking tone of voice. These discourse features all encode a decisive and unsentimental stance, indexing an authoritative and contemporary leadership identity with little evidence of traditional Māori cultural values which put respect for people and community at the forefront.

Daniel is especially critical of older more conservative approaches and what he considers 'empty' rhetoric, as illustrated in the following comment:

Excerpt 5

Context: interview with Daniel, Chief Executive.

1. Daniel: the other week we got (...) the former guy
2. he came in he he spoke to the board
3. so he spent twenty minutes saying very little
4. and I was like oh gees
5. imagine what it was like in the olden days
6. and er where as I try and say as little possible....
7. I'm after results
8. I've seen some of the people here flourish
9. because of um my approach to things

Daniel here dispassionately notes what he assesses as the (lack of) content of the contribution to a Board meeting of the former CEO (described rather dismissively as *the former guy* (line 1), and comments critically and informally *oh gees imagine what it was like in the olden days* (lines 4–5). In these frank comments, there is no sentimentality, nor evidence of the traditional respect for elders generally expressed by Māori people. Hence Daniel appears to be portraying a new and contemporary style of Māori leadership.

Our recordings of Daniel at work illustrate how this leadership identity was constructed in workplace interaction, as well as the kinds of changes he introduced into his organisation. Unsurprisingly, these recordings indicate that his management style is very much more complex than suggested in his interview with Brad Jackson. There is considerable evidence that he sees his role as one of inspiring people to achieve the organisation's objectives. He is enthusiastic and encouraging when addressing the whole organisation, and he sets them clear targets (see Holmes et al. 2011). He also gives firm direction by regularly following contributions from others with a comment which serves to formally endorse them, thus enacting his authority, but also drawing out the relevance of the contribution for the overall new strategic direction of the organisation. This sometimes includes a paraphrase of rather abstract technical material presented by others which makes clear the relevance of the technical information, as illustrated in Excerpt 6.

Excerpt 6

Context: meeting of members of the whole organisation (7 men and 9 women).

Daniel is in the chair and the finance manager has just completed an outline of the budgeting process.

- | | | |
|-----|---------|---|
| 1. | Daniel: | look the thing with this budgeting is |
| 2. | | that it's not designed to make it harder |
| 3. | | it's designed to do a number of things |
| 4. | | (it's) supposed to make things easier for everybody |
| 5. | | but it's also a chance for the managers to learn |
| 6. | | how to run their own budgets |
| 7. | | rather than having them run for them |
| 8. | | so that when they become general managers |
| 9. | | in some big outfit |
| 10. | | all that stuff'll be a piece of cake |

Daniel here indicates the point of the contribution from the finance manager which has been very technical. He indicates his rapport with those who may have had difficulty with the details: *it's not designed to make it harder ... supposed to make things easier for everybody* (lines 2, 4). He also points to the benefits for

managers. Firstly, it will increase autonomy, a point designed to appeal to team members: *a chance for the managers to learn how to run their own budgets rather than having them run for them* (lines 5–7); secondly, using this new system will provide experience which can be usefully transferred to future positions *when they become general managers in some big outfit all that stuff'll be a piece of cake* (lines 8–10). By contrast with the technical jargon and complex syntax of the finance manager, Daniel's contribution is expressed in simple clauses, and he uses deliberately colloquial language: e.g. *all that stuff'll be a piece of cake* (line 10), making his points very accessible to his listeners.

Despite his portrayal of himself as cut-throat and authoritarian leader, Daniel in fact displays a great deal of patience, tolerance and humour in everyday interactions with his staff. He moves matters along in meetings when he judges this to be necessary, but he is also happy to leave this to others and, compared to Penelope, and especially Seamus (as illustrated below), he is a relatively hands off meeting manager. As stated in his interview, he is keen to modernise the organisation and one small aspect of this is to reduce what he regards as the excessive formality of meetings. His approach to this challenge is evident throughout our recordings; he consistently indicates that he values informality and collegiality. His use of humour and informal language, including the informal tag *eh*, and informal address terms such as *mate* and *bro*, and frequent swearing, supports this claim (see Holmes and Marra 2011). Excerpt 7 illustrates this informality. The senior management team is discussing a problematic issue, namely how to ensure an agreement with an outside organisation is adhered to.

Excerpt 7

Context: senior managers' meeting at Kiwi Consultations; the team consists of two men and two women.

1. Daniel: you know w- w- we cos you know
2. we do have to safeguard against this
3. cos this shit won't stop [name]...
4. the basis of our stuff is that right
5. so let's record it so that it's like
6. a heads of agreement you can't go back..
7. not er you idiots you do what you want
8. *Daniel and Harry both erupt laughing*
9. Daniel: fuckin' hell

The issue is serious but Daniel, in his usual style, discusses it using very informal language and with a dismissive attitude to those who are causing problems to Kiwi Consultations. Kiwi Consultations has a basic *right* (line 4) which they must *safeguard* (line 2), and his solution is to record the agreement with the other organisation formally *like a heads of agreement* (lines 5–6) so that it cannot be gone

back on (line 6). Daniel's use of swear words *shit* (line 3) and *fuckin hell* (line 9) greatly deformatises the discussion, as well as his characterisation of their opponents as *you idiots* (line 7) which generates laughter.

Daniel's humour, which includes many witty quips, is evident throughout all the recordings of his team meetings. Introducing the order of speakers for one meeting, for example, he says, *Catherine will get everyone back awake after Steve's had a go on the accounting side*, thus aiming a good-natured jibe at Steve. However, such quips were also often self-directed. He comments, for instance, that after participating in a fast reading course, he has nothing but an attendance certificate to show for it: *this is just terrible am I gonna put this on the wall certificate of attendance*. And he manages to combine both self-mockery and jocular abuse at Hari's expense by suggesting that Hari should accompany Daniel to a formal meeting with an external group: *so I don't look like the dumbest guy there*.

In a variety of ways, then, Daniel offers an alternative model of leadership. While his approach to structural change is reportedly draconian, he introduces a very distinctive interactional style into the organisation's formal meetings, thus dynamically developing a very different informal and relaxed culture to an organisation that had formerly been regarded as conservative, stuffy and hide-bound.

Finally, it should be noted that Daniel does not dispense with all formalities. He leads the traditional Māori karakia at the beginnings and ends of meetings, demonstrating his respect for this aspect of Māori protocol, and his organisation treats representatives of other organisations in traditional Māori fashion including a formal welcome and provision of food.⁷ But there is little further evidence of respect for ceremony or formal procedures. Overall, humour, a relaxed attitude, and derision of what he regards as old-fashioned rituals characterise his style; and even his mentoring is suffused with teasing, banter and challenging witty repartee. In sum, Daniel's leadership style can be regarded as indexing a new and more contemporary Māori leadership identity, and his approach to change could be considered an interesting attempt to integrate aspects of both traditional Māori and informal Pākehā ways of doing things.⁸

2.5 The Hero Leader Stereotype: Seamus

Seamus is a white, middle-aged male and he is the leader in our data who most closely conforms to the leadership stereotype presented in much of the leadership literature discussed above in relation to gender stereotypes. Certainly in his interview with Brad Jackson, a leadership scholar, he constructs a leadership identity which closely conforms to this stereotype. He portrays himself as relatively

⁷See Holmes et al. (2011) and Marra et al. (2014) for more detail.

⁸This issue is discussed in more detail in Holmes et al. (2011, Chap. 7).

authoritarian with an emphasis on inspirational leadership in order to achieve the objectives of his organisation, pseudonymed NZ Productions. Here I focus on his approach to change.

In interview, Seamus describes the structural changes he has instituted in the organisation and, like Daniel, he constructs himself as a ‘hero leader’, saving the organisation from imminent disaster.

Excerpt 8

Context: interview with Seamus, Managing Director.

- | | | |
|----|---------|--|
| 1 | Seamus: | he from what I could see was rearranging |
| 2 | | the deck chairs on the Titanic |
| 3 | | they just weren't doing anything about it |
| 4 | | they were paralysed |
| 5 | | and heading down hill ... |
| 6 | | I asked all the questions that I needed to ask |
| 7 | | I pretty quickly got a very good um knowledge |
| 8 | | of how things were supposed to work ... |
| 9 | | I suddenly had an idea as to |
| 10 | | how I could um er + |
| 11 | | get involved and make decisions |
| 12 | | and make something happen |

This is a short excerpt from Seamus’s extended account of how he saved what has now become a very successful company, through careful planning and hard work. Following a dramatic opening metaphor of devastation, the *Titanic*, in which he condemns his predecessors as simply *rearranging the deckchairs* (lines 1–2), Seamus presents himself as an effective agent of change, asking questions (line 6), acquiring relevant knowledge *of how things were supposed to work* (lines 7–8) and then making decisions and making things happen (lines 11–12). As with Daniel, the language is direct and the syntax and lexis relatively simple. This is one way in which Seamus constructs himself very positively as a visionary, decisive leader of change.

Again, it is illuminating to examine in detail the degree of fit between this portrayal and the recorded evidence of his leadership style in his day-to-day interactions with his colleagues. Seamus’s discourse provides plenty of evidence of inspirational leadership as he motivates his staff to institute the changes that the senior management team have agreed are required.

Excerpt 9

Context: Seamus addresses staff at NZ Productions on the changes to be instituted. Jaeson, the General Manager, is in the Chair.

- 1 Seamus: you guys are managing all areas
- 2 which are gonna be affected ...
- 3 you've got to own your own areas
- 4 and the change within them ...
- 5 promoting and embracing the change within our teams ...
- 6 the ones that want to do well
- 7 the ones that want to embrace the change
- 8 they'll be jumping out of their skins to be part of it ...
- 9 nothing's gonna hold us back here
- 10 and if er if it does we're gonna remove it
- 11 we can't get somewhere great
- 12 without having everyone on board
- 13 everyone doing their best
- 14 and without removing obstacles

In this excerpt Seamus enacts a passionate and decisive business leader working to inspire his followers with the challenge of *promoting and embracing the change* (line 5) with the goal of getting somewhere *great* (line 11). He uses strong, persuasive and emotive language, addressing the team very directly *you've got to own your own areas* and *the change within them* (lines 3–4). He states clearly that any obstacles will be removed (lines 10, 14). His metaphors are striking, including *they'll be jumping out of their skins to be part of it* (line 8). His expectations for his management team, and for the whole organisation, are here expressed in very direct language and are very explicitly spelled out.

His challenging questions and confrontational statements provide further evidence of the way Seamus manages change. He claims to stay in the background when Jaeson, the General Manager, is chairing meetings relating to the day-to-day running of the business, but he often gets involved in discussions at quite picky levels of detail. Indeed our discourse analysis of these interactions suggests that it is often not Jaeson but Seamus, the Managing Director, who has most influence on proceedings with his concern to be involved in all aspects of the organisation's business (see Holmes 2009; Holmes and Chiles 2010).

This provides a clue to the model of leadership which best fits this organisation. Although Seamus can clearly enact visionary leadership and lead change in ways that conform remarkably closely to the dominant hero leader stereotype (Jackson

and Parry 2001; Grinell 2002; Powell 2003; Eagly and Carli 2007; Koenig et al. 2011; Brescoll 2011), our recordings of his interactions in the day-to-day running of the organisation provide abundant evidence of co-leadership (Heenan and Bennis 1999), or shared leadership (Jackson and Parry 2011), and it is this dynamic team leadership which appears to be effective in accomplishing the changes which are Seamus's goal. So while Seamus is undoubtedly regarded as 'the' leader, and is generally respected and admired, as our interviews with other managers indicate, he makes extensive use of Jaeson, the General Manager, and Rob, a Business Development Manager specifically contracted to assist with innovation in the organisation, to achieve his objectives. As a consequence, the demarcation lines between their different roles are often fuzzy, and this works very effectively for achieving the desired changes.⁹

As General Manager, Jaeson capably manages many of the relational aspects of the organisation's work, as well as supervising the implementation of the changes in which the company is involved. In many ways they provide a classic example of an effective complementary leader-manager relationship (see Jackson and Parry 2011, p. 19 for further discussion). In his interview Jaeson describes his management style in a way that indicates his awareness of his strong relational orientation.

Excerpt 10

Context: interview with Jaeson, General Manager. Paul is the Sales Manager.

1. Jaeson: a typical typical day for Paul and I
2. would be um a catch up every morning
3. we just touch bases and [voc] half that conversation
4. would be just er just (to) um + a bit of chitchat you know
5. it'll be um passing the time of day
6. it'll be perhaps talking about the kids or um +
7. a bit of humour you know just just to get relaxed
8. and then we'll probably discuss some of the things
9. that have um that are coming up that day

[he describes how hard it is to keep time free throughout the day for communication and catch-ups with others]

10. so I've tried to to make sure that I'm not a doer
11. as much as possible that I'm just basically a facilitator
12. and um someone that has the time to go around
13. to talk to be a communicator

⁹This section draws on Vine et al. (2008) which provides more detail on the concept of co-leadership.

We have abundant evidence to support this perceptive self-analysis. Jaeson regularly begins any meeting with small talk and his approach overall can be described as ‘soft-edged’, with many indications of concern for people’s feelings and efforts to build solidarity and collegiality (see Holmes et al. 2013; Murata 2015).

Excerpt 11 is typical of Jaeson’s cheerful and positive approach to resolving problems. Anna and Brendan (account managers) and Jaeson are discussing what they will offer as entertainment at a party they are organising for their clients.

Excerpt 11

Context: meeting of three managers at NZ Productions.

1. Jae that’s the + that’s that’s the next question
2. what what sort of music do we do ...
3. (sales jingles) go down really well..
4. *//sings a tune*
5. Anna: /+ [laughs]\
6. Bren: what about
7. Jae: *//[sings another tune]\...*
 Lots of suggestions for songs
8. Jae: (Māori song) that’s always good
9. normally requires the organ *//[sings a tune][laughs]*
10. Anna: /well maybe we could use you as back-up you know [laughs]\
11. and a special guest appearance
12. Jae: I could be the wind section
13. Anna: *//[laughs]\ oh Brendon did an impromptu talk on gas*
14. Jae: */[laughs]*

Jaeson’s positive and cheerful approach is very apparent throughout this excerpt where he contributes a number of tongue-in-cheek suggestions for appropriate music for the event they are planning, even singing tunes to assist (lines 3, 7, 9). The light-hearted tone is maintained by Anna with her comment *maybe we could use you as back-up* (line 10), and Jaeson again indicates his self-awareness with his punning comment *I could be the wind section* (line 12) which is supported and extended by Anna’s mention of Brendon’s *impromptu talk on gas* (line 13).

However, as General Manager, Jaeson also has an important transactional role; he is responsible for making sure the changes proposed by Seamus and Rob actually happen. His questions during meetings often anticipate logistical and practical problems and identify potential issues to be resolved. In Excerpt 12, the senior management team has been discussing a technical problem. Jaeson makes his practical orientation quite explicit.

Excerpt 12

Context: Senior management meeting at NZ Productions.

- 1 Jaeson: but what you're saying Ivo um
2 just confirms what Rob's team came up with you know
3 and that is shunt these problems
4 get them sorted as soon as possible
5 get them out of the system
6 don't go all the way down the system
7 and then discover that you gotta change it you know ...
8 um so and (I mean) we've talked about it for ages
9 we know that we've gotta do this

Jaeson clearly signals his view that it is very important to anticipate ways in which things might not run as smoothly as planned. He interprets Ivo's previous comments (*what you're saying Ivo*), and links them constructively to the analysis provided by *Rob's team* (line 2), thus reinforcing their analysis. Jaeson's clear, direct summary is expressed in bald imperative clauses: *shunt these problems* (line 3), *get them sorted as soon as possible* (line 4), *get them out of the system* (line 5)), simple grammatical structures which serve to emphasise his meaning. His personal position is equally clearly stated in simple direct language *we know that we've gotta do this* (line 9). This decisive, authoritative stance indexes the very clear-cut, practically oriented style that characterises Jaeson's transactional role as the co-leader who is implementing the agreed changes.

Rob, the Business Development Manager, is the third member of the co-leadership team involved in bringing about change in NZ Productions. He was specifically employed to help plan and strategise the new direction for the company. This involved him in many meetings in which his role was to outline the anticipated changes for the benefit of different groups and especially the senior management group where he took on the inspirational, motivating role that Seamus played in the context of the organisation as a whole. Addressing the senior management team, Rob constructs an authoritative leadership identity, indexed through the positive and confident stance he adopts in portraying the company's current situation.

Excerpt 13 *Context:* Seamus, Jaeson and Rob discuss how to pitch their services to a potential customer.

- 1 Rob: if his current perception of a really
- 2 topnotch production company is [COMPANY NAME]
- 3 in Napier + this is gonna blow him away
- 4 I've been through [company one]
- 5 [company one]'s facility in Auckland
- 6 is pretty impressive
- 7 [company two] facility in Napier is
- 8 this is more impressive than (theirs)

Using a series of laudatory lexical items *topnotch* (line 2), *blow him away* (line 3), *impressive* (lines 6, 8), Rob is here 'talking up' the impact that seeing NZ Productions will have on a potential partner (Marra 2006). Some of their competitors are *pretty impressive* (line 6), but Rob is asserting that NZ Productions is even *more impressive* (line 8). Rob is here providing enthusiastic positive motivation to further support the direction in which the organisation is moving.

In this organisation then, as indicated by these brief examples, the stereotype of the hero leader who radically expands the company single-handed is clearly contested: change is demonstrably a collaborative effort, with the three senior managers cooperating and very effectively complementing each other's strengths to introduce the innovations and accomplish the changes on which they are agreed.

2.6 Discussion and Conclusion

The analysis above suggests that, like all stereotypes, leadership stereotypes are a useful starting point for identifying ideologies and societal norms, but they quickly fragment when we begin to examine how specific leaders operate in particular workplace contexts. We have compelling examples in our data illustrating how the conventional hegemonic gender and culture order is sociopragmatically instantiated at particular times in specific workplace interactions (see Holmes 2006; Holmes et al. 2011): e.g. men constructing normatively 'masculine' leadership identities

(assertive and dominant) and women constructing normatively 'feminine' leadership identities (motherly and supportive); Pākehā constructing normatively 'white' majority group identities and Māori constructing traditional, culturally 'Māori' identities. But in every case the precise instantiation is strongly influenced by context: discursive choices reflect a range of complex sociopragmatic influences, including the speaker's ongoing dynamic assessment of the relative weight of factors, such as the size, purpose and relative formality of the meeting and the setting, the nature of the topic, and the composition of the meeting in terms of the status, roles and gender of participants. Typically, women and men respond in a wide range of ways, negotiating the gender and the culture orders as just one component of their professional identity in the workplace as the analysis above has indicated. Clearly, there is no 'one style fits all' for leadership. The authoritative, decisive, and typically masculine and white, stereotype of the leader who manages change single-handedly is monochromatic and bears little relationship to reality.

Focussing on the ways in which leaders manage innovation and change within their organisations provides useful insights into the very variegated realities of leadership behaviour in specific workplace contexts. All three focus leaders demonstrated awareness of the 'leader as hero' stereotype (Jackson and Parry 2001; Powell 2003; Eagly and Carli 2007; Koenig et al. 2011). In her interview, Penelope argued that decisive leadership behaviour was crucial when structural change was involved, but her approach to implementation was 'soft-edged' and compassionate, especially in dealing with individuals affected negatively by the changes. Our data demonstrates that in meetings with her senior management team, who are required to roll out a radical cultural change for the national organisation following major structural change, she is attentive, considerate and encourages a collaborative and cooperative atmosphere in difficult discussions. As illustrated, there is laughter and humour in her meetings but it is relatively low key and not too extensive; she moves the agenda along firmly. Penelope could be considered a representative of a leader who challenges traditional leadership stereotypes by effectively drawing on a range of discursive strategies to manage change in her organisation. To achieve her goal of cultural change in the organisation, her talk is characterised by the adroit meshing of transactional and relational discourse features; she can be clear, direct and decisive when required, but she also encourages a cooperative style of interaction, using humour with skill to achieve this effect. As I have argued elsewhere (Holmes 2006), such leaders usefully contest and trouble the gendered discourse norms which characterise so many workplaces, as well as the institutional boundaries and stereotypical expectations about the way successful leaders behave.

Daniel is a rather different kind of leader. In describing his approach to structural change in interview, he too indicates his awareness of the global stereotype, constructing a very conventional authoritarian and even ruthless identity. There is evidence in the recorded meetings, however, that he lacks tolerance of more conventional formal strategies for the enactment of leadership identity. As illustrated, his style is extremely informal, especially in his dealings with his senior management team, with profanities and jokes peppered through many meetings, again something which he indicated in interview was a deliberate strategy to counter traditional and conventional

meeting norms in the organisation. He is generally a very relaxed and easygoing meeting chair, although he steps in and acts in a more conventionally decisive manner on occasion. Daniel comments that he was appointed to his role because the Board members were looking for someone who would “weave together a range of views and issues and relate to people”. And Daniel’s leadership style demonstrates that he takes this challenge seriously. While sensitive to Māori ways of doing things when appropriate or politic, he is committed to instigating organisational change, to providing vision and facilitating a transition to new organisational structures and less formal and conventional ways of interacting.¹⁰ In sum, in addressing the need for both structural and cultural change, Daniel constructs himself as a contemporary Māori leader, respectful of tikanga Māori but also committed to current Western conceptions of management theory, and a style of interaction which values informality and downplays hierarchy built along traditional cultural dimensions.

Seamus is a more conventional leader in many respects. As illustrated above, he represents himself in interview, like Daniel, as aggressive and decisive in turning his organisation round commercially. In meetings of the whole organisation, he presents an inspiring and motivating vision of the changes planned. But our recordings clearly demonstrate how he makes effective use of co-leaders to implement those changes, and to maintain the motivational energy that is so important to accomplishing his objectives. Hence, the relationship between Seamus, Rob and Jaeson provides a further interesting challenge to the stereotype of the hero leader who manages everything single-handed. The data I have analysed clearly demonstrates that the leadership in Seamus’s organisation is a constantly shifting and dynamic construction. Seamus provides vision and passion but he shares this visionary and motivational role with Rob, just as Jaeson shares the relational and implementation roles with Seamus who was often engaged at the practical implementation level, being relatively ‘hands-on’ compared to the familiar stereotype of the high level visionary leader. In other words, these three leaders dynamically shift roles at different times and in different contexts and skilfully integrate different facets of leadership into their performance as appropriate.

In sum, in their different ways, the three leaders I have focussed on in this chapter not only illustrate different styles of managing change in their organisations, but also different ways of contesting leadership stereotypes, as well as troubling gender and cultural stereotypes.

2.7 Transcription Conventions

Examples have been edited to protect the anonymity of the contributing organisations and all names used in extracts are pseudonyms. Minimal feedback and overlaps are sometimes edited out for ease of reading when the edited features are

¹⁰See Holmes et al. (2009) for further discussion.

irrelevant to the point being made. Line divisions are intended to support understanding and typically represent sense unit boundaries. The main conventions used are outlined below:

<i>iwi</i>	Māori words are written in italics
[‘tribe’]	Translations are provided in square brackets
[laughs] : :	Paralinguistic features and editorial information in square brackets, colons indicate start/finish
+	Pause of up to one second
... //.....\ ...	Simultaneous speech
... /.....\ ...	
()	Unclear utterance
(hello)	Transcriber’s best guess at an unclear utterance
-	Utterance cut off
...	Section of transcript omitted

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Chapter 3

Taking the (Heroic) Leader Out of Leadership. The In Situ Practice of Distributed Leadership in Decision-Making Talk

Jonathan Clifton

3.1 Introduction

Despite the fact that, as Bass and Stodgill (1990, p. 11) famously pointed out, “there are almost as many different definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept”, Drath et al. (2008) argue that there is in fact an underlying ontological similarity to most leadership research. They (Drath et al. 2008, p. 635) argue that most leadership research rests on a stereotypical tripod approach based on leaders, followers and goals. Such an approach to leadership is rooted in heroic notions of leadership in which individuals, often associated with hierarchical positions, are assumed to be leaders who influence others to follow certain organisational goals. Such assumptions can be seen in key studies on leadership such as Zaleznik (1977) who selects such ‘great men’ (sic) as Eisenhower or Carnegie who are in positions of authority, and then offers anecdotal evidence to show that these men are leaders. However, such heroic notions of leadership, which trace their roots back to command and control theories of early scientific management, are increasingly unable to capture the realities of contemporary organisations with flatter hierarchies and more complex knowledge economies which challenge the idea of a heroic leader ‘calling the shots’. Consequently, since the 1990s there has been an increasing interest in notions of distributed leadership (henceforth: DL) in which the emphasis is put on the joint achievement of leadership through team processes (see, for example, Gronn 2002). Consequently, leaders may, or may not be commensurate with hierarchy and there may, or may not, be more than one leader (Hosking 1988, p. 152). However,

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despite the increasing interest in distributed leadership over the past decade, various researchers (e.g. Crevani et al. 2010; Gronn 2002; Larsson and Lundholm 2010; Uhl-Bien 2006) have noted that empirical research that analyses the actual practice of distributed leadership and the relational dynamics of leadership as an in situ accomplishment remains lacking. Using transcripts of naturally occurring talk taken from a decision-making episode of talk in a business meeting as data, the purpose of this paper is to answer these calls for a more empirical-based approach to DL and to provide a fine-grained analysis of distributed leadership as social practice.

3.2 Previous Research on Distributed Leadership

As many researchers (e.g. Pearce and Conger 2003; Spillane 2005; Thorpe et al. 2011) have noted, the past 50 years of leadership research have been characterised by a heroic version of leadership, deeply rooted in Western culture, whereby leadership stereotypically equates with hierarchy and top-down influence. As Crevani et al. (2007, p. 47) observe:

We speak of Mohandas Gandhi and Martin Luther King, Jr. as great leaders, but we tend to forget the team of people on which they relied (O'Toole et al.). Large corporations are personified by their formal leaders; the focus is on them. Moreover, people in Western cultures seem to need to identify one single individual to be responsible for the performance of a group.

Further, as various authors note (e.g. Mehra et al. 2006), heroic notions of leadership no longer connect with the reality of contemporary leadership which has an emphasis on flatter hierarchies, teamwork and need for specialised knowledge and expertise. Consequently, stereotypical heroic assumptions of leadership are increasingly being challenged by distributed approaches to leadership which, whilst tracing their roots back over 50 years or more (Pearce and Conger 2003, p. 6), have seen an upsurge in interest over the past decade. For a full review of studies in distributed leadership see, for example, Bolden (2011). For the purposes of this paper, suffice it to say that, following Thorpe et al. (2011), DL can be seen as an umbrella term that subsumes concepts such as shared leadership (Pearce and Conger 2003), dispersed leadership (Ray et al. 2004) and co-leadership (Heenan and Bennis 2000). DL can therefore be summed up as generally referring to leadership practices that involve multiple leaders (whether shared or co); focus on all participants; and zoom in on the interactions between individuals, rather than the actions of individuals.

Moreover, many researchers (Bolden 2011; Cervani et al. 2010; Hosking 1988) see DL as an emergent property of group processes. In other words, rather than assuming the a priori relevance of leader identity linked to hierarchy, the leader, or leaders, emerge through group interaction. Such an emphasis on the process of

leadership and the emergence of leader identity through interaction is commensurate with social constructionist approaches to leadership whereby leadership is seen as a social process, rather than an individual act. Further, such a processual approach, rather than focussing on prediscursive entities of the organisation and individuals within it, locates leadership in interaction which communicatively constructs the organisation and players within it (Hosking 1988; Clifton 2006). Leadership is thus the process of managing meaning and sensemaking through which the organisation and the identities of players within it are communicatively constructed. The leader, or leaders, emerges as the person, or persons, having most influence in this process (cf. Clifton 2012, 2014, 2015; Smircich and Morgan 1982; Thayer 1995).

In order to catch this process of meaning making in flight, the researcher has to look into the linguistic space in which the participants communicatively constitute the organisation (Clifton 2012, 2014; Larsson and Lundholm 2010, 2013). Yet, whilst there has been a recent flurry of research that takes a discursive approach to the study of leadership and which uses transcripts of naturally occurring talk to study the in situ accomplishment of leadership (e.g. Clifton 2012, 2014, 2015; Fairhurst 2007; Fairhurst and Cooren 2009; Larsson and Lundholm 2010, 2013; Schnurr and Chan 2011; Schnurr and Zyats 2012; Svennevig 2012; Van De Mierop and Schnurr 2014; Wodak et al. 2011), little of this research takes the distributed nature of leadership as its specific focus. Indeed, much of this research still fails to shake off heroic notions of leadership that equate leader identity with manager identity (e.g. Clifton 2006; Svennevig 2012; Schnurr and Zyars 2012, all focus on the talk of the managers). Consequently, analyses of the doing of leadership as a members' accomplishment have often focused on the managers and have failed to adequately take into account team processes. However, notable exceptions to this are Choi and Schnurr (2014) who look at distributed leadership in a leaderless team where there is no chair or formally assigned leader; Schnurr and Chan (2011) and Vine et al. (2008) who study co-leadership in leadership 'double acts' performed by hierarchical superiors; and Allard-Poesi and Giordano (2015) who consider leadership distributed between two different and geographically separate teams, interacting together. Yet, even such work that has a focus on DL, still has a tendency to assume the relevance of hierarchy. This paper seeks to complement such work by not assuming the a priori relevance of the hierarchical superior(s) as leader(s) and by demonstrating how leadership, even in a case where there is a formal hierarchic superior acting as the chair, is distributed across *all* the group and emerges from group interaction on a turn-by-turn basis as a decision is made.

3.3 Method

Various authors (most notably Fairhurst 2007), have argued that traditional psychological concepts of leadership fail to capture the doing of leadership as an in situ accomplishment. They have therefore proposed that more research should focus on

the fine-grained analysis of talk in interaction to reveal the seen but unnoticed way in which leadership is achieved. Over the past few years, there has been an extremely positive response to such a call. Researchers, using various discursive methods of analysis to catch the doing of leadership in flight (*op. cit.*), have complemented psychological approaches to the study of leadership which emphasise the traits, skills, and behaviours of atomised individuals with discursive approaches which place the emphasis on the primacy of discourse as a medium for action. Amongst this work, there is a body of work which sees leader to be a professional identity that is achieved in talk (e.g. Clifton 2012, 2014; Schnurr and Zyatts 2012; Svennevig 2012). From such a constructionist perspective, identity (including leader identity) is something we do rather than something we have. As Antaki and Widdicombe (1998, p. 3) sum it up:

1. For a person to ‘have an identity’—whether he or she is the person speaking, being spoken to, or being spoken about—is to be cast into a category with *associated characteristics or features* (the sort of thing you would expect from any member of that category; their actions, beliefs, feelings, obligations, etcetera).
2. Such casting is *indexical and occasioned*. That is, it only makes sense in its local setting.
3. The casting *makes relevant* the identity to the interactional business going on.
4. The force of ‘having an identity’ is its *consequentiality* in the interaction—what it allows, prompts, or discourages participants to do next.
5. All these things are visible in people’s exploitation of the *structures of conversation*.
(italics in original)

If, as previously stated, leaders are the person, or persons, having most influence in the management of meaning, then the task for the researcher is to explicate how, and by whom, the process of managing meaning is archived in talk so that a person talks, or persons talk, themselves into being as ‘the leader’ or ‘leaders’. Zimmerman (1998) argues that there are three levels of identity: discursive, situated and transportable. Transportable identities are identities such as gender or age that ‘tag along’ with the persons and which may, or may not, become relevant to the interaction. Discourse identities exist at a turn-by-turn level and are identities such as speaker, assessor, addressee, etc. Discursive identities make relevant situated identities such as teacher, leader, policeman, etc. Thus, for example, in a classroom situation, in which the initiation-response-feedback sequence of talk is said to be typical (Sinclair and Brazil 1982), by asking and evaluating the questions teacher identity becomes relevant and by being constrained to answer questions student identity also becomes relevant to the interaction. Similarly, a leader, as a situated identity, emerges through doing ‘the management of meaning’ on a turn-by-turn basis by using discursive resources such as first placed assessments (Clifton 2012),

formulations (Clifton 2006), or storytelling (Clifton 2014). Thus, through a fine-grained analysis of sequences of talk, a researcher can make visible the seen but unnoticed discursive resources which are used to influence the management of meaning and through which leader identity is enacted.

3.4 Data

The data for this paper concerns an extract of naturally occurring decision-making talk which was video-recorded during a management meeting at a language school in the north of France, given the pseudonym 'Rijsel Langues', which is dependent on the local Chamber of Commerce. Since the participants were either French, English, or Spanish native speakers, the meeting was held in French as a *lingua franca* which was the official language of the company. It was one of a series of monthly meetings which dealt with pedagogic issues such as course development, continuous professional development of their own trainers, and any pedagogic issues related to the delivery of executive language training. The meetings consisted of Alice, the director of Rijsel Langues and also the chairperson of the meetings, and three senior trainers: Nigel, Beth and Liz. In the particular extract analysed here, the management team is discussing the continuing professional development needs of their own trainers which in the past has proved problematic. Having formulated the problem/situation, Nigel makes a proposal to resolve the issue. This proposal is negotiated and goes through several modifications before commitment to this version of future organisational reality is achieved and a decision is announced.

Decision-making episodes are considered to be prime sites for the doing of leadership and managing meaning because they are interactional processes "in which participants jointly construct the formulation of states of affairs, and through further assessment and formulation build commitment to particular states of affairs" (Huisman 2001, p. 75). The formulation of such states of affairs is never neutral as if there was some kind of truth 'out there somewhere' waiting to be found, rather decision-making provides a context for the negotiation of meaning and making sense of the organisational environment as it is carved out of the undifferentiated flux of possible understandings (Castor 2005; Grosjean and Robichaud 2010). Similarly, any proposal of future action, that gains commitment from the relevant participants, becomes tantamount to a 'virtual' future reality because it inevitably shapes the future of the organisation (Huisman 2001, p. 72). And it is through this process of sensemaking that meaning is managed and leader identities emerge as those having most influence in this process.

3.5 Analysis

Prior to extract one, the meeting has been turning around the need for continuing professional training of Rijsel Languages' own language trainers. In line one, Nigel formulates the situation by defining "what is missing" and makes a proposal to solve the problem.

Extract one

1. N ce qu'il nous manque c'est une formation sur les [micro compétences se présenter devant un
what we're missing is a training on [micro-skills presenting oneself in front of a
2. B [((gestures open palm in N's direction, nods, gaze to N))
3. N tableau et écrire pas n'importe où mais d'une façon structurée par exemple euh présenter un point de
blackboard and not writing anywhere but in a structured way for example euh present a point of
4. [grammaire présenter un du vocabulaire
[grammar present one of vocabulary
5. B [oui ((gestures with open hand in N's direction, gaze at Nigel))
[yes ((gestures with open hand in N's direction, gaze at Nigel))
6. N trois méthodes pour apprendre le vocabulaire et pourquoi pas ne pas élaborer (.) c'est un souhait (.)
three methods to learn vocabulary and why not elaborate (.) it's a wish (.)
7. que nous avons eu depuis longtemps (.) on a tout une partie formation technique labo logiciel ou [autre
that we've had for a long time (.) we have a complete part technical training labo software or[whatever
8. L [((nod))
9. N () mais je pense que les professeurs ont besoin d'un petit carnet un petit livret une petite feuille
() but I think that the trainers need a small book small notebook a small [form
10. L [((nod))
11. et on remplit à [chaque fois qu'ils nous satisfont ou on dit okay erm qui montre qu'ils peuvent
and we fill it in [each time that they satisfy us or we say okay erm that they show that they can
12. L [((nod))
13. N expliquer un point de [grammaire un point de vocabulaire et ils sont des micro compétences et tout le
explain a point of [grammar a point of vocabulary and they are micro-skills and
14. L [((nod))
15. monde va avoir son carnet remplir à la fin de l'année ou même pourquoi pas quelque chose
everybody will have their notebook filled in at the end of the year or even why not something
16. beaucoup plus élaboré lexis () les notions de backchanneling et [sais pas on peut aller
more elaborate lexis () notions of backchannelling and [don't know we could go
17. A [bah
18. N jusqu'au bout
all the way

In line 1, Nigel formulates the current situation: “what we’re missing is training on micro-skills”. He thus makes sense of the raw flux of unlabelled ‘noise’ that surrounds the company and defines the problem. This assessment of the situation is in a sequentially first position and therefore claims epistemic primacy. This is because any second placed assessment, unless upgraded in some way, is oriented to as responding to, and thus ceding, primacy to the prior assessment (Raymond and Heritage 2006). Further, as Clifton (2012) points out going first in an assessment sequence and so claiming epistemic primacy (i.e. the right to define the situation) can be synonymous with leadership since it is a claim to manage meaning. Thus, following Zimmerman (1998), the discourse identity of first-positioned assessor talks into being the situated identity of leader. Moreover, following Pomerantz (1984), an assessment makes a second assessment a conditionally relevant next action, and as Nigel delivers his turn, Beth gazes at him and gestures with an open hand in his direction nodding and giving a minimal response token (yes). She thus affiliates¹ with Nigel’s stance and his assessment of the problem as it emerges in talk. At a turn-by-turn discursive level, through displaying such affiliation in a second position she makes relevant the situated identity of a follower. This is because, as Clifton (2012) claims, taking a second slot in an assessment sequence can be considered as doing followership because the speaker is seen to be following the lead of the prior speaker and accepting their management of meaning, as Beth does in this sequence.

In line 6, Nigel then makes an implicit proposal for introducing training in micro-skills (“it’s a wish (.) that we have had for a long time”). The ‘it’s’ leaves the referent vague, but given the context this implicitly refers to training sessions in micro-skills mentioned in line 1. Significant here is the use of the pronoun ‘we’ which is ambiguous: does it refer to the management team or is it the institutional we (i.e. Rijsel Languages)? Since the referent is not disambiguated by the participants, it also remains vague to the analyst. However, despite this ambiguity, Nigel claims to speak on behalf of (1) either the company or (2) the management group and to know what they are thinking. In doing so he ventriloquises (i.e. speaks on their behalf [Cooren 2012]) either the group or the company and so gives an authoritative source for his assessment which makes it more persuasive. Moreover, through using an inclusive pronoun, he also projects acceptance of this assessment onto the other participants and so assumes their commitment to this idea which is made authoritative thorough his ventriloquising of the wishes of either the company or the management team and so he projects his own sensemaking onto them and makes a leadership move (Clifton 2015). The proposal then becomes explicit (line 9

¹Stivers et al. (2011) differentiate between alignment and affiliation. Alignment occurs at the structural level of cooperation, and affiliation at the affective level of cooperation. Thus whilst alignment means that participants cooperate to facilitate the continuing action, affiliation goes much further because the speakers display empathy and share the same evaluative stance.

following: “but I think that the trainers need a small book small notebook a small form and we fill it in each time that they satisfy us or we say okay erm that they show that they can explain a point of grammar a point of vocabulary and they are micro-skills”). As Nigel delivers this proposal and thus putative decision (i.e. a formulation of a future state of affairs in the organisation [Huisman 2001, p. 77]), Liz aligns with him nonverbally via the nods which, as Stivers (2008) argues, displays tacit agreement.

Thus, through the actions of Liz and Beth, commitment to the emerging formulation of a future organisational reality is emerging. However, for the projection of future action to become a decision (as opposed to a ‘just a proposal’) it has to be oriented to as such by gaining the commitment of the relevant participants, notably Alice who as the director of Rijsel Languages would be responsible for implementing any action and justifying it to her superiors. However, as can be seen in the following excerpt, she resists Nigel’s projection of future action and therefore his leadership moves.

Extract two

19. A euh donc là on parle des nouveaux ou des anciens
euh so here we’re talking about the new teachers or the oldtimers
20. N tout le monde
all everybody
21. A d’accord parce-que les nouveaux professeurs on n’arrivera pas à les faire venir au labo pour voir s’ils
okay because the new trainers we won’t manage to get them to come to the labo to see if they
22. peuvent présenter un point de [grammaire↑ là-dessus ils ne diront [peut-être pas en réunion
can present a point of [grammar↑ there they won’t say it [maybe in a meeting
23. N [((pulls face)) [((smiles half laugh))
24. A comme ça [mais je suis désolé
like that [but I’m sorry
25. N [non ((waves finger in front of A)) non pas=pas de les faire venir toutes
[no ((waves finger in front of A)) no not=not to make them come every
26. les semaines [non mais faire=faire en sorte faire un sort que=que qu’ils ont un délai à le remplir
week [no but make=make it make it that=that they have a time limit to fill lit in
27. A [()
[()
28. N et puis on dit okay parce que si -on a eu des portes ouvertes
and then we say okay because if-we had an open day
29. [on a affiché l’année dernière séance pédagogique échec total rien rien [il faut
[we publicised last year pedagogic workshop total failure nothing nothing [it’s necessary
30. A [non non non [moi je veux bien
[no no no [me I’m for it

In line 19, Alice asks a question (“euh so here we’re talking about the new teachers or the oldtimers”) which orients to Nigel’s identity as the leader since he is oriented to as the person with epistemic primacy and with rights to have and display knowledge that manage the meaning of what is going on and how best to address the situation. In line 20, Nigel provides a conditionally relevant next (‘all everybody’). However, this reply is contested in a third turn (line 21: “new trainers we won’t manage to get them to come to the labo”)² in which Alice provides a negative evaluation of his response. She thus claims to be in a position to evaluate his projection of future action rather as a teacher uses the third slot in a question and answer sequence to assess a student’s response (Sinclair and Brazil 1982). Therefore, whilst aligning with the talk by providing a turn which is conditionally relevant and which moves the task of making the decision forward, she disaffiliates with Nigel by challenging his stance. Moreover, she also claims an entitlement to judge his proposal (Asmuß and Oshima 2012) and so his ability to manage meaning. In this way, she also challenges his claim to do leadership and his incumbency of the identity ‘leader’.

However, in the subsequent turn (line 25), Nigel repairs Alice’s assessment and corrects her, pointing out that he does not mean that the trainers come every week but that there is a ‘time limit’ in which to complete the training. Nigel then carries out a topic shift to the failure of the open day and the present way of doing continuing professional development. As his turn is in progress, Alice (line 30: ‘no no no’) aligns and affiliates with the negative assessment of the open day and then (line 30: ‘me I’m for it’) she aligns and affiliates with the idea of training in micro-skills. Such a movement from initial opposition to affiliation with Nigel’s stance is thus commensurate with Larsson and Lundholm’s (2013, p. 1102) definition of leadership which they see as being:

part of a relationship (Uhl-Bien 2006) where someone willingly changes his or her course of action in accordance with what someone else proposes. The positions of leader and follower are constructed and sustained in interaction (DeRue and Ashford 2010; Fairhurst 2007), enabling an influence process where someone leads and someone else follows

However, as shown in extract three, on a turn-by-turn basis, the identities of leader (Nigel) and follower (Alice) are not sustained in the interaction.

²labo: language laboratory

Extract three

31. N changer il faut changer le système il faut avoir un () quelque part
to change it's necessary to change the system it's necessary to have a () somewhere
32. il faut avoir une grille okay pour janvier cette personne doit avoir cinq compétences remplies par ()
it's necessary to have a grid okay for january this person has to have five skills filled in by ()
33. (0.5)
34. okay nous=il faut créer un document
okay we= it's necessary to create a document
35. L [oui c'était
[yes it was
36. A [non c'est c'est pas la création d'un document qui est important c'est le fait que derrière on demande
[no it's it's not the creation of a document that's important it's the fact that behind it we ask
37. aux professeurs d'assurer et d-de faire les ateliers probablement () et c'est plus sur une base de
the trainers to attend and t-to do the workshops probably () and it's more on a voluntary
38. volontariat même s'ils sont rémunérés pour les faire er c'est une base d'on vous dit vous devez faire (.)
basis even if they are paid to attend the workshops er it's a basis of we say you must do it (.)
39. là dessous on va avoir une [colère générale
there we'll have a [general anger

As Nigel completes his turn, he uses the dummy subject 'it' as an externalising device (cf. Edwards and Potter 1992, p. 134). Through claiming "it's necessary", he eclipses his authorship and makes the assessment appear independent of his concerns and simply given, factual and 'out there'. Consequently, it serves to factify his assessment that the system needs to be changed. There is then a micro-pause and Nigel continues his turn, line 34, with a proposal that "okay we = it's necessary to create a document" which adds to his proposal that the system of micro-skills is needed. Alice opposes this in a next turn and returns to her modification of Nigel's proposal arguing that, to gloss lines 36–39, obliging the trainers to attend training will make them angry. This therefore aligns with the decision-making talk in progress but disaffiliates with Nigel's stance. And, following Asmuß and Oshima (2012, p. 83), "displays of alignment without affiliating actions might indicate problems in complying with first actions". Consequently, Alice resists Nigel's leadership act of projecting future action and in so doing she displays that she has rights to judge Nigel's sensemaking and thus also challenges his emerging leader identity. Further, on a turn-by-turn basis, she claims leader identity for herself since she claims epistemic primacy (Clifton 2012).

As show in extract four below, Alice's opposition to Nigel's proposal requires a second assessment (Pomerantz 1984). However, this is not forthcoming as Beth overlaps and skip connects³ to Nigel's original proposal by asking for more clarification and so orienting to Nigel (through eye gaze, which marks him out as

³Skip-connecting is the production of an utterance which is related to a turn that is not immediately prior to it (Sacks 1992, vol. II, p. 349).

recipient of the turn) as author of the proposal and manager of meaning, and so makes relevant for him the situated identity of leader. She then, as discussed below, launches into a story which both affiliates and aligns with Nigel, co-authors his proposal, and so claims co-incumbency of leader identity.

Extract four

40. B [euh mais euh er euh une seule chose je ne sais pas si j'ai encore bien comprise
[euh but euh er euh just one thing I don't know if I've understood well
41. c'est les ateliers c'est les profs nouveaux ou n'importe qui font euh par exemple qui présente un point
it's the workshops it's the new trainers or anybody who does euh for example who presents a point of
42. de grammaire ou une chose comme ça aux autres ((turn spoken gaze fixed on N))
grammar or something like that to the others ((turn spoken, gaze fixed on N))
43. L oui oui ou er
yes yes or er
44. B ou c'est un conseiller pédagogique parce que là multipliée par combien on est (.) par trente
or it's a senior teacher because then multiplied by how many were are (.) by thirty
45. à la réunion (.) moi c'est=on avait discuté un peu (gaze to L) parce que on a deux types de public
at the meeting (.) me it's=we talked about it a bit ((gaze to L)) because we have two types of public
46. enfin c'est vraiment pas homogène on a les gens qui ont beaucoup d'expérience parmi les
well it's really not homogenous we have the people who have a lot of experience amongst the
47. nouveaux quand tu vois Françoise euh ou Jon par exemple moi je les vois par exemple utiliser le
newbees when you see Françoise euh or Jon for example me I see them for example use the
48. matériel etcetera et c'est les gens qui ont presque autant d'expérience que nous ont-ils vraiment
material etcetera and they're people who have almost as much experience as us do they really
49. besoin .hh bon c'est toujours intéressant d'échanger et même de leur demander éventuellement
have a need .hhh well it's always interesting to exchange and even to ask them possibly
50. s'ils veulent faire un atelier mais par contre il y a énormément des jeunes parce que c'est
if they want to do a workshop but on the other hand there are many young ones because it's the
51. les moins expérimentés qui sont là depuis trois quatre cinq ans qui ne s'en sort pas qui savent pas
less experienced who've been here for three four five years who can't manage who don't know

52. er qui n'ont pas une méthode didactique etcetera pour animer un cours euh moi j'ai eu l'expérience
er who haven't got a teaching method etcetera to facilitate a lesson euh me I had an experience
53. l'autre jour avec Fred qui est un professeur expérimenté entre guillemets ((makes sign of
the other day with Fred who is an in inverted commas experienced teacher ((makes sign of
54. inverted commas)) parce que ça fait longtemps qu'il est là et il vient dans mon cours d'espagnol et
inverted commas)) because he's been here a while and he comes in my Spanish lesson and
55. le premier jour je fais un truc super banal [ah bey c'est superbe [je vais faire ça mon prochain cours
the first day I do a very banal thing [ah bey it's wonderful [I'll do that my next lesson
56. N [((gaze to B, nod
57. L [nod
58. B je pense qu'en fait on a énormément de profs n'ont pas eu l'opportunité
I think that in fact we have an enormous amount of trainers who haven't had the opportunity
59. comme nous on avait dans le temps Nigel [((gaze to N)) de formation régulière didactique d'activités
like we we had in the past Nigel [((gaze to N)) of regular pedagogic training of activities
60. N [((nod))
61. B que on peut faire (.) comment exploiter des (.) livres des textes avec un contenu professionnel
that we can do (.) how to use the (.) books the texts with a professional content
62. ça=ça change pas [c'est la façon dont on présent
that=that doesn't change [it's the way that we present it

In the initial lines (i.e. 40–42), Beth, through her question, orients to Nigel as the person who owns the solution to the problem and thus has the knowledge to elaborate it; she thus orients to him as the manager of meaning and leader. However, without waiting for a reply she accounts for her question and then enters into a story (Clifton 2014) which re-presents a formulation of the situation that supports Nigel's sensemaking and sets up an alliance between herself and Nigel (Kangasharju 2002). Through such an aligning and supporting move, Beth thus claims co-leadership with Nigel because whilst not seeking to take over Nigel's leadership identity, she

nevertheless takes a turn which buttresses Nigel's stance (i.e. her turn is "designed to 'reinforce' the point of a co-team member's utterance directed at another party. It does this by 'adding' further material onto the utterance which serves to specify or emphasise its point" [Francis 1986, p. 70]).

In lines 45–51, Beth gives the abstract of the story in which she encapsulates the story and the main idea that there are two different types of trainers: experienced and inexperienced. Significant here is that Liz is also made part of this supporting move since, in line 45, Beth notes "we talked about it a bit ((gaze to L))". Thus Beth projects affiliation with her stance onto Liz since by "talking about it" they are implicitly sharing the same stance. She then introduces the main protagonist of the story, Fred, a supposedly experienced teacher. The complicating action is that he observes one of Beth's lessons and even though she does a very 'banal thing', Fred thinks that "it's wonderful" and "I'll do that in my next lesson". Then (lines 58/9), Beth gives the point to the story in the form of an evaluation: "I think that in fact we have an enormous amount of trainers who haven't had the opportunity like we had in the past Nigel ((gaze to N)) of regular pedagogic training of activities", implicitly therefore arguing, in support of Nigel, that what is missing is regular pedagogic training activities, and more specifically (line 62) "it's the way we present it" (i.e. what's missing is training in micro-skills as previously discussed [lines 1–4]).

In line 64, as discussed below, Alice opposes this turn in support of Nigel's proposal and so once again disaffiliates with his stance, thus challenging his leadership moves, but still structurally aligning with the talk in progress, i.e. formulating a state of affairs (the problem) and finding a solution (the decision). As seen in extract five, she does this by pointing out the problem of nonattendance at the training sessions and argues that unless attendance is obligatory nobody will come, yet at the same time if attendance is obligatory everybody will be shocked.⁴

⁴The previous director of the training centre.

Extract five

63. A [ou alors
[or so
64. A le problème c'est que Graham on va quand même lui donner ce qui ce qui lui revient c'est que il a
the problem is that Graham even so we'll give him his due is that
65. même fait beaucoup d'ateliers au cours des années et personne s'inscrivaient ils étaient tous annulées
even so he did many workshops over the years and nobody signed up they were all cancelled
66. les uns après les autres parce que trois personnes assistaient et quelquefois il les faisait quand même
one after the other because three people attended and sometimes he did them anyway
67. mais les professeurs si c'est n'est pas présence obligatoire je suis désolée personne vient les deux
but the trainers if it's not obligatory attendance I'm sorry nobody comes the last two
68. dernières pour les cours téléphone c'était présence obligatoire là ils sont venus me voir
for telephone lessons was obligatory attendance there they came to see me
69. tu nous mets la pression c'est le () c'est quoi ce truc et tout le monde est choqué
you put pressure it's the () what is this thing and everybody is shocked
70. c'est la seule façon d'avoir tous les professeurs dans la même salle en même temps
it's the only way to have all the trainers in the same room at the same time

Through, again, pointing out the problems in Nigel's projection of future action, Alice challenges the proposal and claims for herself entitlement to assess the proposal if she finds it lacking. She thus questions his sensemaking and claims greater epistemic primacy (and thus leader identity) in the action of defining organisational reality and she modifies the proposal by adding that making attendance at the training sessions is "the only way to have all the trainers in the same room at the same time" (line 70). This modified proposal in the form of an assessment of Beth's prior turn requires a conditionally relevant response in the next turn, which is provided by Beth as discussed below:

Extract six

71. B hhh et si on faisait un système où on fait par exemple supposons que on faisait cinq ateliers avec les
 .hh and if we had a system where we do for example suppose we did five workshops with
72. professeurs différents à chaque fois les sujets différents et demander aux professeurs d'assister au
 the different trainers each time different subjects and ask the trainers to attend at
73. moins aux deux ou trois en fonction de leur formation=enfin leur expérience si c'est les anciens il
 least two or three according to their training=well their experience if it's the oldtimers it's
74. faut qu'ils assistent à au moins un atelier si c'est les nouveaux il faut qu'ils faisaient
 necessary that they attend at least one workshop if it's the newbees it's necessary that they do
75. [par exemple
 [for example
76. A [à ce moment-là on revient sur le système de [Nigel c'est un peu système Nigel avec un
 [in that case we come back to the system of [Nigel it's a little bit the system of Nigel with a
77. N [((nod)) ()
78. A passeport ou ils doivent avoir un certain nombre d'ateliers auxquels ils ont assisté
 passport where they have to have a certain number of workshops which they've attended
79. dans [l'année
 during [the year
80. N [((nod))
81. B et qu'ils n'ont pas forcément ()
 and they're not necessarily ()

Beth now authors a further proposal which modifies Alice's proposal and so claims the rights to manage meaning and so do leadership (i.e. lines 71 ff: "suppose we did five workshops with the different trainers each time different subjects and ask the trainers to attend at least two or three according to their training"). Significant here is that in line 76, Alice specifically labels this proposal as 'Nigel's system', thus assigning him ownership of the proposal and attributing Beth a supporting role in this leadership move. Moreover, Nigel aligns and affiliates with this through his nods (Stivers 2008). In labelling this proposal 'Nigel's proposal', Alice confirms Nigel's role in managing meaning and providing a solution to the problem and thus his leader identity.

However, in line 82, having formulated the gist of the proposal, she again negatively evaluates it and disaffiliates with Nigel and by modifying his proposal and so challenging his putative leader identity. Then, despite these misgivings and, whilst still not completely affiliating with Nigel's stance, she does agreement (as discussed below).

Extract seven

82. A mais on va on va pour le fait qu'on va avoir beaucoup de retour négatif sur ce genre
 but we go=we go for the fact that we're going to have a lot of negative feedback on this kind
83. [d'attitude ça m'est égal j'ai dit que deux mille six deux mille sept c'était le
 [of attitude it's all the same to me I said two thousand six two thousand seven was the
84. L [((nod))
85. A chantier pédagogique donc j'ai prévenu tout le monde que de toute façon il y aura des changements
 building site pedagogic so I warned everybody that in any case there will be changes
86. mais ça va râler même s'ils sont payés pour les heures ça va râler c'est tout moi je=je
 but they'll be complaints even if they're paid for the hours there'll be complaints that's it me I=I
87. veux bien je suis tout à fait d'accord mais il faut le savoir il ne faut pas me retourner en disant que ça
 want it I agree fully but it has to be known that you can't come back to me saying that they're
88. râle
 complaining
89. L peut-être ça râle moins si on est moins nombreux aussi parce qu'il est si on est
 maybe there would be less complaining if we're less numerous because if its if we're
90. entre cinq et dix
 between five and ten

In line 82, prefaced by an oppositional 'but', Alice assesses the proposal negatively because "we're going to have a lot of negative feedback". She thus, once again, displays her entitlement to evaluate the proposal and so exercises her 'right' to act as gatekeeper for decisions and to judge other team members' sensemaking/leadership. Thus whilst Nigel and Beth both actively contribute to the decision-making process, Alice through displaying her entitlement to evaluate their proposals claims epistemic primacy and therefore a leader identity. Moreover, through the use of the 'we' she assumes commitment and agreement with the putative decision. In line 86, Alice reiterates her agreement with what has been

labelled Nigel's proposal (cf. line 76): "me I = I want it I agree fully", thus aligning with Nigel's proposal and his leadership move. However, she still does not affiliate completely, pointing out the differing epistemic stances: she knows that trainers will complain, but the others do not know this and so, "you can't come back to me saying that they're complaining" (lines 87/88). She thus once again displays superior epistemic status, which in this instance is unchallenged, and so asserts her 'right' to author organisational reality and so 'does' leadership.

Lines 89–107 have been excluded for reasons of space because they consist of a side sequence (i.e. a break in, rather than termination of, the decision-making talk), initiated by Liz in which the nature of the possible complaints are discussed. The decision-making talk resumes in lines 108 following, and is discussed below:

Extract eight

- 108.A si on le met en place il faut que ça soit suivi parce que d'abord ça coute cher on
if we put it into place it's necessary that there is a follow-up because first that is expensive we
109. a un petit budget formation er le budget formation il est deux virgule six de la masse salariale de la
have a small training budget er the training budget it is two point six of the total wages of the
110. chambre d'accord mais er donc prorateirsé au nombre des personnels de rijsel langues (.) les salaires
chamber okay but er so proraterised to the number of personnel at rijsel langues (.) the wages
111. des professeurs sont tellement beaucoup plus élevés que les salaires de la chambre qu'une journée de
of the trainers are so much higher than the wages of the chamber that one day of
112. formation et j'ai épuisé le budget formation du rijsel langues de toute l'année donc là c'est clair
training and I've used up the training budget of rijsel langues for all the year so there it's obvious
113. il faut donc qu'on pioche sur les réserves du rijsel langues je pense que très peu du monde réalise à
it's necessary that we use the reserves of rijsel languages I think that few people realise
114. quel point vous êtes payés par rapport aux employées du bureau au chambre (.) enfin vous=les
the extent to which you're paid in relation to office workers at the chamber (.) anyway you=the
115. professeurs du rijsel langues c'est très cher (.) donc là: dessous euh moi je veux bien faire les
trainers at rijsel langues it's very expensive (.) so on: that point euh me I want to do the
116. formations mais il faut que ça soit rentabilisé si c'est si c'est pour avoir trois personnes et ça sera
trainings but it's necessary that that is profitable if it's to have three people (.) and it's will always be

117. toujours les mêmes John Smith Jane Reynolds Mathew Honey ah non je=on ne peut pas faire ça va
the same John Smith Jane Reynolds Mathew Honey ah no I=we cannot do it will
118. être=on va exploser le budget et on n'en sort pas donc il faut si à chaque formation s'il y a ()
be=we will explode the budget (.) and we won't get anywhere so it's necessary if there is a ()
119. personnes là je dis oui on fait des ateliers et on les fait régulièrement on peut faire par mois moi je suis
people there I say yes we do the workshops and we do them regularly we can do each month me I'm
120. tout à fait partant pour avoir un atelier par mois pendant un an pour voir comment ça va je trouve que
all for having a workshop a month for a year to see how it goes I think that
121. l'idée est intéressante l'idée d'un passeport en disons on fait un atelier par mois tout le monde doit
the idea is interesting the idea of a passport saying we do a workshop a month everybody must
122. aller aux quatre ou cinq ateliers
go to four or five workshops
- 123.B on peut faire jusqu'au juin
we can do it until June
124. A on peut aller janvier jusqu'en juin six six ateliers et on dit tout le monde doivent assister à trois
we can go januray until june six six workshops and we say everybody must attend three
125. ateliers moi je suis tout à fait partant mais je veux que ces ateliers soient rentabilisés parce que s'ils ne
workshops me I'm all for it but I want these workshops to be profitable because if they're not
126. sont pas je vais avoir du mal à expliquer au chambre qu'on a mangé tout le budget formation
I'm going to have difficulty explaining to the chamber that we've eaten all the training budget
127. pour cinq personnes qui sont venues à trois ateliers
for five people who've came to three workshops
- 128.B le problème des ateliers c'est les horaires
the problem of the workshops is the times

In line 108, returning to the topic of the proposal, Alice modifies the proposal but stating that “if we put it into place it's necessary that there is a follow-up”. In so doing, she displays her rights to evaluate Nigel's initial proposal and in so doing she claims greater epistemic rights to manage the emerging decision, thus mitigating Nigel and Beth's claims to manage meaning and so challenging their leader identity. Furthermore, Alice makes her hierarchic position explicit by using the first

person pronoun ‘I’ and stating that the training budget is her responsibility (line 112: I’ve used up the training budget) and by marking epistemic distance between her and the other team members, she thus shows superior rights to manage meaning (line 113: “few people realise the extent to which you’re paid in relation to office workers at the chamber”). From this knowing position, linked to her hierarchic position, she thus displays superior rights to account for and make sense of the emerging decision. Thus accounting for her proposal now becomes explicitly linked to her hierarchic position and so becomes more authoritative since it makes relevant the structure of the organisation, notably budgetary constraints, to justify her proposal (cf. Clifton 2015).

With the provision that there is a follow-up (her modification) Alice states “I say yes we do the workshops” and then “I’m all for having a workshop a month”. For a proposal to be a decision it needs commitment from the relevant players to be displayed. Since the proposal has already been made by Nigel and jointly authored by Beth and affiliated to, albeit minimally, by Liz, commitment and agreement is assumed rather than explicit. However, it is significant that now the talk shifts from the proposal itself to the timings, thus Beth’s orientation displays her acceptance of the modified proposal itself, timing now being the issue rather than the actual training itself. The (Alice’s) modified proposal is thus oriented to as the decision and talk moves on to the timings of the session (line 123: we can do it until June) rather than the form of the sessions. Thus, it is Alice who has the ‘last word’ and whose turn is oriented to as ‘the decision’ which both describes the organisation “as it is” and fixes future organisational reality (i.e. the solution to the problem).

3.6 Discussion

Decision-making situations, as Castor (2005, p. 480) points out, are contexts for the discursive negotiation of meaning and as such are prime sites for doing leadership and for the emergence of leader identity as the person, or persons, having most influence in the process of managing meaning. However, whilst Hosking (1988, p. 153) notes that the leader is the person, or persons, who emerge from this process through having made particularly salient contributions to the management of meaning, this paper demonstrates that it is difficult to judge who has made *the most* salient contributions. This is because, if leader identity is both emergent on a turn-by-turn basis and distributed throughout the group, it is difficult to attribute it to any one person. This is especially true considering the fact that all the participants contribute to the formulation of the situation, the formulation of the proposal, and the projection of future organisational reality (i.e. the emergent decision) in some way or another. Consequently, who has most influence in this process becomes a moot point. Even though it is Alice, making relevant her identity as hierarchic superior, whose final proposal is oriented to as a decision, in the prior talk *all* the participants have incrementally been part of the decision-making process and all, with the exception of Liz, have on a turn-by-turn basis had a leadership role

by taking turns which manage meaning in some way or other. Thus, it becomes difficult to single out any one person who has most influence.

In the analysis above, Nigel first of all manages meaning by defining the current situation as problematic. This management of meaning is implicitly accepted by all the participants who affiliate with it and an intersubjective version of organisational reality based on Nigel's epistemic primacy is achieved. Nigel is also the person who outlines the solution to the problem and so shapes future organisational reality (i.e. what is needed is training in micro-skills), and indeed the proposal to have training in micro-skills is specifically attributed to Nigel and is labelled "Nigel's system" (line 75). Moreover, this assessment of what needs to be done is performed as a first-positioned assessment which claims epistemic primacy and which talks into being a leader identity for Nigel. As these leadership moves are enacted, both Liz and Beth affiliate with him in second position which confirms his leader identity.

However, since leadership is not a zero sum game and is not the possession of any one person, it can be contested on a turn-by-turn basis. In this case, Alice modifies the proposal thus claiming entitlement to judge Nigel's management of meaning and so she takes over his leader identity. Whilst, on the one hand, Alice consistently aligns with decision-making work through carrying the task in hand forward, she disaffiliates with Nigel's proposal of a future state of affairs because she modifies the proposal and so claims rights to judge it. Finally, it is this modified proposal that is oriented to as having gained the commitment of the participants and the decision that emerges is Alice's modified proposal rather than Nigel's original proposal. Thus, Alice takes over leader identity. It is significant that Alice announces the decision and accounts for it through access to resources that are linked to her hierarchical position. She is thus oriented to as the authorised decision-announcer, which is category bound to her hierarchical identity (cf. Clifton 2009). Thus, in terms of leadership, whilst all the participants are engaged in a process of mutual influence which shifts on a turn-by-turn basis as the decision-making talk is in progress, announcing the final decision is category bound to the hierarchic superior (Alice) who uses this discursive resource to fix a (her) version of organisational reality. Arguably, the hierarchic superior thus still has more influence in managing meaning than the other participants and so it is Alice who emerges as *the* leader. Yet whilst this might talk into being a *primus inter pares* identity, attributing leader identity to Alice would overlook Nigel's sense-making work and the fact that the original proposal is labelled as 'Nigel's'.

Further, the role of Beth in the decision-making talk cannot be ignored either. Beth initially nods and backchannels agreement thus affiliating with Nigel as the proposal emerges and so, on a turn-by-turn basis, talks into being the identity of follower. However, her role is much more active than this and in searching for a solution to the problem she makes a proposal that is retrospectively labelled as 'Nigel's' and so in effect she co-authors the proposal thus also taking on a (co) leader identity. Moreover, since her proposal (line 71 ff.) affiliates with Nigel's proposal to such an extent that it is retrospectively labelled 'Nigel's system', this indicates that through displaying the same stance they are acting as a team and so

are co-authors of the proposal and her turn is bolstering Nigel's prior management of meaning, so becoming co-incumbents of leader identity.

In sum, returning to Huisman's (2001) definition of a decision as a formulation of current or past state of affairs and gaining commitment to a state of future affairs, everybody in the management team contributes to the definition of the situation (especially Nigel), and everybody, to varying degrees, contributes to authoring the future version of organisational reality as it emerges on a turn-by-turn basis. Thus weighing up who has the *most salient* role in this, so that one leader emerges, is a moot point since everybody is involved in the process of reciprocal influence which ebbs and flows on a turn-by-turn basis as leaderidentity is negotiated, acquiesced to, challenged and shared on a turn-by-turn basis. However, it is noticeable that it is Alice who announces the decision and thus fixes the meaning of the decision-making talk. Significantly, she accounts for this by making a superior state of knowledge (i.e. her knowledge of the budget) relevant and that this is linked to her identity of director of the centre. So, whilst the management of meaning, and thus leadership, is distributed across all the participants at the meeting, the discursive resource to announce the decision and so fix organisational meaning is category bound to the hierarchic superior who, arguably, emerges as the leader in the sense that she has *most* influence in managing meaning.

3.7 Conclusions

In conclusion, this paper goes some way to answering the various calls for more research into DL as situated practice which has been criticised for being theoretically rich but empirically poor (Jones 2014). The findings of this paper concur with Gronn's (2002, p. 429) observation that DL can be conceived of as concertive action, in which there is a process of reciprocal influence which:

occurs in a manner akin to a virtuous cycle or zigzagging spiral. Here, A influences B and C, and is influenced in turn by them (i.e., AaB, AaC, and also BaC) with each person subsequently bearing the accumulated effects of successive phases of influence, as they begin influencing one another once again. The internal relationship of the conjoint agents is one of reciprocal influence (Gronn 2002, p. 431).

Thus trying to work out who is most salient in this process is a debatable issue, since leadership is best considered in a holistic sense as a group process in which relationships are formed (and dissolved) within ongoing social processes, such as decision-making, in which leadership practice is constituted. The analysis of this paper therefore supports an argument that there is not one single leader who emerges from the process of decision-making, rather that the identity 'leader' shifts on a turn-by-turn basis so that everybody is potentially a leader as the to and fro of the management of meaning is negotiated. However, the analyses do suggest that resources for fixing organisational meanings may be skewed to the hierarchic superior.

The implication of this is that it makes little sense to attribute leader identity to any one person, even the hierarchic superior. Similarly, if leader identity cannot be attributed to any one person, neither can follower identity since this also shifts on a turn-by-turn basis. The corollary of this is that if the identities leader and follower are inherently unstable as the process of influencing the management of meaning shifts on a turn-by-turn basis, then leadership is better conceived of a relational process (Uhl-Bien 2006) of managing meaning which is distributed across the group. In the light of this anti-essentialist approach to identity, it makes little sense to attribute leader identity to any person in anything other than a very fleeting sense. Therefore, this paper supports a post-heroic view of leadership which “refuses the top-down focus on the leader typical of most leadership literature and discourse” (Crevani et al. 2007, p. 49). Instead it points to the inherent instability in the identities of leader and follower as they shift on a turn-by-turn basis and argues for an approach to leadership that takes account of fact that leadership does not mean that *one* individual must carry out all leadership tasks. This is because some leadership moves can be shared by several people in the group, whereas others (such as announcing the decision) may be category bound to certain identities (such as a chairperson or manager), and so the leadership moves of any individual leader are much less important than the collective leadership provided by members of the collectivity. In conclusion, then, this paper argues that a discursive approach to DL can make visible the fluid nature of leader identity in a way that argues for a post-heroic approach to leadership which takes the (heroic) individual leader out of leadership.

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Chapter 4

Leaders in Times of Change: Stereotypes and Counter-Stereotypes of Leadership Discourse

Cornelia Ilie

4.1 Introduction

In many communities of practice, there is growing awareness about the interdependence between organisational outcomes and the impact of leadership discourses (Putnam and Fairhurst 2001; Clifton 2012). This interdependence tends to acquire particular significance in times of change, when things move in new or different directions and there is sometimes a fine line between success and failure. Manifestations of the trait perspective on leadership can still be felt when the success or failure of a company is stereotypically being assessed in terms of its leader's rhetorical performance and personal charisma (Bass 1990; Harvey 2004). While questioning this overgeneralising perspective, the approach in this chapter envisages leadership, especially leadership branding, as an interactive and relational process that occurs in the context of an organisation and is marked by challenges and opportunity-creating changes (Beerel 2009).

A significant paradox can be noticed in current research on leadership. While current theories of leadership convincingly show that leadership is a distributed and participative process rather than the individual action undertaken by any one person, considerable attention is equally being paid to influential leadership discourses widely circulated in the traditional media, social media and the public sphere, which continue to focus on the profile, role, (mis)behaviour, (in)actions and (un)successful communication skills of the CEO, who is ultimately held responsible and accountable for 'doing' leadership that amounts to change, success or failure of the company. It is particularly symptomatic that nowadays the multilayered leadership performance of a CEO—both discourse-shaped and discourse shaping—is under continuous scrutiny, internally (by board members, collaborators, subordinates) and

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externally (by shareholders, competitors, customers, business analysts, media reporters). The words, phrases, feedback and statements expressed by CEOs are quickly noticed and perceived as the externally directed voice, vision and view of the company. This is why it is relevant to note the emergence and development of the ‘leadership-as-practice’ (L-A-P) movement (Carroll et al. 2008; Raelin 2016a), according to which leadership is conceived of as a practice rather than as residing in the traits or behaviours of particular individuals. A practice is understood in this context as “a coordinative effort among participants who choose through their own rules to achieve a distinctive outcome” (Raelin 2016b, p. 125). The L-A-P approach resonates with closely related leadership traditions, such as collective, shared, distributed and relational leadership. While pointing to the intrinsically collective nature of leadership, L-A-P promoters are at the same time aware that

... leadership may emanate from the actions of particular individuals who, often because of historical reasons, may be able to suggest meaning with a high degree of insight, such as by extracting or providing critical cues, by suggesting behavioral patterns, or by transmitting cultural norms to minimise the range of choices available (Raelin 2016a, p. 4).

For Raelin, leadership becomes evident when agency appears as a constraint to structure: “Using such resources as self-consciousness and deliberation, agents can use individual and collective reflexivity to overturn the historical contexts and expectations imposed on people and institutions” (p. 5). Although agency is normally exhibited during everyday routines, it becomes more visible during moments of crisis, indeterminacy or uncertainty. An individual’s idea or thought may spur other members of the organisation to start a creative initiative, to find a way out in a critical situation or to overcome unexpected challenges or disruptions.

The focus of the present study is on the discursively constructed and publicly displayed performance of CEO leadership in the context of competition-driven organisational change. It explores the focus, scope and essence of discourses of leadership in a comparative perspective, scrutinising the ways in which they contribute to constructing and reconstructing organisational and culture-related identities. From an analytical perspective, CEO leadership is examined as a communicational, relational and context-sensitive phenomenon that is enacted and re-enacted through discursive practice. Drawing on presentations and mission statements of CEOs of two Nordic multi-national companies, Nokia (Finland) and Ericsson (Sweden), a comparative analysis of the challenges of enacting participative leadership is carried out from a discourse-analytical and pragma-rhetorical perspective. Each of the two companies is known to have started with a strong link to their respective national identity, but over time they have often displayed shifting discursive leadership strategies in the national and international context. Nokia is part of the modernisation process of Finnish society and related to a strong national narrative of catching up, while Ericsson represents the continuation of a proud industrial tradition where Swedes for decades have been a most advanced nation (Lindén 2012). Doing leadership, which has been a cornerstone in the process of discursively and interactively articulating the intermittent recontextualisation and re-invention of these two companies, has at times worked differently in the two cases, in terms of innovative change and competitive

advantage. This comparative study exposes stereotypes and counter-stereotypes, providing evidence for the internal and external challenges, as well as the personal and interpersonal dynamics that underlie leadership discursive construction and reconstruction aimed at ensuring a consistently adaptive interconnectedness between a company's values and its competitive qualities.

4.2 Discourse-Driven Change in Professional Organisations

Regarding the attitude to change in professional organisations and practices, different companies, groups and individuals may have different perceptions and develop different and even divergent strategies, e.g. welcoming and embracing change, resisting and avoiding change, promoting or downplaying change. The process of social change raises questions about causal relations, interdependencies, transitional processes, innovative problem-solving, strategic decision-making, all of which construct and get articulated through discourses (Berger and Luckmann 1966). Examining discourses emerging in connection with organisational change enables us to connect particular conceptualisations and representations of leadership in terms of prerequisites, end-goals and relations of power.

The late 1990s and the early twenty-first century vision of change has acquired new connotations due to the fact that, instead of being deemed a one-off event, it is seen as pervasive, recurring and indeterminate. Adopting a systemic leadership approach, Beerel (2009) starts from the assumption that organisations are expected to grapple with change at all levels all the time. They break or recreate new paradigms that do not follow a classic cycle path. As a result, she views leadership as fundamentally concerned with the process of change. John P. Kotter, renowned for his work on leading organisational change, found that unsuccessful transitions almost always fail during at least one of the following phases: generating a sense of urgency, establishing a powerful guiding coalition, developing a vision, communicating the vision clearly and often, removing obstacles, planning for and creating short-term wins, avoiding premature declarations of victory, and embedding changes in the corporate culture (Kotter 1988, 1996). He duly argued that guiding through change may be the ultimate test of a leader—on his view, no business survives over the long term if it cannot reinvent itself, and the final goal is to make fundamental changes in how business is conducted in order to cope with a new, more competitive, market environment. Leaders as leadership agents are expected to first understand the company's competitive situation, market position, technological trends and financial performance, in order to find ways to communicate this information engagingly and motivationally, especially with respect to crises, potential crises or great opportunities that are timely.

In the competitive environments of business organisations, the emergence and dissemination of specific context-based discourse practices undergo constant

recontextualisations across hierarchical, institutional, geographic and cultural boundaries. Processes of social and institutional change construct and get articulated through *discourses of change* and *changes of discourse*. As has been pointed out by Fairhurst and Putnam (2004), organisations may be seen in a perpetual condition of becoming through the ways in which the properties of discourse shape organising. Important transformations often occur when an organisation has a new CEO who is supposed to be an effective leader and to be able to engage in dialogue and communicate appropriately the unavoidability and/or the need for a major change. If the renewal target regards the entire company, the CEO's actions, reactions and interactions are key.

4.3 Theoretical Approaches to Discourses of Leadership

Leadership is a discursive practice in the sense that it is discourse-constituted and discourse-enacted, as well as discourse-shaped and discourse-shaping. Drawing on letters addressed to employees by the CEOs of Nokia and of Ericsson, this investigation examines the ways in which these discourses reflect and shape the performance of corporate leadership identities and of CEO agency role. A notion of agency relevant to this study was developed by Emirbayer and Mische (1998), who see it as a temporally embedded process of social engagement, and at the same time as a variable and always changing phenomenon. The temporality of agency is manifest in the way social actors display different temporal orientations towards past, present, future since in concrete instances of action all three elements are present, although usually one of them predominates. Thus, agency is regarded as a variable and continuously changing phenomenon. A discursive perspective on agency conceptualisation (Emirbayer and Mische 1998; Fairhurst and Connaughton 2014) and on L-A-P (Raelin 2016a, b) underpins the overarching research question of the present analysis: In what ways and to what extent do discourses of leadership and agency overlap, interact and co-construct shared meanings? In their internal and external discourses and interactions, leadership agents refer to and draw from their real and virtual contexts in different ways, selecting and highlighting some aspects as more salient than others, for example by assuming and assigning agency (including responsibility, accountability, a.s.o.), and thereby co-constructing interwoven (individual and collective) agencies.

Since discourses are socially and contextually co-constructed (Phillips and Hardy 2002), they arise through the interplay of discourse, text, and context. In this respect, sociopragmatics (Leech 1983; Thomas 1983) offers relevant analytical tools for a context-sensitive approach to patterns and norms of language use, for example, as they are instantiated in the realisation of speech acts (Austin 1962; Searle 1969, 1975). In order to scrutinise the ways in which discourses of leadership are articulated in the Swedish and the Finnish company, respectively, it is necessary to examine how organisational, cultural and (inter)personal context-specific factors determine particular linguistic choices, and primarily the nature and force of the

speech acts and the corresponding agency-related pronominal forms. Significant aspects of speech act performance are degree of (in)directness, audience involvement and speaker–audience relationship. The insights obtained based on the uses and types of speech acts contribute to a deeper understanding of discourse ‘as action’ and ‘in action’, as well as on its situational, temporal and social context. In particular, the speech acts performed in discourses of leadership can be seen to sometimes reinforce and at other times challenge stereotypical representations of organisationally, interpersonally and culturally situated discursive leadership practices.

Austin’s threefold distinction between three kinds of speech acts (locutionary acts, illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts)—identifiable at discourse micro level with extrapolations at discourse macro level—does not rule out utterances that in practice can perform all three speech acts simultaneously. In such cases, the appropriateness of the performed speech acts needs to be evaluated at the macro level, with reference to broader frames of action and goals than those implicit in the act itself. A contextualised examination of speech acts and indexical pronouns in organisational discourse can contribute to a better understanding of the mechanisms by which change is being articulated. Although theorists set forth several categories of speech acts (e.g. assertives, declaratives, expressives, directives, commissives), many studies on organisational discourse have focused particularly on directives or speech acts meant to bring about a particular state of affairs (Hill and Jones 1992; Heracleous and Marshak 2004). As the present analysis will show, the speech acts used in CEO leadership discourses tend to display a much greater diversity and multifunctionality.

4.4 Leadership Practices at Ericsson and Nokia

While the leader is still stereotypically envisaged as the central and decisive agent of the leadership process, there is little empirical research on the role of CEOs’ leadership discourse in fostering, enacting and legitimising institutional change, or in reinforcing and maintaining the status quo. To address this gap, the present study examines the interrelatedness between organisational change and leadership-enacted discourses, by focusing on two telecommunication companies, Nokia and Ericsson. In both cases, there is a continuous and deliberate search for a way to revolutionise the concept of IT through the development of competitive, highly performing leadership and organisational teams, motivated through strongly articulated commitment discourses.

During their long history, the two Nordic sister companies, Ericsson and Nokia, came to be seen as “the industrial projections of national identity” (Hayward 1995, p. 2) and have gradually become “institutionalized as national champions” (Lindén 2012, p. 119) in Sweden and in Finland, respectively. Nokia and Ericsson are nowadays true multi-national firms with operations all over the world, while at the same time deeply rooted in a national, Swedish or Finnish, economic, social and

political structure. Over time, Ericsson and Nokia have been close partners in the advancement of mobile phone technology based on the Nordic standard of NMT and later the pan-European GSM that led the fields of different competing standards. The success stories of the two companies often followed converging, but sometimes also diverging, directions.

4.4.1 Nokia—Discourse of Leadership and Change

Nokia is a multi-national communications and information technology corporation with the headquarters in Espoo, Finland. The company turned from local into national, then international, and finally into a global wireless communications company. Nokia's history started in 1865 when mining engineer Fredrik Idestam established a groundwood pulp mill and started manufacturing paper, which was an innovative idea at the time. The seeds of the current incarnation of Nokia were planted with the founding of the electronics section of the cable division in 1960 and the production of its first electronic device in 1962. In the late 1980s, a common standard for digital mobile telephony was developed through changes triggered from DES (disrupting existing systems), and this led to the present technology standard commonly referred to as GSM (Global System for Mobile Communications).

Nokia, the flagship company of Finnish Telecom industry, has long been regarded as a transnational corporation which in one sense is dependent upon American shareholders and board members, and in other ways deeply rooted in the Finnish culture. As has been pointed out by Lindén (2012), the leaders of Nokia have generally been able to balance the potential conflict between a Finnish national and corporate identity with American ownership interests.

According to the report on the *Nokia-Our story* website (<http://company.nokia.com/en/about-us/our-company/our-story>), probably the most important strategic change in Nokia's history was made in 1992, when the then CEO Jorma Ollila developed a new strategy and made a crucial decision to concentrate solely on telecommunications. After that strategic change, Nokia saw a huge increase in global sales. By 1998, Nokia's focus on telecommunications and its early investment in GSM technologies had made the company the world's largest mobile phone manufacturer, a position it would hold for 14 consecutive years. In February 2011, Nokia's newly appointed CEO Stephen Elop, a Canadian and former head of Microsoft business division, unveiled a new strategic alliance with Microsoft. However, his decisions resulted in the company making massive financial losses. Finally, in 2014 Nokia's mobile phone business was bought by Microsoft and Elop stood down as Nokia's CEO.

After Nokia had bought back full control of NSN and sold Nokia's phone division to Microsoft Mobile, the India-born Rajeev Suri (who first joined Nokia in 1995, working across the board from production to handling key divisions), was appointed as CEO of Nokia in 2014. He has since led the acquisition of Motorola's

network business, bought Siemens's share in the company, and started a 25-point restructuring that included layoffs, cost cuts and factory shutdowns. Under his leadership, Nokia is developing into a software and services company that will compete with the likes of Ericsson, Huawei and Google. The most recent acquisition is the French Alcatel-Lucent, which positions Nokia as an innovation leader in next-generation technology and services. Suri's leadership discourse style will be the focus of the present investigation.

To retain its entrepreneurial spirit, Nokia has developed a set of values and behaviours across all units and integrated them into its selection processes as well as its performance management system. A key component of its values-based strategy is the emphasis not only on technical skills but also on attitudes and behaviours critical to the creative spirit of the company.

4.4.2 Ericsson—Discourse of Leadership and Change

Ericsson started as the company that Lars Magnus Ericsson founded in 1876, a company that placed Sweden on the world map in the early 1900s by providing telephone networks to countries such as Russia, China and Mexico. Since then, Ericsson, a leading telecom and IP services and technology company, has gone through several stages in its business development. It faced challenges brought about by rapid growth and merging cultures. Having become the pride of the Swedish business community in the 1990s, Ericsson was severely hit by the deep crisis triggered by the Internet and telecom crashes in 2000. At the same time, Nokia, which was much less reliant on systems and the undisputed leader in the mobile phone market, was making huge profits. A quick sequence of reshuffles of Ericsson CEOs took place at that time.

The stock market crashed in 2000 and eventually the solution was for Ericsson to become Sony-Ericsson, which remained in operation until February 2012, when Sony bought out Ericsson's share. Several analysts (cf. Müllern and Elofsson 2006) attributed Ericsson's crisis-related problems to the prevailing leadership and management culture in the company, with a strong and partly elitist, and inward-looking engineering culture. As was pointed out by Eriksson-Zetterquist et al. (2011), Ericsson employees took pride in their new and technologically sophisticated phones, aimed at advanced end-users, primarily business people that they thought preferred function over form. The customers, however, had started to view mobile phones as more than just a technological device—and no company understood it better than Nokia, who had started to focus their production on well-designed and easy-to-use phones that appealed to a younger audience. The people at Ericsson were slow to realise that the design of a mobile phone mattered to many users.

The so-called 'Swedishness' of Ericsson was often stereotypically emphasised by board and leadership team members, especially when recruiting a new CEO. A case in point was the recruitment process in 2002 when the board was looking for a new CEO. The chairman Michael Treschow was searching for a Swede since, in his

opinion, Ericsson is a Swedish company with a Swedish management and a Swedish culture (Karlsson and Lugn 2009). The new CEO recruited in 2003 was indeed a Swede, Carl-Henric Svanberg, who successfully introduced a more informal behaviour and more relaxed leadership communicative style, both of which were signalling strength and self-confidence. For 4 years after his appointment, Ericsson was marked by rapid growth and healthy profits, but when the financial crisis hit the world market in 2008, Ericsson experienced a downturn in sales, even though the company is said to have managed the crisis better than most of its competitors. In 2009 Svanberg left the company and Hans Vestberg, an international Swede who had management positions for Ericsson in China, Brazil, Mexico and the US, was appointed CEO in January 2010. Vestberg, who served as Ericsson's CEO until July 2016, was a leading advocate of the Millennium Development Goals, and for the potential of mobility and broadband to tackle some of the world's most compelling issues such as poverty, health, education and climate change. He actively promoted diversity and inclusion as the basis for innovation and success. His commitment was visible in the appointments he made after becoming CEO, where female representation has grown from 1 to 5.

In July 2016, Hans Vestberg had to resign, after facing pressure to step down as the company, was struggling with profitability in a period of slowing demand and intense competition. A few months later Swedish businessman and board member Börje Ekholm was appointed as new CEO with the mission to turn around the company and drive the next phase in Ericsson's development. Vestberg's leadership discourse style is the focus of the present investigation.

4.5 Value-Based Leadership—Ericsson and Nokia

Cultural values can be seen as the building blocks for behaviour and action in organisations (Kets de Vries 2001). They have an influence on leadership practices and institutional arrangements. Ericsson and Nokia organisational cultures are each guided by a set of core values in their ways of doing business, making decisions, and overall ways of acting, behaving and communicating internally and externally. These core values are specifically spelled out on the two companies' respective websites.

On its website, Ericsson indicates three core values: *Respect*, *Professionalism*, *Perseverance*. They are described as the core values that define Ericsson culture and guide those working for the company in their daily work and in the way they do business. Moreover, these values are presented as guidelines in the company's commitment to its customers—a commitment that is bound by trust, innovation and performance (<https://www.ericsson.com/about-us/our-vision>).

The Nokia core values are similarly described on the company's website as “designed to guide our decisions, our way of working and the responsibility we have towards our customers and other stakeholders. We strive to bring these values to life in how we think, act, behave and communicate in our industry”.

(<http://company.nokia.com/en/about-us/our-company/our-values>). Four values are listed and accounted for as embraced by all employees and executives at Nokia:

Respect—We treat each other with respect and we work hard to earn it from others.
Achievement—We work together to deliver superior results and win in the marketplace.

Renewal—We invest to develop our skills and grow our business.

Challenge—We are never complacent and perpetually question the status quo.

A parallel can be drawn between the sets of core values that guide the two companies. The first of the two sets of core values—*Respect*—is identical for the two companies and is based on a fundamental ethical principle shared by both companies. Nokia's second core value—*Achievement*—may be regarded as related to Ericsson's second and third values—*Professionalism* and *Perseverance* in the sense that achievement marks the outcome of professionalism and perseverance. But what actually makes the difference between the two companies are Nokia's last two core values: *Renewal* and *Challenge*, which point to basically encouraging and fostering an innovative and challenging spirit in the Nokians. For obvious reasons, all these core values are widely used as recurring keywords in both internal and external company documents, CEO letters and statements, press releases, a.s.o., and thereby they play an important role in both reflecting and shaping discursively each of the two corporate cultures, as well as their respective leadership styles and practices. Moreover, it is worth noting that they also contribute to spreading common stereotypes about Swedish and Finnish culture-specific business strategies and corporate leadership styles, which may sometimes lead to unfounded over-generalisations. Ample evidence indicates that the leadership practices of the two companies exhibit several similarities, but also significant differences.

4.6 Stereotypes and Counter-Stereotypes of Nordic Leadership—The Case of Finland and Sweden

As neighbouring Nordic countries, Finland and Sweden share more than 600 years of history and have a political and economic structure that in many respects is so similar that it takes some effort to see what makes them different. Their many similarities have often led to overgeneralisations about an undifferentiated 'Scandinavian culture', with the implicit understanding that all Nordic countries have very similar cultural values (Smith et al. 2003). As a result, the task is particularly challenging when trying to identify and compare their business leadership practices, which are neither homogeneous nor static, and tend to change over time. There is a limit to the degree to which members of an organisation share meanings and processes of sensemaking. Corporate members have asymmetrical access to information and resources to assess and influence policies depending on their level in the hierarchy of power: the everyday life of institutions and organisations is characterised by conflicts, by 'disorders in discourse', by contradictions which are

mystified through myths and other symbols of the institution (Wodak 1996, p. 8). This is why developing fair, flexible and involving leadership practices plays a substantial role in bridging the gaps and bringing employees from all organisational levels together. The following are normally considered to be some of the most widespread stereotypes about Finnish and Swedish cultures as ascribed to business companies such as Nokia and Ericsson.

- Nokia and Ericsson are often stereotypically seen (both in their home countries and abroad) as representing the national identities of Finns and Swedes, respectively, although we know that identities are hardly homogeneous and particularly complex and dynamic phenomena, neither unitary nor static.
- A widely acknowledged view is that in Finland and Sweden business organisations tend to be quite ‘flat’, with power relatively equally distributed. While the two cultures share elements of a so-called ‘Scandinavian type of leadership’ (Tyrstrup 2005), this view can sometimes turn into a stereotype when it is applied indiscriminately to two distinct cultures, which happen to exhibit slightly different models of a basic ‘flat’ power distribution through leadership among peers (Lämsä 2010).
- A principle that is stereotypically assumed to be shared by both Finnish and Swedish cultures is the principle of *consensus* in decision-making, which would reflect their egalitarian and equality values. While it is correct to say that the two cultures are consensus-oriented, this orientation can take different forms in individual instances. Thus, Finnish culture tends to exhibit a “combination of strong consensus and deep controversy” (Luhtakallio 2010, p. 211), and in Swedish culture consensus is seen primarily as a condition for dialogue, but also as a preferred outcome of the dialogue (Czarniawska-Joerges 1993; Ilie 2007).

According to Lämsä (2010), the Swedish leadership and the Swedes are often regarded as the representatives of a softer category of leadership. The Swedish operation in business is usually dominated by efforts towards consensus because the Swedes try to avoid conflicts. To them it is important that all agree on the matters to be decided and commit to them (Ekwall and Karlsson 1999). In Sweden, leadership is performance-oriented and less person centred, which practically means that decision-making and implementation are preceded by a long time of planning, discussion and organising, as all the co-workers are expected to be committed behind the common goal. This may perhaps explain why Finns consider that the Swedish decision-making is slow and often even cumbersome because the consensus among all is applied literally and that also delays progress in moving ahead. At the same time, a counter-stereotype has been identified by Lämsä, who found that some Finns see that applying the consensus of the Swedes is only apparent and that in spite of discussions the Swedish leader ultimately makes a decision on the matters and has a very strong position within its organisation. By contrast, Lämsä found that Finnish leadership style is often described as straightforward and more authoritative, and Finnish leaders are perceived as strong authorities who ultimately bear the responsibility and are able to make important decisions by themselves.

Unlike its Swedish counterpart, Finnish leadership style is characterised by rapid decision-making, since Finns do not favour small talk, but go straight to the point in business negotiations so that the implementation itself can be achieved as soon as possible. Finns are also seen as direct and outspoken communicators (Niitamo 2006), whereas Swedes try to avoid conflicts, since for them it is important that all agree on the matters to be decided and commit to them.

According to the late Veli-Pekka Niitamo, former director of Research at Nokia's headquarters in Espoo, the Nokia culture promotes intervention, contradiction and difference of opinion. "For us, teamwork isn't a vision of great harmony. [...] We expect our people to come up with their own views and fight for them. We show a high respect for individuals who are prepared to take risks and are not afraid to admit mistakes. At the same time, we admire people for being humble, no matter how great their accomplishments are" (Blau 2003, p. 6). Moreover, according to Nokia's operational governance and structure, the CEO "has full accountability for the performance of the company".

4.7 Leadership Discourse Stereotypes—The Case of CEO Letters

In order to analyse and compare the whys and hows of leadership discourse as discourse-in-action in two Nordic companies, the present investigation focuses on the respective CEOs' letters to employees. Although these discourse genres are normally included in the overarching genre of professional business discourse, they belong rather to a hybrid genre that normally displays elements of both personal/interpersonal and professional discourse genres. These particular discourse elements are significant because, on the one hand, they are rooted in corporate culture and leadership power, while on the other hand, they are meant to project the integration of individual leaders' identities and commitments into the leadership discourse practices informed by the respective corporate values and policies. As leadership actors, CEOs impact the situational context of their company as much as they are impacted by it.

CEO letters and the discourse of CEOs generally, constitute underexplored leadership discourse genres whereby the CEOs' power is manifest in their attempts to reframe reality for organisational actors by setting a tone at the top (Amernic et al. 2010, p. 33). In general, the CEO letter to stakeholders is considered an important part of the annual report. It is intended to communicate commitment, achieve persuasive purposes and at the same time it takes the opportunity to address issues concerning the company, the industry and the wider society. As has been pointed out by Amernic et al. (2010, p. 26), "such letters are narrative accountability texts offering valuable insight to the motives, attitudes and mental models of management". The aim of a CEO letter is to build credibility, to impart confidence, to highlight visions and to convince the audience (i.e. investors, shareholders,

stakeholders...) that the company is pursuing effective strategies, and delivering profitable performance. This letter functions as a personal and public statement with multiple potentialities: through it, the CEO of a major corporation exercises his/her power to define social reality for corporate stakeholders, thus shaping the context in which events or proposals are perceived and understood by the public. Amernic and Craig (2006) justify the importance of CEO letters by arguing that they help readers to comprehend how powerful corporate leaders make sense of the world and attempt to engage the active support and involvement of employees and other key stakeholders. According to Amernic et al. (2010, p. 32), a CEO annual letter “can define how performance will be measured and assessed; set out a business model, strategy, vision or direction; instil confidence; and be an accountability report on the organisation’s success or failure in attaining goals”. The message conveyed in such a letter is conveyed in an inherently strategic form of ‘sensemaking’, offering valuable insights into the motives, attitudes and mental models of leadership by identifying, labelling and organising phenomena such as events and ideas. After all, on Argenti and Forman’s view (2004), a CEO is considered the most credible voice of an organisation since he/she is well situated to communicate the company’s position and core values, and also articulate its major issues of interest.

Kohut and Segars (1992) used a content analysis approach to company presidents’ letters in order to identify and compare the most frequent themes in low performing and high performing companies. These themes were mostly related to the goals and performance levels of the respective companies. In a rhetorical approach to the study of management statements, Hyland (1998) focused on the use of metadiscourse items in CEO’s and director’s letters. The results of his analysis indicate that metadiscourse items were used in CEO’s letters two and half times more often than in director’s letters and included six times more interpersonal items. The author found that this noticeable difference derived from the distinctive features of the communicative purpose of the two types of letters rather than difference in format. In a more recent study conducted by Conaway and Wardrope (2010), a comparative thematic analysis was carried out between CEO’s letters from U.S. companies and CEO’s letters from Latin American companies. The results of the stylistic analysis revealed that American letters were longer than Latin American letters, yet Latin American letters contained more topics. The authors found that the differences between the two sets of samples were the result of different rhetorical choices rather than cultural variations. In another comparative study, Hendriks and Van Mulken (2011) found that the discourses of the CEOs of two distinct Western cultures in charge of the same MNC tended to converge stylistically: apparently, the leadership style overruled the intercultural differences between the CEOs.

The focus of earlier studies like the ones reviewed above was not on contextualised micro-level discourse analysis of the specific factors shaping the interplay between corporate culture and leadership practice, on the one hand, and CEO’s background and leadership style, on the other. To bridge this gap, the present investigation sets out to explore and compare the strategies of leadership discourse used in the letters to employees of the CEOs of two Nordic multi-national telecom companies, Nokia and Ericsson. There are several commonalities between Hans

Vestberg, Ericsson's latest CEO and Rajeev Suri, Nokia's current CEO. Both of them belong to the same generation of leaders—Vestberg was born in 1965, Suri in 1967—and had worked for about two decades for their companies prior to being appointed CEOs—Vestberg joined Ericsson in 1991, Suri joined Nokia in 1995. They have international working experience—Vestberg has worked for Ericsson in China, Brazil, Mexico and the US, Suri has worked in India, Nigeria, Finland, UK and Singapore—and held leadership positions in their respective companies before being appointed CEOs. It is therefore interesting to examine, against the backdrop of these commonalities, the elements that distinguish them in terms of their leadership discourse styles as they are manifest in their first CEO letters to employees.

4.8 Challenging Leadership Discourse Stereotypes— Nokia CEO's Letter to Employees

As has already been indicated, Rajeev Suri is the current CEO of Nokia and the second non-Finnish CEO (after Stephen Elop). His first letter to Nokia's employees, which was made public in connection with his appointment as CEO (on 3 April 2014), serves both informational and motivational goals. Its informational goals consist primarily in personal self-disclosure (sharing personal facts and preferences, and providing a personal accountability narrative) and ventriloquising organisational mission, values and long-term plans. The CEO's motivational goals are meant to reflect and reinforce the organisational core values, to highlight shared experiences, to indicate opportunities and point to challenges to be overcome, while promoting a common organisational identity and commitment.

Rajeev Suri starts his letter on a pathos-driven rhetorical note as he seeks to reinforce the legitimacy of his newly assumed leadership position. He does this by highlighting the emotions he is experiencing on this occasion (underlined in Excerpt 1), which are being implicitly linked to the foremost values that characterise the company.

(1)

It is with great humility, respect and excitement that I take on the role of Chief Executive Officer of Nokia.

Humility, because I know how important the company is to so many people around the world. This starts in Finland, our headquarters and home, but goes well beyond to those many places where the Nokia brand remains such an important symbol.

Respect, because I have learned the power of what is at the heart of Nokia. Responsibility. Integrity. Inclusiveness. Innovation. These words and others have defined the company and, in turn, have partly defined me. With almost 20 years at the company, I am part of Nokia and Nokia is part of me.

Excitement, because I see the opportunity ahead of us. The world of technology is changing fast and we have the superb people and strong businesses necessary to play a meaningful role in this change. It won't be easy, and will require hard work and some tough decisions about how to prioritise our efforts, but I am confident that we have a bright future together.

The very first statement in Suri's letter is framed as what I propose to call a complex speech act, which in this case is an expressive speech act juxtaposed with a declarative: "It is with great *humility, respect and excitement* that *I take on the role of Chief Executive Officer of Nokia*". This complex speech act is meant to confer legitimacy to his new leadership role while at the same time making his feelings explicit. Declarative speech acts (Austin 1962) normally rely on institutional context for their successful performance. An action such as taking on the role of CEO counts as an 'institutionalized speech act' (Huang 2014, p. 134), and the way in which it is performed is both culture specific and organisation specific. Expressing a feeling of humility is here more than an instantiation of audience-oriented rhetorical pathos, it is an expected attitude to be taken in the context of flat business organisational structures that characterise Finnish (and other Nordic) companies. The next key notion, respect, coincides with the very first of Nokia's core values, and Suri uses it skillfully, alongside with related values, to define Nokia and also to self-define as someone who has already (during 20 years at Nokia) identified himself with the company: "*These words and others have defined the company and, in turn, have partly defined me [...] I am part of Nokia and Nokia is part of me*". After openly expressing excitement, Suri shows self-assurance and determination on delivering a tough message to his employees about the tasks ahead, while at the same time showing his commitment and confidence about the future: "*It won't be easy, and will require hard work and some tough decisions about how to prioritise our efforts*, but I am confident that we have a bright future together". Obviously his aim is to engage people's emotions and commitment, as he defines a shared reality in line with the mission and goals of the company. His story is meant to prove that he, born in India and a world traveller, has developed, during his 20 years at Nokia, a Finnish leadership style according to which, as was mentioned earlier, CEOs and leaders, in general, do not shy away from delivering unpleasant news, and they are also quick to listen and take responsibility for turning things around.

Since Nokia is a multi-national corporation, Suri's letter is implicitly aimed at a multicultural workforce. A major challenge for such a letter in a Finland-based multi-national company consists in articulating an energising and goal-unifying discourse that succeeds in targeting and involving a diverse audience of company employees in terms of cultural, educational and professional background. Here is how Suri continues his self-presentation:

(2)

I consider myself an international citizen: born in India, raised in Kuwait, university in India, and a career that has involved living in India, Singapore, Finland (twice), the U.K. and Nigeria. While the fact that my preferred cricket team comes from India may say something about my roots, I now have friends, family and colleagues in many, many countries. As a result, I tend to focus more on people than on place.

In the underlined passages in (2) above, Suri is open and straightforward in self-defining ("*I consider myself an international citizen*") and expressing his beliefs ("*I tend to focus more on people than on place*"), so as to engage and gain the trust of his employees, many of whom constitute an international workforce in

this Finland-based multi-national company. By pointing to his own culturally and professionally diverse background, he is identifying with the reality of many employees, establishing a closer proximity through the bond of commonalities and shared experience. It is significant that, while claiming to belong to the category of international citizens, Suri is careful to counterbalance that very statement with his equally strong claim to Finnish belonging:

(3)

As CEO of Nokia, my place is clearly in Finland, where I have lived since 2009 and where I plan to spend even more time than I have in the past . My family will be with me when they can, although this is not always easy as my youngest child is finishing high school on one continent, my eldest is in college on another, and my wife Nina is an entrepreneur with a business that has offices in Singapore, London and the United States. Despite these challenges, however, my family has always been, and will always be, the center of my life.

In Excerpt (3) Suri mitigates his claim to international citizenship by providing a complementary claim of belonging to Finland in his capacity of CEO. He does this by means of two symbolic speech acts: an assertive speech act (“*As CEO of Nokia, my place is clearly in Finland, where I have lived since 2009*”) and a commissive speech act (“*I plan to spend even more time [in Finland] than I have in the past*”). According to Austin (1962), commissives are those speech acts that commit the speaker to some future course of action, and convey his/her determination to act accordingly. By juxtaposing the two speech acts (assertive and commissive), Suri seeks to emphasise that there is no incompatibility between his international citizenship and his Finnish affiliation, thus aligning himself with Nokia’s cosmopolitan workforce, with diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. He is thereby challenging the stereotypical separation of the two claims (either-or), highlighting instead their complementarity (both-and). Here the counter-stereotypical element in Suri’s rhetoric is the claim to Finnish belonging as much as to multiculturalism.

After finishing his introductory self-presentation, Suri makes an explicit move to the next section of the letter: “But enough about *me*. Let’s turn to *us*”. This discursive shift is marked by switching over from the self-targeting first person pronoun ‘me’ to the inclusive deictic first person plural pronoun ‘us’. In the next statement, the reference to his own leadership approach (“How *I* think about *our* businesses ...”) is correlated with a collectively projected commitment and is delivered on a confident and optimistic note:

(4)

In order to most effectively seize these opportunities, each of our businesses will have its own unique strategy, and each will be optimised for success in its particular market. Our approach as a company will not be just about cost or just about innovation; or just about independence or just about synergies. Indeed, it will not be “just” about any one thing. Rather, it will be about how we create the conditions for every part of our company to succeed and maximise shareholder value.

In laying out a less centralised, though top-monitored, vision of leadership, Suri pursues a twofold aim: on the one hand, this vision is designed to empower employees in ‘each of our businesses’ and ‘every part of our company’ to develop

their unique strategy, and on the other hand, it is designed to highlight the corporate goal to succeed and the shared concern for maximising 'shareholder value'. Through the second aim, his leadership style is in line with Finnish traditional leadership style, while the first aim challenges the stereotypical Finnish authoritative style of leadership in that he is not simply seeking to engage people's commitment to adopting a new business agenda, but he is involving employees in a plan that enables them to develop their unique strategy in 'each of *our* businesses' and 'every part of *our* company'. The use of commissive speech acts enhances the persuasive force of this message: "each of our businesses will have its own unique strategy, and each will be optimised for success in its particular market". At the same time, as illustrated in (5) below, Suri also signals a realistic attitude to change in order not to raise false expectations:

(5)

The Nokia that I grew up in, and that many of you grew up in, is no more. That is the simple reality. The company today is made of many parts, some of them only relatively recent additions, such as the former Navteq, and the networks businesses from Siemens and Motorola. And, of course, the D&S business that was so central for so long is now with Microsoft.

Part of enabling each business to focus on innovation, on creating great products and services, and on delivering for customers will also be about removing unnecessary distractions. Where we can do so in a way that makes sense, we will share common infrastructure, back-office tools and processes, and other things that can be managed efficiently at a central level, while still meeting business requirements. But we will approach any changes in these areas prudently, as it makes no sense to miss a large potential upside in favor of a relatively small cost gain.

The statement "The Nokia that *I* grew up in, and that *many of you* grew up in, is no more" makes a bold, unmitigated claim about the radical paradigm change that Nokia has been going through. The persuasive force of this assertive speech act derives from personal experience that he ('I') shares with many employees ('many of you'). Defining a reality around which the employees can rally contributes to enhancing his credibility as a trustworthy leader. While in the first (self-presentation) part of this CEO letter, commissive speech acts framed in the first person singular ('I') were used by Suri to express personal commitments, in this second (trust-building) part his commissive speech acts are performed as a multiple agency in the inclusive first person plural ('we') since they are aimed at consolidating a common organisational identity and involving employees in the joint performance of organisational tasks: '*we will share common infrastructure, ...*'; '*we will approach any changes in these areas prudently*'. By specifically adding the qualifier 'prudently', Suri signals that he will balance vision and reality across a diverse spectrum of organisational changes and employee needs, opting for a carefully planned and prudent approach. Indicating that Nokia is confronted with a new reality and needs to overcome serious challenges ('removing unnecessary distractions'), he wants to be perceived as a responsible agent of change who is determined to avoid unnecessary risk-taking or shortsighted pursuit of 'small cost gain'. Rather than showing hesitation in front of unprecedented challenges, or, on the contrary, mindlessly carrying

out changes, he assumes instead the pioneering role of a visionary, but careful, leader in times of change. Suri's determination and courage are in line with the Finnish leadership stereotype, but he also displays a counter-stereotypical trait when he recommends exercising prudence when making changes. In Excerpt (6) below Suri spells out the main elements of his leadership credo.

(6)

Given this, we must set our sights solely on the future, and spend no time on trying to re-create what once was. We must have the courage to know what to leave behind; to know what we must change and renew.

As we think about these issues, one of the most critical things we have to address is culture. We need shared values and common cultural threads, but we also need to be flexible enough to be different where it makes sense. Common elements, yes. One single monolithic approach applied across all of Nokia? Absolutely not.

The inclusive use of the first person plural pronoun 'we' which is recurrent in (6) is meant to convey a sense of shared purpose, by motivating and engaging Nokia's employees in a joint commitment to future organisational initiatives. Apart from eliciting a future course of action (Searle 1969, 1995), the corresponding directive speech acts serve here to induce confidence in Nokia's leadership and to mobilise the workforce for commonly targeted actions: '*we must set our sights solely on the future*'; "*We must have the courage to know what to leave behind; to know what we must change and renew*". Being himself an embodiment of Nokia's multicultural workforce, Suri voices his awareness of the defining and decisive role played by cultural diversity in a multicultural organisation like Nokia: "*As we think about these issues, one of the most critical things we have to address is culture*". While expressing commitment to cultural diversity, he seizes this opportunity to appeal to the participative role of his co-workers in addressing cultural issues by embracing shared values and common cultural threads. He does this by emphasising his support for a policy of inclusiveness and by encouraging employee participation through the use of the first person plural pronoun 'we': "*As we think about these issues, [...]*". This is Suri's way of enacting a participative style of leadership whereby he is implicitly upholding three of Nokia's core values: Achievement, Renewal and Change. At the same time, while highlighting the need for embracing 'shared values and common cultural threads', he also recommends flexibility and open-mindedness with regard to organisational culture and acceptance of differences. In the last (relationship-building) part of his letter, after his self-presentation and the presentation of goals and commitments shared with employees, Suri addresses the latter directly, as illustrated in Excerpt (7).

(7)

Over my time at Nokia I have held about a dozen different jobs, each one requiring new learning. I never want to be limited by what I know today, by what is familiar. [...] I will be asking a lot of questions, and for your full support. I need your help to ensure that I have a full understanding of your business, your customers, your products, and your services.

The statements in (7) are emphasising and summing up Suri's leadership philosophy in that they correlate his past experiences with future visions whose achievement is crucially dependent on the integration of the company's core values in task-performing activities. He resumes the self-disclosure narrative mode that he used at the beginning of the letter, this time to uphold his constant eagerness to learn (*"I have held about a dozen different jobs, each one requiring new learning. I never want to be limited by what I know today, by what is familiar"*.) and to ask questions (*"I will be asking a lot of questions"*), both of which resonate with and correspond to two of Nokia's core values: Renewal and Challenge. Suri emerges here as an enabler of participative leadership, encouraging a consultation dialogue as a two-way street, i.e. both sharing experience with co-workers and motivating them to share information and ideas. By listening and valuing feedback from each member of the company, he signals that he is promoting an organisational culture of participation and dialogue.

The examination of Rajeev Suri's first letter as CEO of Nokia reveals a multi-dimensional leadership style in terms of strength of purpose, topical focus, level of commitment, discursive strategies, audience involvement and relationship-building. His style exhibits both stereotypical and counter-stereotypical patterns of CEO leadership discourse. While generally following a Finnish leadership model that is consensus-based, but also partly authoritative, he also displays the features of a participative leadership discourse whose aim is to motivate and empower the workforce to actively and jointly participate in vision creation, goal setting and problem-solving.

4.9 Leadership Discourse Stereotypes—Ericsson CEO's Letter to Employees

As already indicated, Hans Vestberg served as the CEO of Ericsson between 2010 and 25 July 2016. During his first years as CEO, the company solidified its strong position and reputation in the international market. He concentrated on streamlining Ericsson's business by focusing on infrastructure equipment and getting out of the device business. More recently, he assumed, in addition to his CEO position at Ericsson, a number of leadership roles in other external organisations: Chairman of the Swedish Handball Federation since 2007, Chairman of the Swedish Olympic Committee, member of the Leadership Council of the United Nation's Sustainable Development Solutions Network.

After months of criticism, with Swedish media questioning his pay and many external leadership assignments, and following increasing discontent among stockholders due to fall in net sales and a 26% plunge in net income, Vestberg was forced to step down on 25 July 2016.

Hans Vestberg's first letter as CEO to Ericsson's employees (2010) is rather atypical in that it does not follow the normally used pattern of starting with a self-presentation and continuing with vision presentation and relationship building, by connecting informational and motivational goals. Unlike Nokia's CEO Suri, who started and ended his letter with personal and emotional self-disclosure, Vestberg, in spite of his international experience, can be seen to comply with a traditional Swedish stereotype of non-assertiveness, i.e. avoiding self-centred discourse that focuses on personal preferences and performance. This is a tendency that has been pointed out by several Swedish researchers, including Holmberg and Åkerblom (2007), "Strong emotions are rarely expressed openly in Sweden, so indirect forms are used instead as compensation" (2007, p. 11). Nevertheless, even by Swedish standards, the way in which Vestberg starts his letter is unexpectedly un-rhetorical: the first statements provide, on a neutral and impersonal note, a matter-of-fact evaluation of the previous year's investment and financial performance: "*2009 was a year of mixed trends and with varied operator investment behaviour. Some markets were impacted by the financial climate while others continued to show growth*". These are statements that could very well have been made by a neutral external observer. Vestberg starts discussing Ericsson's performance results only in the second paragraph, as illustrated in (8).

(8)

Our Group sales for the full year, however, were flat and the operating margin increased slightly. Despite the challenging economic environment we maintained market shares, cash flow was good and our financial position remained strong. During the year we undertook significant cost reduction activities. These, in combination with large losses in our joint ventures, affected our earnings negatively. However, cost reductions will result in reduced cost base going forward and our joint ventures remain on track to return to profit.

Adopting a flat, unsophisticated narrative style, Vestberg gives a brief summary of Ericsson's unsatisfactory market results, which he accounts for in terms of the 'challenging economic environment' during the previous year. Worth noting is the absence of human agents, with the exception of two instances: 'we[1] maintained market shares' and 'we[2] undertook significant cost reduction activities'. Although in both cases the agent is the first person plural pronoun 'we', it is not necessarily used to underpin a commitment shared by employees and the leadership team. Instead, this pronominal agent fulfils two different indexical functions: we[1] refers to the company as a whole, whereas we[2] refers solely to the company's leadership team. Significantly, human agents are missing from the rest of the statements, where the situation is explained by means of exclusively non-human (inanimate) agents: '*Group sales*', '*the operating margin*', '*cash flow*', '*financial position*', '*cost reductions*', '*joint ventures*'. It is symptomatic that no human agents are held accountable for the negative results: "During the year we undertook *significant cost reduction activities. These, in combination with large losses in our joint ventures, affected our earnings negatively*". The bottom line underlying his message is that not a human, but a non-human agent, i.e. 'significant cost reduction activities' (=these), is the cause of the company's underperformance: 'These [...]

affected our earnings negatively'. Such a strategy is somehow predictable in manipulative leadership discourse, since in times of low performance levels or severe losses, leadership representatives tend to deliver the bad news strategically by pointing to external circumstances and events, so as to avoid taking responsibility (Thomas 1997). Consequently, in these situations we are likely to notice an absence of assertive speech acts and a reduced number of occurrences of the first person pronoun 'I' or 'we'. Instead the emphasis is placed on outside factors as the source of the company's problems.

After dealing with the past in rather impersonal terms, Vestberg is eventually turning to the future as he offers his perspective on the new upcoming opportunities and challenges, as illustrated in (9) below:

(9)

It is now 2010 and we have a new decade ahead of us. A decade of new opportunities and new challenges. Telecoms is no longer about voice only. We do not just connect places and people. We also connect machines and devices. We connect the developing world to the developed world, rural areas to urban areas. Telecoms is the nervous system of the world.

In Ericsson we have a vision for this new decade – that there will be 50 billion connected devices. We will connect people with for example heart problems to remote monitoring systems so they can stay in the comfort of their homes, and we will connect our cars and trucks to smart road systems for safer driving and better fuel economy. Broadband networks will be the backbone of our smart cities, where houses will be connected so we can monitor and manage power consumption.

In the first paragraph of Excerpt (9), Vestberg gives an overview of the recent effects of the unprecedented growth of connectivity of places and people that has been made possible thanks to Telecoms. Judging by the concluding statement of the first paragraph, these assertive speech acts ("*We do not just connect places and people*"; "*We also connect machines and devices*"; "*We connect the developing world to the developed world, rural areas to urban areas*") apply to Telecoms in general and not to Ericsson in particular: "Telecoms is the nervous system of the world". Here the recurrent first person plural pronoun 'we' is used generically to include people in general. It is in the next paragraph that Vestberg seeks to emerge in a leadership role as a visionary as he shares his vision about the future of Ericsson. His ideas are expressed by means of successive commissive speech acts performed in the first person plural 'we': "*We will connect people*"; "*we will connect our cars and trucks to smart road systems*". However, these statements can hardly make an impact on the audience, since they fail to outline a clear focus and a shared commitment to core values and goals for the joint work that lies ahead. In particular, Vestberg's rather unengaging leadership discourse style is not likely to raise huge enthusiasm among employees with culturally diverse backgrounds. Traditionally, in a Swedish organisational culture, leadership discourse used to be rather unfocused and open-ended, as Edström and Jönsson (1998) explain in their book:

Swedish leadership is vague and imprecise [...] the typical Swedish order is 'See what you can do about it!' What does it mean? It obviously has to do with a far-reaching delegation of authority. Managers who say 'See what you can do about it!' demonstrate trust for their

co-workers. It is also a matter of the execution of control by a common understanding of the problem, rather than direct orders. This must be regarded as a strength with the egalitarian Swedish society (Edström and Jönsson 1998, p. 167).

However, in an increasingly global world with very high levels of dynamics, complexity and competitiveness, this stereotypical Swedish leadership pattern has been undergoing considerable changes lately. Swedish leaders may still prefer to practice a leadership based on an informal and coaching role that leaves space for own initiatives, but they have also started to adjust their leadership styles by providing straightforward guidelines, establishing clear targets, and, above all, engaging and inspiring their co-workers to do their best (Holmberg and Åkerblom 2006). As a result, recent studies on Swedish leadership have pointed out a rather paradoxical situation with a combination of autonomy and team integration, which can be understood as a mirror of the peculiar Swedish combination of individualism and independence on the one hand, and collectivism and cooperation on the other (Holmberg and Åkerblom 2007). The reason provided by Holmberg and Åkerblom for this situation is that “Swedes are generally very suspicious to ready-made ideas or solutions” (2007, p. 34) and the unifying component in a Swedish team is primarily the commitment to performance and the achievement of the end-goal. Consequently, leadership necessarily involves being able to communicate the vision by managing the collective creation of it. From this point of view, Vestberg’s letter does not entirely follow the stereotypical Swedish leadership discourse. His style exhibits an insufficient sense of connectedness with the audience as he simply lists the company’s goals without providing concrete, value-based motivation, as illustrated in Excerpt (10).

(10)

Our business is about both technology and services. We have to be consultants; we have to be able to develop complex network management systems, we have to be able to integrate systems and solutions from many different suppliers and vendors. In addition, we should be able to deliver the best revenue management solutions and multimedia applications the consumers have ever seen.

This new decade requires a lot from us. We will have to change our ways of working. Our success will be determined by our ability to see beyond technology, stay ahead of our customers and solve problems before they even arise.

After specifying that the organisation is going to concentrate on technology and services, Vestberg spells out the future goals in terms of ability-based tasks (“we have to ...”; *we have to be able to ...*; “we will have to ...”), but without giving any indication of relationship-building around Ericsson core values and with no appeal to the emotional involvement of the employees. More importantly, his directive speech acts conveyed by the deontic modal verbs (‘we have to’, ‘we should’) seem to articulate a sense of professional obligation rather than genuine commitment and “we can do it together” feeling. It is difficult to see how the way in which these directives are framed can generate enthusiasm or contribute to

energising the workforce. Vestberg, who is known for his long-term policy orientation, is simply ventriloquising the agenda-setting for the ‘new decade’ in terms of organisational mission and goals. But in the process he loses sight of the short-term objectives and the need to motivate the employees to embrace the change by appealing to shared core values and a sense of belonging to Ericsson. The measures of success indicated by him in the last statement above are exclusively performance-oriented with no inspirational appeal to collective commitment, organisational belonging, and interpersonal bonding. Excerpt (11) reproduces the last two paragraphs of the letter, which reiterate some of the ideas advanced in the preceding paragraphs.

(11)

We have exciting developments ahead. The future will require us to be agile, brave and focused on performance in all we do.

I am proud and honored to lead Ericsson into a new decade where we will undoubtedly break new ground. Even more people and devices will share information across the world.

Usually, the first and the last statements of a CEO’s letter to employees are supposed to carry important messages. The last statements may serve to outline the CEO’s particular leadership style, to foreground a common vision for the future of the organisation, and/or to provide motivations for a shared commitment with the workforce to the goals and values of the organisation. In this case, the last but one paragraph starts with a positive, though relatively vague, message: “*We have* exciting developments ahead”. It is difficult to see how this minimally informative sentence with no active verb (‘we have’) would manage to engage and generate spontaneous support among employees. The vagueness is not dispelled in the next sentence, which displays a non-human agent (‘*the future*’) and upholds ‘performance’ as an overarching target, but without providing further motivational or vision-anchored explanations. The very last paragraph contains the only sentence in the whole letter which is delivered in the first person singular pronoun ‘I’: “I am proud and honored to lead Ericsson into a new decade where we will undoubtedly break new ground”. Vestberg’s approach to self-presentation is totally different from Suri’s approach in two respects: first, Suri starts his letter with the self-presentation (“It is with great humility, respect and excitement that I take on the role of Chief Executive Officer of Nokia”), whereas Vestberg ends his letter with the self-presentation; second, Suri highlights the emotions he is experiencing and skillfully links them to the core values of the organisation, whereas Vestberg is extremely concise, providing only minimum insight into his feelings.

Vestberg’s style exhibits both stereotypical and counter-stereotypical patterns of CEO leadership discourse. While generally following a Swedish leadership model that is consensus-based, he also enacts the features of a laissez-faire leadership discourse whereby he assigns considerable responsibility with subordinates, but without setting clear guidelines or trying to reach a collective commitment.

4.10 Concluding Remarks

Organisational culture contexts and social practices generate implicit models of leadership that are enacted based on institutionally and culturally grounded values. The focus of the present investigation was on the discursively articulated performance of leadership in the context of competition-driven organisational change. It explored stereotypes and counter-stereotypes in discourses of leadership in a comparative perspective, scrutinising the ways in which they contribute to constructing and reconstructing corporate and culture-related identities, as well as being impacted by them. Drawing on presentations in letters to employees by the CEOs of two multi-national companies, Nokia (Finland) and Ericsson (Sweden), a comparative analysis of the challenges of leadership discourse practices was carried out in a discourse-analytical and pragma-rhetorical perspective. Doing leadership, which has been a cornerstone in discursively and interactively articulating the re-contextualisation and re-invention of these two companies, has often worked differently in the two cases, in terms of innovative change and competitive advantage. This comparison provides evidence for the varying internal and external challenges underlying leadership discursive construction and reconstruction aimed at ensuring shared commitment and interconnectedness between a company's values and its competitive performance qualities.

Starting with commonalities, the analysis has revealed a number of significant differences between the leadership discourse styles displayed by two CEOs, Nokia's CEO Rajeev Suri and Ericsson's CEO Hans Vestberg. Two main categories of stereotypes have been revealed: on the one hand, the stereotypical representation of Finnish and Swedish leadership practices as undifferentiated 'Scandinavian'; on the other hand, the stereotypical representation of each of the two leadership practices as 'homogeneous' and enacting national identity features.

The examination of Rajeev Suri's first letter as CEO of Nokia reveals a multi-dimensional leadership style in terms of strength of purpose, topical focus, level of commitment, discursive strategies, audience involvement and relationship-building. His style exhibits both stereotypical and counter-stereotypical patterns of CEO leadership discourse. While generally following a Finnish leadership model that is consensus based, but also partly authoritative, he also displays the features of a participative leadership discourse whose aim is to motivate and empower the workforce to actively and jointly participate in vision creation, goal setting and problem-solving.

Vestberg's style exhibits both stereotypical and counter-stereotypical patterns of CEO leadership discourse. While generally following a Swedish leadership model that is consensus based, he also enacts the features of a *laissez-faire* leadership discourse whereby he assigns considerable responsibility with subordinates, but without setting clear guidelines or trying to reach a collective commitment.

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Chapter 5

Leadership and Culture: When Stereotypes Meet Actual Workplace Practice

Stephanie Schnurr, Angela Chan, Joelle Loew and Olga Zayts

5.1 Introduction

This chapter aims at exploring the complex relationship between leadership and culture with a particular emphasis on critically discussing some of the cultural stereotypes that exist about leadership in the context of Hong Kong, a city whose professional landscape is characterised by numerous multi-cultural workplaces, where members with different sociocultural backgrounds and different linguistic profiles interact with each other on a regular basis.

Although a lot of research has been conducted on the topic of leadership and culture—especially in business and organisational sciences (e.g. House et al. 2004), with the exception of a few studies (e.g. Aritz and Walker 2014; Holmes et al. 2011; Schnurr and Chan 2009) this topic remains surprisingly under-researched from a discourse analytical perspective. We aim to address this and, like the other chapters in this volume, we focus on leadership *discourse* and approach the relationship between leadership and culture from the angle of discursive leadership (Fairhurst 2007). Our main aim is to critically explore some of the stereotypes that exist about

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leadership in Hong Kong and to contrast them with insights gained through a fine-grained in-depth analysis of leadership discourse that occurred in actual workplace encounters.

5.2 Leadership and Culture

A substantial body of leadership literature exists that claims that culture is one of the most important factors determining “preferred and acceptable leader behaviours” (Cullen 1999, p. 527; see also Chee and West 2004; Guirdham 2005; House et al. 2004). This research generally assumes that different cultural values lead to different expectations about appropriate and effective ways of doing leadership across cultures (Jackson and Parry 2011). One of the most prominent studies that have explored the relationship between leadership and culture is the Global Leadership and Organizational Behavior Effectiveness Research study (henceforth GLOBE) which sought to “to test hypotheses relevant to relationships among societal-level variables, organizational practices, and leader attributes and behaviour” (House et al. 2004, p. xxv).

Studying followers’ perceptions of leadership, GLOBE aimed at understanding the impact of culture on leadership effectiveness. Drawing on the work by Hofstede and others, this research identified nine major dimensions, or ‘attributes’ of cultures, which allowed them to cluster the studied countries into groups according to their shared expectations of what constitutes effective leadership behaviour. Hong Kong has been placed in the ‘Confucian Asia’ cluster together with China, Japan, Singapore, South Korea and Taiwan. It is argued that this cluster “is defined by the strong historical influence of China and Confucian ideology” and that for example even though Japan and China are geographically dispersed, they share ‘rich cultural interactions’ and can therefore be treated as a unit (House et al. 2004, p. 189).

These generalising claims are further supported by earlier research, such as Lowe (1998, p. 328), who argued that “all these Confucian societies” appear to have a common structure which relies upon ‘networks’ coordinated by trust. In line with Confucian teachings, it is argued that institutions in these countries tend to be hierarchical and modelled on the concept of family (House et al. 2004, p. 189). Ladegaard (2012, p. 1674) describes the ideal leader according to this Confucian mindset as “an autocrat who can expect complete obedience, but s/he is, in turn, expected to behave responsibly towards his/her employees, almost like a father”. And Hui and Tan (1996) found that “Chinese employees want their leaders to be considerate and benevolent, adhere to the Confucian parental role, and exercise sound moral judgment, such as being self-restrained, honest toward fellow colleagues and subordinates, trustworthy, and impartial” (as cited in Aritz and Walker 2014, p. 73).

These claims are largely in line with earlier claims made by Hofstede (e.g. 2001) who described Hong Kong as a relatively high power distance culture. According to his claims, in countries with high power distance less powerful individuals (such as subordinates) tend to accept and respect the unequal distribution of power

(Hofstede 2001). Leaders in these so-called high power distance cultures are portrayed as ‘benevolent autocrat’ or ‘good father’. Moreover, more senior people are expected to be faithful and caring while more junior people are expected to be loyal and obedient (Redding 1990; Westwood 1992; Selmer and de Leon 2003). In these contexts, “subordinates expect to be led and do not question authority” (Chee and West 2004, p. 71) and as a consequence they “expect autocratic leadership” (Cullen 1999, p. 531).

However, this classification of specific countries as more or less ‘high power distance’ is highly problematic and has been criticised widely, for example, for its restricted methodology and the alleged universal applicability of the cultural dimensions on which it is based (e.g. McSweeney 2002; Sondergaard 1994). Claims based on these classifications, such as the ones briefly mentioned above, are thus always to some extent stereotypical. As we illustrate below in more detail, actual leadership practices as displayed by actual people in actual workplaces are much more complex and diverse than these stereotypes suggest.

Moreover, the view of culture as a priori determining human behaviour at a societal level does not account for the complex relationship between culture and leadership. And so it is perhaps not surprising that the GLOBE study in particular has been widely criticised for a variety of reasons including neglect of intra-cultural variation (e.g. Dorfman 2003; Jackson and Parry 2011). Furthermore, GLOBE and other similar studies consider individual participants as representatives of their respective culture, who “thus cease to be individuals in their own right” (Sarangi 1994, p. 411). But as Sarangi (1994) argues, such a unifying view of culture leads to ‘analytical stereotyping’ which may result in ‘culture’ becoming the scapegoat for disagreements, misunderstandings and clashes.

Moving away from stereotypical claims about preferred leadership styles and expectations of effective leadership in specific sociocultural contexts, then, in this paper we take a discourse analytic approach with the aim of exploring some of the actual practices through which leadership and culture are enacted in authentic workplaces in Hong Kong. We conceptualise leadership and culture as dynamically (co-)constructed among participants throughout an encounter (e.g. Choi and Schnurr 2014), and in line with the acknowledgement that communication lies at the heart of the leadership process (e.g. Tourish and Jackson 2008), our research is firmly based in the tradition of discursive leadership (Fairhurst 2007).

5.3 Discursive Leadership

In the tradition of discursive leadership, leadership is understood as an emerging, “co-constructed and iterative phenomenon that is socially accomplished through linguistic interaction” (Tourish 2007, p. 1733). Discourse is thus not only a crucial element of leadership but leadership is actually enacted in and through discourse. This qualitative approach to leadership which primarily aims at exploring how leadership is actually *done* rather than focusing on (often static and one-dimensional) perceptions of leadership, positions itself in opposing to traditional leadership psychology

(e.g. Chen 2008; Fairhurst 2007). Moving away from an exclusive focus on perceptions and self-reflections of leaders (as typically obtained through interviews, focus group discussions and survey questionnaires as in the studies by Hofstede and GLOBE), discursive leadership is mainly interested in language *in use* and the specific processes through which leadership is dynamically (and often collaboratively) accomplished in and through discourse (e.g., Choi and Schnurr 2014; Schnurr and Chan 2011). Thus, rather than focusing on individual leaders (and their working styles and competencies) and trying to establish connections and causal relationships between various variables that may have an impact on leadership (such as culture), discursive leadership explores how leadership is enacted in situ by conducting mainly qualitative in-depth case studies of leadership in action to better understand “[w]hat cultural forces at play define what leadership ‘is’ and how it is to be performed in a particular social setting” (Fairhurst 2011, p. 501).

Methodologically, this means that rather than relying on largely quantitative data sets (often based on participants’ perceptions and self-evaluations), research in the tradition of discursive leadership tends to use some of the tools and methods developed by discourse analytic approaches (such as CA; e.g. Clifton 2006; Svennevig 2008) to analyse the concrete processes through which leadership is enacted at the micro-level of interaction. It is not interested in establishing “grand theories of leadership” (Clifton 2006) and has thus largely moved away from trying “to capture the experience of leadership by forming and statistically analysing a host of cognitive, affective, and conative variables and their casual connections” (Fairhurst 2007, p. 15). Instead, it aims to achieve “a better understanding of the everyday practices of talk that constitute leadership and a deeper knowledge of how leaders use language to craft ‘reality’” and to construct meaning in and through discourse (Clifton 2006, p. 203).

In line with these remits of discursive leadership, in this paper we conduct an in-depth analysis of authentic leadership discourse in two different workplaces in Hong Kong to illustrate how the relationship between leadership and culture is enacted, reinforced, as well as challenged and resisted throughout an interaction.

5.4 Data and Methodology

We conduct case studies of two leaders in different Hong Kong workplaces, namely a small, relatively traditional local company (Rainbow¹), and a large international corporation (Company K). These two types of companies are representative of two major types of workplaces that characterise the professional landscape in Hong Kong, namely local small and medium enterprises (such as Rainbow), which constitute over 98% of the business units in Hong Kong (GovHK 2015), and large multinational corporations (like Company K) which have an international staff and client portfolio and operate on a global scale. However, in spite of these differences

¹All names of people and places in the data are pseudonyms to protect participants’ identities.

in the structure of the two workplaces, the specific teams on which we focus here are relatively comparable in terms of their size and composition. For example, both teams could be described as relatively culturally homogenous since all members are Hong Kong Chinese, and the interactions are conducted in Cantonese, participants' first language.

Rainbow is a paint manufacturer and retailer which consisted of roughly 20 local Hong Kong Chinese employees at the time of data collection. The company described itself as a family and the staff pictures on the company website are labelled 'family photos'. The meetings that we recorded at Rainbow are regular meetings attended by the core members of the company, including the company founder and owner, Liu, and representatives from the production, sales and accountancy departments. In the meetings, the representatives from the production and sales departments take turns to update the others on the progress of their work before discussing any arising issues.

Company K is the Hong Kong office of a multinational financial corporation. The meetings that we recorded at this company are the weekly team meetings of the administration team and are chaired by the team leader, Cheryl, who was newly promoted to this position at the time of data recording (see also Schnurr and Zayts 2011). Like in the Rainbow meetings, each meeting participant reports on their work progress and then arising issues are discussed.

In order to explore leadership in action in an attempt to identify and better understand some of the practices through which leadership is actually done in these teams, we focus our analysis on transcripts of authentic workplace interactions. As Schnurr and Zayts (2012, 2013) observed in another study, often inconsistencies emerge by comparing participants' self-reports (as obtained for example via interviews) with their actual workplace practice (see also Golato 2003), and people's actual behaviour is often much more complex and diverse than their claims (which are often based on stereotypes) suggest. Thus, drawing on authentic interactional data, albeit sometimes difficult to obtain, we believe, has several advantages over more traditional ways of collection data and provides an important step towards understanding actual leadership practice in situ (see also Choi and Schnurr 2014; Clifton 2012).

But before looking at examples of actual leadership in action, we briefly raise some concerns about the ways in which culture is often utilised in leadership research.

5.5 Problematising Culture

One of the issues with the kinds of cultural leadership stereotype outlined above is the exclusive focus on national culture as an explanatory variable for observed behaviours at the expense of considering normative practices, values and assumptions on other, more local, levels—such as the workplace or the specific teams (which often form communities of practice (henceforth, CofPs Wenger 1998)). However, there is an increasing body of research that convincingly illustrates the importance of these

other, more locally developed, norms and practices which are conjointly negotiated and enacted (among team members) and which have an impact on (and are influenced by) what are considered to be preferred leadership styles and expected leadership behaviours in a specific context (e.g. Holmes et al. 2007). For example, in a cross-cultural comparison of leadership in New Zealand and Hong Kong, Schnurr and Chan (2009) identified several similarities as well as differences in the ways in which the leaders in their case studies build rapport with their subordinates and how they mitigate negatively affective speech acts. Although the authors claim that some of the observed patterns can be explained by reference to cultural expectations as reported in previous literature (e.g. the fact that the Hong Kong leader consistently portrays himself as the one in charge—even when downplaying status differences), they also argue that these patterns are a reflection of the values and practices that characterise the leaders' workplaces and the behaviour and discursive norms that have developed as part of the specific CofPs in which they interact.

Another well-known problem with cultural claims is the assumption that a person (in our case, a leader) *has* a single culture. While much can be said about the claim that people *have* a culture, which in itself is highly problematic (e.g. Sarangi 2010; Street 1993), we just briefly want to comment here on the fact that the essentialist assumption of “one culture per person” is not only inaccurate but also largely outdated (e.g. Piller 2011). In addition to questions associated with identifying someone's culture (i.e. as per nationality, ethnicity, etc.), recent developments in terms of globalisation and the increasing mobility of the workforce have rendered such attempts even more difficult. For example, how should we ‘classify’ the cultural membership of someone who was born in Hong Kong into a family who self-identify as Indian based on their ethnicity, and who has received part of her education in the UK where she also worked for some time? Clearly, attempting to categorise and put her into a cultural group or cluster (as per GLOBE) in order to make claims about her leadership performance is not only fraud with difficulties but rather useless. And with the worldwide globalisation and associated trends, these kinds of trajectories are increasingly the norm rather than the exception.

A last issue of cultural leadership stereotypes that we briefly want to mention here is of particular relevance in the context of Hong Kong with its diverse workforce, and relates to the question of whether it is at all possible to make (general) claims about leadership in Hong Kong without acknowledging and differentiating between different professions, industries and workplaces. Can we really assume that the leadership displayed by the owner of a local paint manufacturer, such as Rainbow, is the same as the leadership displayed by the leader of a team in a large financial corporation, such as Company K—just because they both occurred in the same city?² The same question holds on a micro-level: do people within the

²A similar problem is discussed in Steel and Taras (2010) who maintain that “an elderly Kansas farmer and a young Manhattan lawyer are likely to have very different sets of work-related cultural values, despite both being Americans. Comparatively, the Manhattan lawyer is more likely to have cultural values similar to those of a young Shanghai lawyer, even though they have grown up on different continents” (Steel and Taras 2010, p. 229).

same organisation really do leadership similarly? And if not (e.g. Schnurr 2009), how can we account for these differences? These questions, of course, are not new but reflect a well-known problem associated with GLOBE and similar studies, and they are important considerations which once again illustrate the problematic nature of making generalising claims about leadership and culture.

5.6 Analysing Leadership Stereotypes

Acknowledging these conceptual issues, in this chapter we focus on the leadership performance of two leaders in different Hong Kong workplaces. Both teams that we analyse here are relatively similar in their structure and processes; their members are Hong Kong Chinese locals, and the language of their meetings (and many other workplace interactions) is Cantonese. As we illustrate in more detail in the next two sections, some of the leadership practices that we observed in these case studies are in line with and reinforce existing stereotypes about leadership in Hong Kong, while others contradict and challenge the very same stereotypes. For example, the leaders in both workplaces often display authoritarian behaviours—such as playing a crucial role and having the last word in decisions, and deciding when to end a discussion and move on with the agenda, and some of their behaviour could be described as ‘paternalistic’ (see Examples 1 and 2). However, at the same time, and equally frequently, both leaders take a backseat while other team members contribute actively to decision-making, lead a discussion and even sometimes decide when to move on to the next item on the agenda, and they also frequently get challenged by their subordinates, for example, when they disagree with them (see Examples 3–5). We discuss five examples here to illustrate this complexity and to provide a snapshot of just some of the current leadership practices that can actually be observed in these two workplaces in Hong Kong.³

5.6.1 *Leadership in Action: Reinforcing Stereotypes*

The first example that we discuss here is taken from Rainbow. It shows what could be argued to be a typical Chinese leader–follower relationship in which the subordinates are expected to pay respect to their boss, who, in return, shows caring for his employees.

³Since the main focus of this chapter is on leadership and culture, we will not venture into discussions about the potential role of gender in the leadership performances of Liu and Cheryl. We have, however, explored the topic of leadership and gender in some of our earlier work (e.g. Schnurr 2010; Schnurr and Mak 2011).

Example 1 (also discussed in Schnurr and Chan 2009)

Context: During one of the regular team meetings at Rainbow, Benjamin, a clerical staff who takes minutes from the meeting, receives a call from his father on his mobile phone. He answers the phone and talks to his father very briefly.

- 1 Ben: ((puts down his mobile phone))
- 2 Liu: 喀. 唔好意思. Benjamin (0.5) 唔好發脾氣.
Yeah. Excuse me. Benjamin (0.5) don't be angry.
- 3 Ben: 我[唔]
I [wasn't]
- 4 Liu: [我-] 我- 我哋- 我哋[已經拖太長時間]
[w-] w- we- we [have had this meeting for too long]
- 5 Ben: [我 爸>] 我爸 [催我]
[<my father>] my father [urged me]
- 6 Liu: [係]
[Yes]
- 7 Ben: 問我係咪[返屋企食飯]
asked me whether [I'd be going home for dinner]
- 8 Liu: [對 阿 爸 爸]仲要咁: 無禮貌噃樣[點得啊。]
[talking to your father] in such an impolite manner how [can it be]
- 9 All: (((laugh)))
- 10 Liu: 對老:細可以無禮貌, 對爸:爸唔可以無禮貌.
11 = [知唔知呀] = 爸爸好辛苦㗎
you can be impolite to your boss you can't be impolite to your father
= [do you know that?] = it's hard to be a father
- 12 All: (((laugh)))
- 13 (0.5)
- 14 Liu: 明唔明白啊?
do you understand?
- 15 Ben: ((smiles and nodes his head))

Throughout this excerpt Liu reprimands Benjamin for his inappropriate, and allegedly 'impolite' (line 8), behaviour towards his father. This behaviour could thus be interpreted as a good illustration of how a Chinese leader sometimes acts like a parent towards his subordinates, and how he is not only concerned about his subordinates performance at work but also feels (at least partly) responsible for their well-being and behaviour outside work.

Such an interpretation of this example, however, is challenged to some extent by the laughter that Liu's behaviour generates throughout. In fact, it seems that his reprimand is delivered in a light-hearted way and ends with a bit of humour when Liu tongue-in-cheek states that it is acceptable to be impolite to one's boss (i.e. to him) but not to one's father (line 10). He thereby makes explicit reference to the importance of the family, in particular to harmonious, respectful and obedient family relationships, a domain that is of crucial importance in the Chinese culture (Redding 1990; Selmer and de Leon 2003).

In relation to cultural stereotypes, it could perhaps be argued that Liu's behaviour of commenting on and interfering with the ways in which one of the employees treats his father during an inconvenient phone call, goes beyond the responsibilities typically ascribed to leaders in Western contexts. In our earlier work (Schnurr and Chan 2009), we have explained these differences with regards to culture-specific expectations of what constitutes good and appropriate behaviour. We have argued that in the Chinese culture, people are expected to understand their roles and "follow the dictates of proper role behaviour" (Bond and Hwang 1986, p. 216), and that individuals in lower positions, such as subordinates, are expected to be obedient and respectful to those in higher positions (i.e. their father and their boss, respectively); at the same time those in socially higher positions have the right and the obligation to teach their subordinates how to behave 'properly'. According to this line of argument, then, Liu's response to Benjamin can be interpreted as being in line with claims about Chinese leadership as described above (Silin 1976; cited in Redding 1990). We will critically revisit these claims in the next section after discussing an example from Company K.

Example 2 *Context: Participants are members of an administrative team who provides support for a range of training courses the company offers to its employees, including technical courses and soft skills courses. During these meetings team members typically report their work progress and discuss problematic issues. Cheryl is the Chair of the meeting, and Pauline is a new member who is responsible for technical courses, together with Nancy.*

- 1 Cheryl: 噉跟住我哋去返 any other business 啦: 噉就睇返大家: 噉:
 2 過去一個禮拜有冇乜嘢特別 (0.3) 嘅 (0.4) issues 啊或者有冇: 邊啲
 3 問題(0.3)想::同大家傾吓嘅
So moving on to the next is Any other business: So regarding the week that has just past, does anyone have any special (0.3) GE (0.4) issues or are there any issues (0.3) that you would like:: to discuss with the others?
- 4 (0.9)
- 5 Tammy: 好. 噉我有嘢問. [[[clears throat]]]
Okay. I have a question. [[[clears throat]]]
- 6 Cheryl: [mm]
- 7 Tammy: 我想問呢:譬如 uh 其他 department 嘅 admin 啦.
 8 有時想問起: 想問譬如<technical>嘅 course 嘅嘢
 9 [噉其實] 而家應該:: 可以搵邊個 contact person
I want to ask: for example uh the admin staff of other departments, In case they want to ask: ask for example something about <technical> courses, [then actually] now who should:: they talk to as the contact person.
- 10 Cheryl: [mm:]
- 11 Cheryl uh:::m:::[<你可以::>] 俾:: Nancy 同埋我: 噉. (0.2) 係喇.
uh:::m:::[<you can::>] pass:: them to Nancy and me: (0.2) yes.
- 12 ??: [()]
- 13 Cheryl: 因為暫時其實俾阿 Pauline
 14 我諗佢都唔識[(h)答住(h)]
As at the moment in fact if you pass them to Pauline I think she may not know [(h) how to (h) respond]
- 15 Tammy: [mm mm]
- 16 Cheryl: 噉你可以 direct 返俾我同 Nancy. 噉我: 同 Nancy 都會睇返
 17 究竟係 under 我咁定 under 佢咁 .h 噉我就: 我哋會分返囉
So you can direct them to me and Nancy. And Nancy and I: will decide whether they should be under me or under her. .h then I will: we will allocate them.
- 18 (0.4)
- 19 Tammy: °ke mm°
- 20 Cheryl: Mm
- 21 Tammy 明白. =因為有人:: 問: 我哋 ...
Got it. =It's because someone:: asked:: us ...
- 22 ((Tammy continues to give an account for her question))

Cheryl's behaviour in this example reflects a number of characteristics that have been assigned to Chinese leaders as portrayed in the literature from an essentialist perspective: She is quite decisive and considerate; her role as the one in charge is recognised by her subordinates; and her decision is accepted without any challenges. The members of this team thus show typical characteristics of Chinese subordinates as portrayed in some of the literature described above (e.g. Chee and West 2004; Cullen 1999).

Cheryl is clearly set up as the leader in this example. She performs the role of the meeting chair and brings the meeting forward in accordance with the agenda—both activities have been associated with leadership in the literature (e.g. Holmes et al. 2011). Moreover, Cheryl takes the initiative to respond to Tammy's question (lines 5 and 7–9) although Tammy does not specify who the question is addressed to. Her question is

raised in the AOB (any other business) phase at the end of the meeting, where it is common for participants to bring up issues for discussion if there is any (lines 1–3, see also Boden 1994). In this example, after a pause of nearly one second (line 4), Tammy self-selects to indicate her intention to raise a question (line 5), and continues, after receiving a ‘go-ahead’ signal from Cheryl (‘mm’ in line 6) to ask the name of the contact person for technical courses. After a brief thinking time (as shown by the stretched filler ‘uh:::m:::’), Cheryl decides that Tammy could direct the enquires to her and Nancy, and they will then decide who is to follow up on what issue (lines 11 and 16–17); she also points out that “Pauline may not know how to respond” to those enquiries if they were directed to her (lines 13–14). In line 21, Tammy acknowledges Cheryl’s decision without any questions. Despite a hesitation at the beginning of her reply, Cheryl is able to provide an answer and justification without consulting other teammates. Her decision is well received by Tammy as shown in line 21 (‘got it’) and by others as no one, including Nancy, says anything to object Cheryl’s decision, signalling their agreement.

However, what is particularly interesting about this example is the observation that Cheryl also displays her care to her team members. Her utterance in lines 13–14 implies that originally Pauline should have acted as the contact person for technical courses. Yet, as Pauline was new to the team and was probably still in the process of familiarising herself with her new work, Cheryl’s utterances suggest that she is aware of Pauline’s needs and does not to assign the work to her for the time being. Such a caring, and perhaps even intrusive and condescending behaviour can also be observed in the behaviours of Liu, the owner and director of Rainbow, who is not only highly respected by his employees but who also regularly displays caring, and sometimes paternal, behaviours towards the people who work for him, as illustrated in Example 1 above (see also Chan 2005).

Based on the analysis of these two selected examples, we would have to agree that there is some evidence to support some of the claims made about Chinese leadership as discussed above, such as displaying paternal, as well as autocratic and decisive leadership behaviours. However, although Example 1 and 2 nicely reflect and reinforce some of the cultural stereotypes often ascribed to Chinese leadership, in the next section, we discuss three examples involving the same leaders showing a very different picture of their leadership style.

5.6.2 *Leadership in Action: Challenging Stereotypes*

In addition to those examples where the leaders’ behaviours seem to adhere to expectations of culture-specific ways of doing leadership, there is also ample evidence in our data of instances where the same leaders display behaviours that challenge general claims about Chinese leadership. For example, rather than being obedient and expecting to be told what to do (as suggested, for example, by Redding 1990; Westwood 1992; Selmer and de Leon 2003) in both workplaces the leaders are often challenged by their subordinates who may disagree with them or provide alternative suggestions—often in relatively explicit and potentially face-threatening ways (c.f.

Chan et al. fc); and sometimes other team members considerably contribute to and even take over some of the leadership responsibilities, such as making a decision and doing meeting management. We have chosen three examples here to illustrate this.

Example 3 *Context: Immediately preceding this extract, participants talked about an online enrolment system which was to be used by the company's employees to sign up for soft skills courses (for which Tammy is responsible). Cheryl would like to explore the possibility of extending the use of the system to other courses including technical courses (Nancy's responsibility). Since most of the participants are unfamiliar with the system, Cheryl asks Julia (who is responsible for maintaining the enrolment records of all courses) to prepare some documents and postpone the discussion to the next meeting.*

- 1 Tammy: 你哋想唔想愛個 users' guide:: of 依個 enrolment system
 2 =其實我可以問阿[Douglas.]
Would you like to have the user guide:: of this enrolment system?
=Actually I could ask [Douglas.]
- 3 Cheryl: [但係佢] user guide 其實對我哋冇乜用.
 4 =[因為(都未知)]apply to technical
[but its] user guide is not really useful to us.
=[as (we don't know)] how it can be applied to technical courses
- 5 Julia: [(大家都未知)]
[(we don't know yet)]
- 6 Tammy: 噉咪可以知道其實個 system 係點樣用:: (0.4) 等你知道: 個 detail
Then you could know how the system works:: (0.4) it lets you know: the details
- 7 (0.8)
- 8 Cheryl: 但係如果[唔係 apply to 我哋,淨係知道點樣][用 我哋都唔使同-]
But if [it's not applicable to us, only knowing how to] [use it, we don't need to-
- 9 Nancy: [其 實 都 唔 <知道> 都唔知我哋-]
[actually we don't <know> we don't know what we-]
- 10 Tammy: [(n- o-) 你哋想唔]想:
[(n- o-) do you want] to:
- 11 (0.5)
- 12 Tammy:* [(噉要睇睇)]
[(then we need to have a look]
- 13 Nancy: ((loudly))[(反而我想知點樣用:] 我::噉啱唔啱用
 14 我先 <去>[了解]返依樣嘢
((loudly))[on the contrary I would like to know how it works:] whether or not it suits our needs, I'd <go> and [understand] these details first
- 15 Tammy: [係喇]
[yes]
- 16 Julia: 噉你要問返 Douglas 會好啲嘅. 你同佢講囉
You talk to him. Then you'd better ask Douglas
- 17 (([Nancy raises another issue related to their sign-in procedures and the discussion topic is shifted]))

* Tammy is looking at Cheryl before this point, but as soon as Nancy starts speaking, she turns her head to Nancy and keeps looking at Nancy until the end of the interaction))

This example is in stark contrast to Example 2 discussed above since Cheryl's subordinates here challenge her attempts at doing leadership at several points and rather than listening to her advice they collaboratively solve the problem and decide what needs to be done without considering her suggestions.

Although in the beginning of this extract, Cheryl's behaviour appears to be relatively similar to what she does in Example 2 (e.g. she responds to her subordinate's question without delay and states her stance followed by an explanation (lines 3–4)), this kind of behaviour is responded to very differently by her subordinates. In response to Tammy's offer, in lines 3–4, Cheryl points out that the user guide may not be useful at this stage as they are not sure if the system is applicable to technical courses, implying a negative response to the offer. She further explains that if the system is not applicable to them, there is no need for them to know how the system works (line 8). However, rather than accepting the team leader's opinion and acting according to her suggestions, in what follows it becomes clear that the other team members have different viewpoints (which they express), and which ultimately results in them taking over (at least part of) the leadership responsibilities. Particularly noteworthy here is Tammy and Nancy's disagreement with Cheryl which results in Nancy's exclamation in a loud voice "on the contrary I would like to know how it works: whether or not it suits our needs, I'd < go > and understand these details first" (line 14). This disagreement with Cheryl and resistance to her suggestion is further reinforced in Julia's directive to Nancy to talk to Douglas in line 16. This instruction constitutes the final word on this issue, which, together with telling people what to do, are behaviours indexed for leadership (Schnurr 2010). Cheryl's lack of participation in the leadership in the later part of this example is also reflected in the observation that she does not complete her utterance (in line 8) and remains silent afterwards for the rest of the discussion.

Thus, Cheryl's behaviour and the ways in which her subordinates respond to her in this example challenge the traditional image of Chinese leaders as being autocratic while their subordinates are obedient, submissive and doing as they are told. The next example, taken from a meeting at Rainbow, also illustrates non-stereotypical leadership behaviour.

Example 4 (this example is also discussed in Chan et al. fc)

Context: During one of the team's regular meetings. Richard, the senior sales executive, has just reported on a particular chemical substance that the found in the warehouse of one of their competitions.

- 1 Liu: 噉佢買晒嗰啲貨俾邊個呢. (0.2) 噉邊個會用依啲嘢?
 2 =冇乜人用咯:
 So for whom have they bought all those products? (0.2) Who would use these things? =Hardly anyone uses them:
- 3 (0.4)
- 4 Richard: 冇. 全世界都用嘅.
 No. The entire world uses them.
- 5 (0.3)
- 6 Liu: 吓?
 huh?
- 7 (0.5)
- 8 Richard: 全世界都用嘅.
 The entire world uses them.
- 9 Liu: 全世界都用,
 The entire world uses them.
- 10 (0.8)
- 11 Daniel: 好多人用佢啲
 Many people use them
- 12 Liu: 係嗎?
 Really
- 13 (0.9)
- 14 Richard: 你一做: 有做玻璃纖維
 15 一定會用得到㗎啦
 You- When you make: (.) Anyone who makes fibreglass will surely use them.
- 16 (2.0)
- 17 Daniel: 係啊, 好多人用.
 Yes. Many people use them.
- 18 (1.9) ((Liu nods his head))
- 19 Daniel: 好多人用
 Many people use them.
- 20 (0.4) ((Liu looks at Daniel and nods his head several times))
- 21 Liu: 噉個咁咩啊, 嗰個: pigment
 Then how about what, the: pigment,
 22 ((Liu raises a question about pigments.))

What is particularly interesting about this example is the ways in which Liu's claims are explicitly and relatively directly contradicted by his subordinates, thereby potentially challenging his position and role within the team. More specifically,

Liu's relatively strong claim in line 2 "hardly anyone uses them" is explicitly and directly contradicted by Richard by stating the exact opposite: "No. The entire world uses them" (line 4). Richard's disagreement is very explicit and 'strong' (Pomerantz 1984)—as reflected in the use of the disagreement marker 'no' and the hyperbole 'the entire world'. Moreover, being uttered during a meeting in front of the whole team further strengthens the potentially negative impact of the disagreement.

The potentially negative effect of the disagreement is further enhanced by Richard's verbatim repetition of his disagreement (line 8). Interestingly, this repeated expression of the disagreement is then picked up and uttered verbatim by Liu himself (line 9). Since this takes the form of a statement rather than a question (as reflected in the level rather than rising intonation of the utterance), it seems that he is trying to make sense of Richard's claim rather than attempting to question or ridicule it. In the following lines, Daniel, another team member, agrees with Richard's initial assessment of the situation thereby at the same time also disagreeing with Liu. However, Daniel's disagreement is considerably more mitigated than Richard's initial claim when he states that 'many people' rather than 'the entire world' use this product (line 11).

This collaborative disagreement is responded to by Liu in line 12 with a short comment ('really') which seems to indicate that he is trying to understand his subordinates' viewpoints. In the end, after some further explanations by Richard about the usefulness of the product (line 13) together with Daniel's agreement ('yes'), Liu seems to change his mind and he begins to agree with his subordinates—as, for example, nodding his head (line 16) indicates. At the end of this excerpt, Liu seems to fully embrace his subordinates' viewpoint and inquires another substance.

We discuss one more example here from this team at Rainbow to illustrate that team members frequently disagree with Liu and express their divergent opinion freely.

Example 5

Context: During another team meeting at Rainbow, the topic under discussion is related to the training of a new sales staff member, Kelvin. At the time of data collection, Rainbow had two workplaces. The sales people usually worked in the workplace in Sheung Wan, while the workplace for the production department was located in an industrial area in Chai Wan. Preceding the excerpt, Liu proposed (in a detailed manner) that Kelvin spend several days in the workplace in Chai Wan to help him develop a better understanding of the production procedures of their products. The pause in line 1 signals the end of his proposal.

- 1 (1.0)
- 2 Daniel: 噉我覺得反而: (2.1) 如果個目的係: (0.6) er:
3 想佢應付簡單:[噉]:
*I think on the contrary: (2.1) if the goal is: (0.6) er:
to let him deal with simple [GE]:*
- 4 Liu: [mmhmmhmm]
- 5 Daniel: 客戶嘅一啲查詢嘅話呢
enquiries from clients
- 6 Liu: [mm]
- 7 Anthony: [mm]
- 8 Daniel: 我覺得唔需要嚟柴灣
I think he doesn't need to come to Chai Wan.
- 9 Liu: 唔需要嚟柴灣
No need to come to Chai Wan
- 10 Daniel: 應該係:er: 噉: (0.3) 喱段時間: 集中帶佢出去
11 跑多啲客(0.5) [起碼]認識咗我哋嘅產品=
*We should be er:: (0.3) during this period: we should focus on taking him along
to meet our clients (0.5) [at least] he can get to know our products =*
- 12 Liu: [係]
[yes]
- 13 Daniel: =即係我: 我認為(0.3)嚟到柴灣呢: eh 好多時: (0.3) 唔:係集中喺:認識我哋
14 自己產品[度]
*=That's I: I think (0.3) in Chai Wan: em very likely: (0.3) he is not focusing on our
own products*
- 15 Liu: [係]
[yes]
- 16 Daniel: >即係< (0.3)係:集中喺:可能 FRP 啲啲好 basic 嘅一啲:
>I mean< (0.3) maybe he can focus on: things like FRP which are of basic
- 17 (0.2)
- 18 Liu: 係
Yes
- 19 Daniel: concept 嘅嘢
concepts
- 20 Anthony: [Mmhmm]
- 21 Liu: [係]
Yes
- 22 (0.5)

- 23 Daniel: eh: 嗰度可能會 即係(.)柴灣會有嘅嘅作用, 但係-
em: in that case, perhaps, I mean (.) Chai Wan may be of some use, but-
- 24 (0.3)
- 25 Anthony: Mm
- 26 Daniel: Eh: 反而就: 譬如我: 咁自己產品有啲咩: 啊: kick lick ka la 嗰啲嘢.
 27 =噉-(0.3) 喺我哋跑客嘅時候: (0.3) 會: (.) 會(0.5)會好快噉知道囉
 28 噉 (0.5) 如果係噉噉話兩個禮拜(0.2)嘅時候我諗-(0.6)叫啊 Richard 去帶去:
 29 (0.3)跑: 跑晒: 跑-(.)即尤其是你可以見多幾個客(0.3)更加即係個客, 可能你見
 30 過噉話, 你又查詢又剩更加好啲
Em: on the contrary it: for example what is in our products, that kind of things,
=so- (0.3) when we meet our clients, (0.3) he can: (.) can (0.5) can quickly
acquire the knowledge. So (0.5) if there's two weeks, I think- (0.6) let Richard
ta:ke (0.3) ta:ke him to meet all: meet- (.) if you can see more clients (0.3) I
mean more clients, since you have met them, you can better handle their
enquiries.
- 31 (0.6)
- 32 Liu: 噉 Richard 你對佢嘅-講-講法你-你:認為點樣?
So Richard, regarding his- his say- saying: you- what do you think?

This example nicely complements Example 4 above. It also shows how Liu is contradicted by one of his subordinates—this time Daniel. The relatively long pause after Liu's utterance indicates the end of his turn in which he outlined the training plan he compiled for their new employee Kelvin. At this point in the meeting, then, based on our knowledge of the normal meeting procedures, we would expect an assessment of or a response to the plan by the other team members. And indeed, in line 2 Daniel, a sales executive, self-selects, and over the next 30 turns gives his opinion on the training plan, which is occasionally accompanied by minimal feedback from Liu and Anthony, one of his other colleagues. Particularly noteworthy is the observation that Daniel utters his disagreement with his boss' proposal right at the opening of his utterance "I think on the contrary" (line 2). Although his disagreement is subsequently mitigated to some extent (e.g. by being formulated as a conditional statement, and being delayed by a number of pauses and stretches throughout), his subsequent statement "I think he doesn't need to come to Chai Wan" (line 8) is relatively direct and explicitly contradicts Liu's plan. Over the following lines Daniel then provides a counter-proposal (namely to take Kelvin along to meet some clients (lines 11 and 30) and to spend more time making him familiar with the products the company sells (line 14)), thereby giving explanations for his disagreement. But in spite of Daniel's use of these mitigating strategies, the fact that they occur after, rather than in preparation of, the disagreement shows that this kind of behaviour is acceptable in this particular team. This interpretation is further supported by Liu's behaviour, who remains in the background throughout this sequence merely providing minimal feedback from time to time thereby acknowledging that he is listening and paying attention to Daniel's elaborations. Of particular interest is also the observation that rather than commenting on Daniel's proposal at the end, he invites Richard, a senior sales executive, to give his opinion

(line 32). Liu thereby continues to take a backseat in this discussion and explicitly involves his team members in the decision-making.

As we elaborate in more detail elsewhere (Chan et al. *fc*), such behaviour, where subordinates explicitly disagree with and thus potentially challenge their superiors, is in contrast to earlier research in organisational behaviour and cultural studies which portray leaders as ultimate authority figures who are not questioned (or disagreed with), and which further claim that Hong Kong Chinese tend to compromise and avoid direct disagreement (Kirkbride et al. 1991; Pan 2000). And although more recent studies paint a more nuanced picture and convincingly illustrate that disagreements do indeed occur regularly in Chinese interactions, and some of these disagreements are relatively strong (e.g. Chan et al. *fc*; Cheng and Tsui 2009; Shum and Lee 2013; Zhu 2014), stereotypes about authoritarian Chinese leaders prevail (e.g. Ladegaard 2012). But examples like the ones presented here challenge these cultural stereotypes about leadership and provide valuable insights into the complexities of how leaders actually behave in their everyday workplace interactions.

5.7 Discussion

Our findings show that while there is some evidence in our data to support some of the cultural stereotypes about Chinese leaders, the everyday practices of leadership are much more complex and often contradictory than stereotypical claims and grand statements about leadership and culture suggest. Although we have found evidence of behaviour that is in line with (and thus reinforces) stereotypical claims about how Hong Kong Chinese leaders and their subordinates allegedly behave (Examples 1 and 2), there is also ample evidence in our data of behaviour that challenges and contradicts these stereotypes (Examples 3–5). These findings are thus in line with Steel and Taras' (2010, p. 211) research which questions the usefulness of cultural generalisation and maintains that “national averages poorly represent specific individuals”.

There is clearly a lot of diversity in the behaviours that leaders (and subordinates) display in their everyday workplace interactions, and it is important to acknowledge that individual leaders (in any sociocultural context) have a wide range of different leadership styles at their disposal which they can draw on (more or less strategically) depending on the situation (Chan 2007). Like Liu and Cheryl, leaders may sometimes want to be very caring and supportive, and may thus display a more paternalistic leadership style (Example 1); or they may be very decisive and autocratic (Example 2)—for example to cut a lengthy discussion short or to remind their team about who is in charge. However, at other times, they may actually want to involve their subordinates and may thus encourage them to develop and express their own ideas—even if this means that they will disagree and challenge the leaders' view (Examples 4 and 5).

Moreover, as earlier research has convincingly shown, none of the leader behaviours identified and described above are exclusive to the Hong Kong context in which we observed them, and leaders in different workplaces across the globe display them. For example, Holmes et al. (2007) describe the relatively autocratic and decisive leadership style of a leader in an IT department in New Zealand, and Mullany (2007), Baxter (2010), Wodak et al. (2011) and Angouri (2011) provide evidence of leaders' authoritarian behaviours in a range of workplaces in the UK, Australia and Greece. Moreover, in some of the New Zealand workplaces where Schnurr (2009), Holmes et al. (2011), and Daly et al. (2004) recorded their data, team members had very close relationships with each other and almost felt like a family. Thus, unless we have sufficient evidence to convincingly prove that these behaviours occur more frequently in a specific sociocultural context (as shown in actual workplace interactions rather than relying on participants' self-reports which are themselves often heavily informed by stereotypes (e.g. Golato 2003; Schnurr and Zayts 2013, 2017), claiming certain behaviours to be 'typical' for Chinese leadership seems premature and highly problematic.

Moreover, this variation and diversity in behaviours and leadership styles shows that any attempts at generalising (preferred) leadership practices in a particular sociocultural context are fraught with difficulties (see also Li et al. 2013; Schnurr and Zayts 2017; Takano 2005). Cultural stereotypes will never be able to capture the complexity and dynamics of actual interaction. Rather, using stereotypes (even as starting points) in research on leadership and culture is too narrow to capture the complexity and variety of actual practice, and runs the danger of overlooking diversity in leadership behaviour in actual workplaces. Research based on stereotypes is necessarily caught in a vicious circle: if we assume that people will behave in a certain way, we will often look for confirmation of these assumptions in our data and thus ultimately find examples that reinforce and support these stereotypes—possibly at the cost of examples of unexpected behaviour.

We thus strongly question the analytical usefulness of stereotypes for research on leadership, and we hope that future research will move away from such 'easy solutions' and take up the challenge of working with more complex (and perhaps messy) qualitative data that may not deliver readily interpretable results of statistically calculable reliability but that will contribute to constructing a better understanding of the complexities involved in doing leadership and its fascinating relationship with culture.

Discourse analytical research, like this study and others in this volume, promises to be a fruitful way of addressing these pitfalls and of moving forward towards a better understanding of actual leadership practices *in situ*. This research enables us to gain insights into the ways in which leadership is actually enacted during a particular encounter. It thus provides an opportunity for researchers to see what is 'really' happening rather than having to rely on participants' recollections of specific incidents (as is typical for much leadership research in organisational sciences that draws on self-report data), and by showing actual leadership practice it relativises and sometimes challenges and rejects cultural stereotypes in favour of a more complex and authentic picture of how leadership is done *in situ*.

Appendix

Transcription conventions:

(.)	Untimed brief pause
(n)	Timed pause where 'n' indicates the interval measured in seconds
:	Lengthened sound
-	Sudden cut off
=	The second utterance is latched onto the first one, i.e. no gap between the two utterances
.hh	Audible inhalations
>word<	Word uttered at a faster pace
<word>	Word uttered at a slower pace
<u>Word</u>	Stressed word
°word°	The word is said softer than the surrounding talk
(())	Paralinguistic features
(word)	Word in doubt
()	Inaudible speech
[The beginning of overlapping
]	The end of overlapping

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Chapter 6

Exploring Leadership Conceptualisations in Semi-structured Interviews from Multiple Perspectives

Kevin Knight

6.1 Introduction

In the 14 April 2014 edition of *Fortune* magazine, a former President of the United States of America, Bill Clinton, responds to the question, “What does leadership mean to you?”

Leadership means bringing people together in pursuit of a common cause, developing a plan to achieve it, and staying with it until the goal is achieved. If the leader holds a public or private position with other defined responsibilities, leadership also requires the ability to carry out those tasks and to respond to unforeseen problems and opportunities when they arise. It is helpful to be able to clearly articulate a vision of where you want to go, develop a realistic strategy to get there, and attract talented committed people with a wide variety of knowledge, perspectives, and skills to do what needs to be done. In the modern world, I believe lasting positive results are more likely to occur when leaders practice inclusion and cooperation rather than authoritarian unilateralism. Even those who lead the way don’t have all the answers. (Fortune editors 2014, p. 66)

In view of descriptions of leadership such as that of former President Clinton above, I argue that a key to understanding *leadership* is to recognise that leadership is itself a *conceptualisation* drawing on a number of positions, experiences, practices and ideologies.

In this chapter, I analyse conceptualisations of leadership without identifying leadership a priori and in so doing, I also explore the *leadership conceptualisation process*.¹ My research focus is on understanding leaders’ conceptualisations of leadership and on how those conceptualisations of leadership emerge.

¹This chapter draws upon and replicates material from Knight (2015) and focuses on 4 of the leaders in that doctoral thesis.

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Such an exploration is based on my understanding that in studies that present us with conceptualisations of leadership, the researcher has been a co-creator through interpretation (Grindsted 2001, 2005; Talmy 2011), and the studies themselves should reveal in detail how and why these conceptualisations (re)emerge. Accordingly, in analysing leadership conceptualisations and in exploring the leadership conceptualisation process, one needs to know something of the social/cultural and institutional forces that impact how the leader acts and how the *researcher* interprets and records accounts and performances of leadership.

In this chapter, my objectives are as follows: (1) to provide an overview of my investigation of the leadership conceptualisation process (in which I view the leadership conceptualisations of four leaders from the multiple perspectives of content, narrative and metaphor analyses), and in particular (2) to illustrate in detail my innovative approach to conducting metaphor analysis in exploring the conceptualisations of leadership of the four leaders.

In connection with my first objective above, I will provide in the next Sect. 6.2 of this chapter a summary of my content and narrative analyses procedures because they preceded and informed my metaphor analytical approach. Subsequently, I will focus on my second objective in Sects. 6.3–6.5 and present in detail my approach to conducting metaphor analysis of leadership conceptualisations. Finally, in my discussion in Sect. 6.6, I take the stance of Schön's (1983) reflective practitioner in noting how the analyses of the conceptualisations of the four leaders in this chapter were part of the leadership conceptualisation process of the researcher. In addition, while my findings reflect stereotypical notions of leadership, I argue that these findings should *not* be considered *apart* from the leadership conceptualisation process, which is influenced by the motivational relevancies of the researcher. I therefore conclude that leadership conceptualisations should be viewed and accounted for in connection with their various inputs, from multiple perspectives, and in consideration of the socially constructed leadership conceptualisation process.

In the Background section that follows, and in view of my first objective above, I summarise and review the research steps that led to my metaphor analytical approach of leadership conceptualisations.

6.2 Background

My exploration of the leadership conceptualisation process was initiated and driven by specific motivational relevancies. Crichton (2010, p. 28) draws on various scholars in describing such motivational relevancies:

Through the notion of motivational relevancies, Sarangi and Candlin [2001] draw both ontological and methodological questions into the relationship between the analyst and participants...[including] the analyst's stance on what to investigate in doing discourse analysis; whether this involves searching for particular phenomena or leaving the research design open to discovery; the role of description and explanation in researching discourse;

and how the analyst values specific research methods. They (2001, p. 383) conclude that in order to make explicit these decisions, ‘there is the need for...a reflexive alignment of our accounting practices’ which would require that ‘one critically reflect on one’s own practices.’

In view of my reflection upon such motivational relevancies as described above, I see that my research was conducted in order to illuminate *leadership as a conceptualisation*, which would be important in my roles as a researcher, instructor and programme developer. In these roles, I was required to address the perceived need for undergraduate students at Kanda University of International Studies (KUIS) in Chiba, Japan to acquire global competencies through the English language in order to become successful *leaders* in the global workforce (Knight 2008, 2012, 2014a, b).

In order to understand the leadership conceptualisation process, I initially investigated conceptualisations of leadership in leadership studies (e.g. Bryman 2004; Nohria and Khurana 2010; Southwell and Morgan 2009) and recognised that *leadership* is often presented as an ‘influence relationship’. In this connection, Schnurr (2013, pp. 150–151) writes that “some of the activities typically associated with leadership in the literature (e.g. Dwyer 1993; Gardner 1990; Yukl 2002)” include the following:

Envisioning goals and motivating others; getting things done by making decisions, organising, coordinating, and directing other’s performances while at the same time allowing subordinates some autonomy; developing group cohesiveness; creating and maintaining a productive work climate; guiding and supporting subordinates; ensuring effective communication within the team and across the wider organization....A closer look at these items shows that most (if not all) of them in one way or another involve communicating with others.

If leadership is conceptualised as an influence relationship, as is indicated in the examples above, then such a conceptualisation implies that communication is involved (as Schnurr indicates) and that a close examination of the communication of leaders is important for understanding the conceptualisation of leadership.

In view of leadership involving communication, a promising approach to understanding the conceptualisation of leadership would seem to be investigating leadership as a discursive practice. Schnurr (2013, p. 169) reflects Fairhurst (2007) in describing the discursive leadership approach as follows:

Discursive leadership draws on tools and methods developed by discourse analytic approaches in order to analyse leadership discourse. Discourse in this context is conceptualised as taking two different forms: discourse (or ‘little d’ discourse) and Discourse (or ‘big D’ discourse)²....‘Little d’ discourse can be analysed by drawing on a wide range of discourse approaches, such as ethnomethodology, sociolinguistics, conversation analysis and interactions analyses, while ‘big D’ discourse is often analysed by critical and post-modern discourse analyses that ‘heavily focus on systems of thought’. (Fairhurst 2007, p. 7)

²See Gee (1996, 1999).

The discursive approach can be utilised to investigate a range of factors, from the micro to the macro, that influence the production of text and therefore bring to mind the work of Fairclough (1992). However, in Clifton's (2012, pp. 149–150) summary of the past 75 years of leadership research and the corresponding theories, leadership is described as an influence relationship over time, and under the 'discursive leadership approach', the leader is conceptualised as the winner of the 'language game' (see Wittgenstein 1953). As *leadership* under the discursive approach is defined a priori to be the winner of the language game, how a leader *conceptualises* leadership is not being investigated.

In this chapter, I am *not* defining leadership a priori or investigating how meaning is managed by leaders. As noted at the beginning of this chapter, my research focus is on understanding leaders' conceptualisations of leadership and on how those conceptualisations of leadership emerge. Accordingly, the discursive leadership approach as described above (i.e. investigating how leaders win the language game) would not be appropriate as an overarching framework for my study of leadership conceptualisation. However, I have made use of three discourse-oriented approaches to leadership research. These are content analysis, narrative analysis and metaphor analysis. These discourse analytic approaches are employed for a different purpose than to show how leadership identified a priori emerges or is brought about in practice. I utilise these approaches with the aim to show the discursive resources that leaders use to convey their beliefs and accounts of leadership; i.e. how leadership is conceptualised, and is achieved by drawing upon semi-structured interviews with leaders.

Layder (1998, pp. 68–69) discusses the importance of a multi-strategy approach.

The natural advantage of such an approach is that it automatically contributes to 'triangulation' which ensures cross-checks on the validity of findings and, of course, the concepts that may emerge from data analysis....A multi-strategy approach produces a multi-perspectival 'overview' which increases the potential for more and more robust theoretical ideas.

In order to obtain a 'multi-perspectival overview' of leadership, I followed Layder (1998) to integrate content analysis, metaphor analysis and narrative analysis of the conceptualisations of leadership obtained from semi-structured interviews.

The approach to gaining access to the personally formulated 'conceptualisations of leadership' without identifying leadership a priori was based on the following assumptions:

1. That it would be possible to identify exemplary leaders based on their *professional occupations* in society and on the *leadership roles* that they play in those professional occupations.
2. That it would be possible to ask any such nominated leadership individual whether he or she *considers* him/herself to be a leader and believes him/herself *qualified* to comment and expand on leadership qualities and characteristics based on his/her leadership knowledge and experience.

At the time that the study was conducted, the leaders³ selected for the study were engaged in *professional occupations* in which they had occupied a range of different roles which required them to be in charge of others. Based on their professional occupations and roles, I considered the leaders in my study to have achieved professional *success*, which is important in view of my motivational relevancies (i.e. the need to prepare my learners in Japan through leadership development activities to be *successful* in the global workplace upon graduation). During the interviews, the leaders described their *leadership roles* in more detail, and for one leader in this study, his leadership role was not connected with his professional occupation. (See Table 6.3 and Sect. 6.4 of this chapter for the leadership roles of the four leaders.) Further, by agreeing to participate in this study, the participants were confirming that they so *identified themselves* as leaders knowledgeable of the concept of leadership and its qualities/characteristics, and willing to discuss their personal leadership experiences, as a means of grounding their conceptualisations of leadership.

As the means of eliciting conceptualisations of leadership from these leaders, I selected semi-structured interviewing as an appropriate method of data collection (Grindsted 2005). The semi-structured interview allows for conceptualisations of leadership to (re)emerge through the discussion of leadership between the interviewer and the leader being interviewed. These conceptualisations are shaped not only by the questions that are listed in a ‘questionnaire’ (i.e. the leadership communication interview questions sent to the leaders prior to the semi-structured interviews) but also, in a co-constructed way, by the follow-up questions asked by the interviewer and by how the leader in question chooses to respond to such questions.

The conceptualisations of leadership gathered from the respondents were analysed from multiple and corroborative perspectives. For example, in conducting my content analysis, I utilised NVivo 10 research software as follows in order to investigate the language used in conceptualisations of leadership:

1. *To identify general themes in the data*; i.e. coding the text in interview transcripts using the principles of grounded theory.
2. *To visualise general themes in the data*; i.e. conducting word frequency analyses (for word clouds and tree maps) and cluster analyses (for horizontal dendrograms and circle graphs).

The visualisation of themes allowed by NVivo—in particular—enabled me to see the limitation of statistical analyses for understanding conceptualisations of leadership in my study. Specifically, utilising NVivo 10 software to analyse transcripts from semi-structured interviews was an effective approach for identifying the general themes of *influence*, *action* and *change* which appeared in my content analysis findings in the interview datasets. However, insights gained from content analysis were limited because the conceptualisations of leadership in my study were

³In Knight (2015), 20 leaders were selected for the semi-structured interviews, but the leadership definitions and the extracts of the leadership communication narratives of 11 of those 20 leaders (including the four leaders in this chapter) were used in a leadership development programme with the undergraduate students in a Japanese university.

contextually bound as I will explain in this section of the chapter. Therefore, after the general themes had been identified through the content analysis, a closer investigation of the language used in the conceptualisations of leadership was conducted. These analyses included the following:

- Narrative analysis drawing upon the work of primarily Riessman (2002), Garfinkel (1956, 1967), and Bhatia et al. (2012).
- Metaphor analysis drawing primarily upon the work of Cameron (2003, 2007, 2010), which I discuss in detail in Sects. 6.3–6.5 of this chapter.

These analyses of the data were intended to provide deeper insights into beliefs of the leaders underlying their conceptualisations of leadership.

The leaders would be inclined to describe favourably leadership in terms of their professions because the interview questions resembled those questions in job interviews and MBA/Graduate School admissions interviews. For example, a *behavioural interview question* in the study asked:

Consider a time that you strategically and successfully used communication as a leader to achieve a specific goal. I am interested in your story of that event (i.e., your personal account/narrative of that event).

Table 6.1 explains that such a behavioural interview question is typically used to assess an interviewee's past behaviours or actions. The behavioural interview question above is significant because of the 'S.T.A.R. method' that job applicants, and applicants to graduate school, are advised to use when responding to such behavioural interview questions.

The S.T.A.R. is not the only format used for responding to behavioural interview questions. A further example is contained in the Career Guide (2013–2014, p. 27) of the University of California at San Diego (UCSD), which teaches undergraduate students to use the C.A.R. method to respond to behavioural interview questions in interviews for jobs or internships. (See Table 6.2.)

The S.T.A.R./C.A.R. methods are significant to this study because they can be used to focus on identifying conceptualisations of leadership in the narratives of the four leaders. Indeed, if the following four conditions are met, then I may say that the A or action in a S.T.A.R./C.A.R. response constitutes a leader's conceptualisation of leading or providing leadership in a specific context.

- A leader responds to the behavioural question
- The behavioural question asks for an example of the leader's actions as a leader
- The response of the leader includes an example of the leader's actions as a leader
- The example (of the leader's actions as a leader) contains all parts of a S.T.A.R./C.A.R. response

These four conditions were met in the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives discussed in this chapter. Accordingly, the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. frameworks provided me with a way to systematically clarify leadership conceptualisations in the narratives. (See Table 6.3 for a summary of the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives. Specific extracts from

Table 6.1 Extract from Career Resource Manual of UC Davis Internship and Career Center (2013, pp. 44–45)

Tips for the Behavioral Interview

Behavioral interview questions assess how you have acted in past situations, with the idea that past performance is a key indicator of your future efforts.

How to Prepare

....

- Use the **S.T.A.R.** method to help you form an example:
 - **Situation • Task/Problem • Action • Result**
- Expect the employer to ask an open-ended question about a past experience and then continue to ask questions that reveal any of the following:
 - communication skills, leadership and organizational ability
 - analytical and problem solving skills
 - your decision-making process
 - cooperative and/or competitive nature
 - initiative • flexibility • creativity
- Be honest. Don't exaggerate. Your answers will be reviewed for consistency.

....

Employers May Ask You...

- Tell me about a time when you were in a leadership position.

Highlighting added for emphasis

the narratives are presented in Sect. 6.5 of this chapter in connection with the metaphor analyses.)

In choosing to apply innovatively the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. framework in order to *illuminate* the four leaders' conceptualisations of leadership in their responses to the behavioural question, I did not identify leadership a priori. Further, my decisions to interview self-identified leaders and to ask a behavioural question in

Table 6.2 Extract from the Career Guide of the University of California at San Diego (2013–2014, p. 27)

Employers use behavioural based questions to screen job candidates in interviews. The premise is that the most accurate predictor of future performance and competencies is past experience in similar situations. When responding to with behavioural based interview questions use the **CAR** method:

USING THE CAR METHOD:

Challenge

Briefly and specifically describe the challenge that you solved or developed an action plan to overcome. Describe a specific event or situation, not a generalised description of what you have done in the past. Be sure to give enough detail for the interviewer to understand, but keep it brief. This situation can be from a previous job, a volunteer experience or any relevant event. Stay clear of personal stories or events that make you emotional

Action you took

Describe the action or steps you took to solve the problem, overcome the obstacle or remedy the situation. Be sure to focus on what you did specifically. Even if you are discussing a group project or effort, describe what you did. Do not tell what you might do, tell what you did

Results you achieved

What was the outcome? Were the results measurable? What were the benefits? What was learned? Did you gain any insights?

semi-structured interviews were part of the *leadership conceptualisation* process for which I am providing an account in this chapter.

In addition, as indicated in the beginning of this section, my motivational relevancies (which included the need to understand how the leaders *communicated* success for the purpose of training undergraduate students to do the same) were part of the leadership conceptualisation process as they influenced the drafting of the behavioural question. In the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives, the four leaders provided their conceptualisations of leadership in the context of their *success* stories in their leadership roles.

The connection between the conceptualisations of leadership in the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives and the original definitions of leadership of the four leaders may relate to how a given leader accounted for success in the narrative. Following Bhatia et al. (2012) and Garfinkel's original formulation (1956, 1967) of 'accounting', I considered how the four leaders accounted for or *explained* their success described in their S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives. (See Table 6.4.) (Specific extracts from the definitions and narratives are presented in Sect. 6.5 of this chapter in connection with the metaphor analyses.)

Table 6.3 Summary of S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives

Leader	Situation/Task (Challenge)	Action	Result
1	Manager of recruiting needs to persuade senior vice president of HR of biggest business unit to support employee referral system. There is a concern about making recruitment more open to employees	The manager shows them the tools and the demo and talks them through why they are doing this, what they are doing and how they are doing it. He addresses the concern with A. “Wouldn’t you rather be involved?” and B. “My commitment to you is to keep you informed during pilot project”	No problems so far but one more meeting to go
2	Member of board of directors of NPO and chair of fund raising committee has the goal of raising over 100,000 dollars	The chair expects volunteers to follow through on their commitments. He commits to helping volunteers to achieve their commitments. He provides communication training created by the NPO	More volunteers are involved than in the previous year. They are able to increase their pledges
3	Head of a legal group needs to find more work and to get people busy because hours are down in one office	The head focuses on numbers and says that they need to find a way to change the facts. He uses the Big Boss as a threat and asks them to help him get the Big Boss off his back	They identify and eliminate the underperformers. They tighten up the group and establish business development plan
4	Head of English language programmes at a university needs to address the instructors’ demand for an increase in pay	The head creates a transparent, fair process involving stakeholders. He obtains buy in through a key meeting	He could satisfy the demands of all stakeholders

In accounting for their success, the four leaders explain their Actions in the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives in connection with their leadership roles.

In the next three Sects. 6.3–6.5 of this chapter, I present my approach to defining and investigating metaphors in leadership conceptualisations. After defining metaphor (in the next section), I will show how I used word clouds (Sect. 6.4) to *prepare for* a Discourse Dynamics Framework analysis (Cameron 2003, 2007) which was conducted to identify linguistic and systematic metaphors (Sect. 6.5).

Table 6.4 Accounting for success in the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives

Leader	Researcher's analysis
1	In his definition of leadership, Leader 1 argues that “leadership comes from knowing” and “leadership is really about knowing”. Leader 1 explains how such ‘knowing’ enables him to communicate strategically in a way so as to achieve stakeholder agreement
2	Leader 2 defines leadership to be an “influence relationship between leaders and followers” and explains that such a relationship includes the commitment of followers to do what they ‘sign up’ to do. Leader 2 also explains that achieving a determined goal is not as important as following through on a commitment. For a leader to be considered successful, the leader and the followers must be committed to achieving the shared goal. The intention and collaborative effort to achieve the goal are more important than the outcome
3	Leader 3 identifies the task of a leader to help <i>individuals</i> to “achieve their maximum potential”. He describes leadership in terms of creating a competitive environment in which strong individuals survive pressures and ongoing assessment, so that the team as a whole becomes stronger given such strong individuals as team members
4	Leader 4 displays how he <i>organised</i> stakeholders in such a way to achieve agreement for his approach towards realising a given goal. The word ‘organising’ may be seen as implying some strategic action to control the behaviour of the faculty

6.3 Defining and Investigating Metaphors

In a John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University Faculty Research Working Paper Series, Oberlechner and Mayer-Schoenberger (2002, p. 3) aim to provide an understanding of leadership through ‘implicit conceptualisations’ of leadership or ‘metaphors’:

Our modest goal is to shed light on the concept of leadership from an unusual perspective. This perspective puts an emphasis on how leadership is experienced and expressed by leaders and by the persons writing about leadership. We approach leadership by paying attention to what people actually say and write when talking about leadership. In other words, our perspective of leadership is based on an analysis of the implicit conceptualizations people use when thinking about, explaining, and enacting leadership. As we will show, these conceptualizations are commonly expressed by metaphors.

In view of Oberlechner’s and Mayer-Schoenberger’s statement above that leadership “conceptualisations are commonly expressed by metaphors”, I address the following two questions in Sects. 6.3–6.5 of this chapter:

1. What do we understand by metaphor?
2. What are the conceptualisations of leadership of the four leaders from a metaphor analytical perspective?

Before considering various definitions of *metaphor*, as an understanding of the concept of metaphor is relevant to my approach to exploring metaphors in leadership conceptualisations, I would first like to note the views of Oberlechner and Mayer-Schoenberger (2002, p. 5) on the importance of *leadership metaphors*:

The literature on leadership abounds with metaphors such as leadership as game, sports, art or machine. While the multitude of leadership metaphors used by authors and leaders alike appears determined by a complex interplay of personal, situational, and cultural factors, the analysis of a leadership interview indicates that these metaphors center around experientially significant nuclei of meaning. By examining the entailments of leadership metaphors on such dimensions as highlighted and hidden leadership aspects or the suggested relationship between leader and followers, metaphor analysis allows the exploration of leadership conceptualizations on an experiential level.

In accounting for their conceptualisations of leadership metaphors above, Oberlechner and Mayer-Schoenberger (2002, pp. 6–7) draw upon the views of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Black (1977). I consider such perspectives of Lakoff and Johnson in the following paragraphs of this Sect. 6.3.

In a description of contemporary theories of metaphor on the Metaphor Analysis Project website,⁴ the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) of Lakoff and Johnson is described as having “dominated the field since the 1980s, replacing earlier views that saw metaphor as decorative or literary use of language”. Lakoff and Johnson (1980, pp. 5–6) write that “*metaphor means metaphorical concept*” which they illustrate with the example of “the concept ARGUMENT and the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR”.

One criticism of CMT as described above is its focus on thought over language. In this connection, Deignan (nd) writes that for “proponents of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, thought has primacy over language”. I consider such theoretical underpinnings of CMT (i.e. ‘a person’s conceptual system’) to be outside the scope of this chapter because my exploration of metaphor is not based on, nor intended to provide evidence for, the neurological processing of metaphor.

Although CMT has been influential since 1980s, Charteris-Black (2008, pp. 1–2) writes that there have been numerous definitions of metaphor throughout history and disagreement about what constitutes metaphor:

Ask ten metaphor scholars to count the metaphors in a text and you will probably come up with ten different answers; this is because of different views of what exactly ‘counts’ as a metaphor.

Charteris-Black’s formulation (2008, pp. 1–2) includes the cognitive element of *interpretation* in the process of creating a metaphor; i.e. whether a metaphor exists depends upon the eye of the beholder. I argue that a *system of metaphor identification* is helpful for researchers. In my investigation of metaphor in Sect. 6.5 of this chapter, I draw upon Cameron (2003, 2007, 2010) and am in agreement with her that language should be given primacy over thought in defining and identifying metaphors. I explain Cameron’s perspective in the following paragraphs of this Sect. 6.3.

Cameron (2010, slide 2 notes) describes the limitations of Burke’s (1945, p. 503) definition of metaphor as “a device for seeing something in terms of something else”:

⁴See <http://creet.open.ac.uk/projects/metaphor-analysis/index.cfm>.

Defining metaphor is very difficult – [Burke’s (1945) definition] is not really a good definition because it uses words metaphorically (*device, see, something*). However, as a description, it captures the key ideas about metaphor – in language or in thought – that there are two ideas and we use one to better understand the other. The ‘seeing in terms of’ is the process of metaphor.

In Sect. 6.2 of this chapter, I showed how leadership is *seen in terms of* the four leaders’ professions in the definitions of leadership and the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives, accordingly I explore in Sects. 6.4 and 6.5, of this chapter how such leadership conceptualisations may be *seen in ‘other’ terms*.

The phrase “in language or in thought” (Cameron 2010, slide 2) above denotes a key difference between the Discourse Dynamics Framework of Cameron (2003, 2007) and CMT. In defining the linguistic metaphor in the Discourse Dynamics Framework, Cameron (nd)⁵ writes:

A linguistic metaphor [e.g. *there is no way of purging that debt*] is a stretch of language that has the potential to be interpreted metaphorically, in that two distinct ideas can be found and these can be linked metaphorically to make sense and build coherence in the discourse context. A linguistic metaphor is a textual, rather than empirical, phenomenon and evidence for its identification is lexical and textual rather than neurological or empirical, accessed from the discourse data and through logical argument. Linguistic metaphors may or may not be processed metaphorically by the speakers.

In the Discourse Dynamics Framework, language is given primacy over thought in metaphor identification in data. In my investigation of metaphor in Sects. 6.4 and 6.5, my focus is on what an analysis of linguistic metaphors in the context of the semi-structured interview data can reveal about conceptualisations of leadership.

Further, linguistic metaphors can be organised into systematic metaphors (Cameron 2003, 2007). According to the Metaphor Analysis Project website,⁶ such systematic metaphors differ from the conceptual metaphors of Lakoff’s and Johnson’s (1980) CMT and in the following ways:

Conceptual metaphors are mappings across domains and are held to belong in the realm of the conceptual, not of discourse. Claims for systematic metaphors are made relative to the actual discourse events and specific participants, rather than to the whole community of language users as with conceptual metaphors. Systematic metaphors are held to reflect tendencies of thought that are activated and developed in the discourse event as it happens. Conceptual metaphors are claimed to have some kind of real existence in the minds of all language users, in the strongest versions of cognitive metaphor theory to be hard-wired into the brain. Conceptual metaphors are said to be fixed and stable mappings across domains (Lakoff 1993), whereas systematic metaphors, by their nature, are dynamic mappings that reflect a temporary stabilisation in on-line language use.

As I will clarify in Sect. 6.5, the systematic metaphors that I identify are, as Cameron (nd) explains, “not ‘owned’ by the individuals who produce them, but are ‘interindividual’, belonging to both speaker and listener (Morson and Emerson 1990, p. 129) and intrinsically connected to the specific context of use”.

⁵See <http://creet.open.ac.uk/projects/metaphor-analysis/theories.cfm?paper=ddfm>.

⁶See <http://creet.open.ac.uk/projects/metaphor-analysis/building.cfm>.

In sum, an introduction to contemporary theories of metaphor on the Metaphor Analysis Project website⁷ claims a similarity among different approaches to conducting metaphor analysis⁸:

All approaches share the idea that metaphor involves two concepts or conceptual domains: the Topic (or Target), which is what is being spoken or written about, and the Vehicle (or Source), which is used metaphorically to speak or write about the Topic. The Vehicle (or Source) is distinct from the Topic and its use influences how the Topic is understood.

In this chapter, I have adopted the concept of metaphor as described in the Discourse Dynamics Framework in my investigation of metaphor potential.

In the next Sect. 6.4, I start my search for metaphor with the generation of word clouds of the original definitions of the four leaders. In doing so, my aim in Sect. 6.4 is to identify *concepts with metaphor potential* emphasised by the leaders, as preparation for a Discourse Dynamics Framework analysis (which appears in Sect. 6.5).

6.4 Metaphor Potential of Leadership Definitions in Word Clouds

Following Cameron (2010) in the previous Sect. 6.3, my objective in conducting metaphor analysis is to be able to see the *conceptualisations of leadership* of the four leaders in the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives in ‘terms other than’ those in my narrative analyses, where leadership is conceptualised as the actions of the four leaders in their professional contexts. In view of this objective, my metaphor analytical approach consists of two steps:

- Step 1 Preparation for a Discourse Dynamics Framework analysis: Word clouds of the *original definitions of leadership* of the four leaders to *consider* the terms in which the leaders see leadership.
- Step 2 A Discourse Dynamics Framework analysis of: (1) the original definitions of leadership and (2) the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives of the four leaders.

In this Sect. 6.4, I discuss Step 1 above.

In the Discourse Dynamics Framework, linguistic metaphors are organised to form systematic metaphors, as I explain in Sect. 6.3. According to the Metaphor Analysis Project website,⁹ the “label [of a systematic metaphor is] chosen carefully to reflect a collective or aggregate meaning of the linguistic metaphors, staying close to the actual words used while at the same time capturing the overall idea”. In connection with ‘capturing the overall idea’, NVivo 10 software can be used to

⁷See <http://creet.open.ac.uk/projects/metaphor-analysis/theories.cfm>.

⁸Topic and Vehicle are terms associated with the Discourse Dynamics Framework, whereas Target or Source are terms associated with CMT.

⁹See <http://creet.open.ac.uk/projects/metaphor-analysis/building.cfm>.

identify concepts through the grouping of similar words with a word frequency analysis.¹⁰

In creating the word clouds with NVivo 10, I was *not* identifying leadership a priori. I was aiming to identify *potential* Vehicles for the Topic of *leadership* before looking for Vehicles in the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives and the original definitions of leadership of the four leaders. For this purpose, the following information was placed under the word clouds for Figs. 6.1, 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4.

- A streamlined definition of the original leadership definition
- Leadership role/action
- Description of performances as leader in leadership roles

The information above was helpful for identifying the metaphor potential of the word groups in the word clouds. In creating the streamlined definitions in Figs. 6.1, 6.2, 6.3, and 6.4, I focused on the action in the leader’s original definition. The terms were standardised to the extent possible without changing the basic meaning; e.g. ‘stakeholders’, ‘followers’, ‘people’, and ‘others’ were standardised as ‘others’. The descriptions of performances came from the interview datasets.

I did not consider this NVivo 10 word frequency analysis to be a Discourse Dynamics Framework analysis; rather, I used the results of the NVivo 10 word frequency analysis to consider *potential* Vehicles, where *leadership* is the Topic. The word clouds contained word groups that *focused my attention* on specific terms

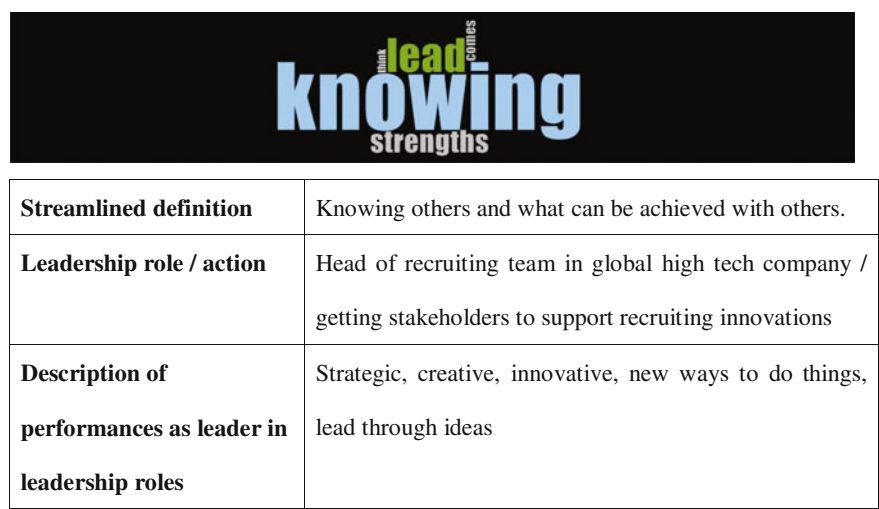


Fig. 6.1 Leader 1

¹⁰See http://help-nv10.qsrinternational.com/desktop/procedures/run_a_word_frequency_query.htm.

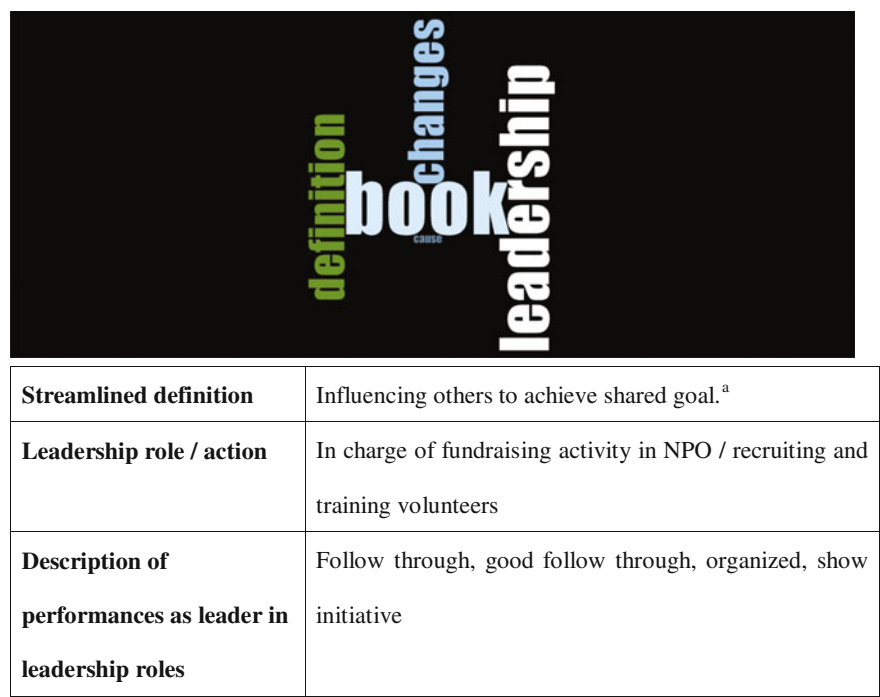


Fig. 6.2 Leader 2. ^aLeader 2 quotes a definition of leadership from a book as described in Sect. 6.5 of this chapter

and concepts that the four leaders emphasised in their original definitions. Whether a metaphor exists depends upon the eye of the beholder (i.e. ‘interpretation’ in Charteris-Black 2008), so I considered multiple meanings and interpretations of the word groups in the word clouds prior to Step 2 (the Dynamics Discourse Framework analysis). Although I am not comparing my metaphorical exploration of word groups with CMT, I view the potential and limitations of the metaphorical analysis of such word groups to be similar to Deignan’s (nd)¹¹ description of the potential and limitations of CMT:

The conceptual metaphor approach is potentially very enlightening as a tool for identifying underlying meaning, but it has pitfalls. Researchers need to be alert to the dangers of overgeneralising on limited linguistic evidence, and to the need to establish consistent procedures for identifying metaphors. (Deignan 2005)

I argue that the word clouds can be useful for *considering* the ‘terms’ in which the four leaders ‘see’ leadership. The Discourse Dynamics Framework of Cameron (2003, 2007) provides the consistent procedures necessary to identify metaphors

¹¹See <http://creet.open.ac.uk/projects/metaphor-analysis/theories.cfm?paper=cmt>.

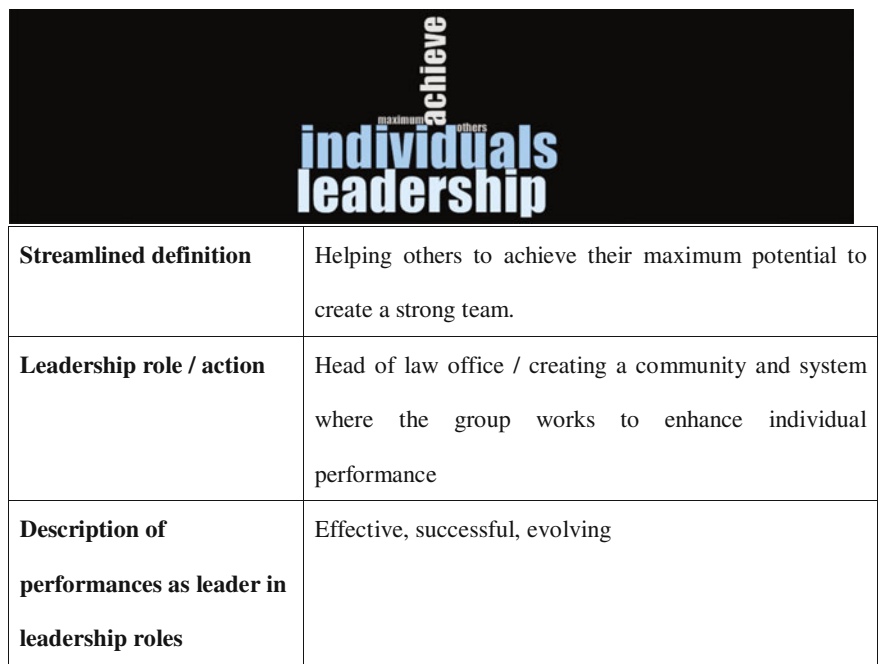


Fig. 6.3 Leader 3

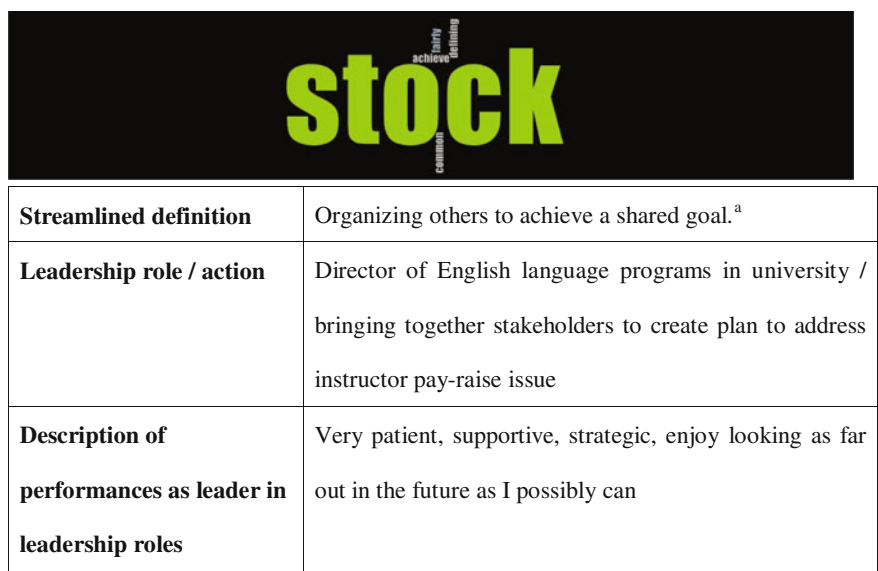


Fig. 6.4 Leader 4. ^aLeader 4 described his original definition of leadership as a stock definition of leadership

and prevents overgeneralising on limited linguistic evidence. I conducted a Discourse Dynamics Framework analysis described in the next Sect. 6.5 of this chapter.

6.5 Metaphors in Leadership Definitions
and S.T.A.R./C.A.R. Narratives

In my Discourse Dynamics Framework metaphor analysis, my aim was to see the conceptualisations of leadership in terms other than those used to describe the leaders’ occupations in the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives. In my analysis, I took the following steps: (1) Identifying linguistic and systematic metaphors (with a Discourse Dynamics Framework analysis), (2) Creating metaphor scenarios and (3) Identifying leadership roles in the metaphor scenarios. The *metaphor scenarios* were based on the *systematic metaphors*. In creating the metaphor scenarios, I stayed close to the actual words while capturing the main idea, so the result was an extended version of a systematic metaphor. The leadership roles were derived from the *metaphor scenarios* that I created for the four leaders. The results of my analysis appear in Tables 6.5 and 6.6.

The systematic metaphors in Table 6.6 were built upon the ‘aggregate meaning’ of linguistic metaphors, as I have explained in Sect. 6.4 in this chapter. In following Cameron (nd) (as quoted in Sect. 6.3), I recognised the following three points about a linguistic metaphor to be of importance:

- A linguistic metaphor has the *potential* to be interpreted metaphorically.
- A linguistic metaphor may be “accessed from the discourse data and through logical argument”.
- A linguistic metaphor “may or may not be processed metaphorically by the speakers”.

Table 6.5 Systematic metaphors and leadership roles in metaphor scenarios of the four leaders

Leader	Leadership role(s) in metaphor scenario	Systematic metaphor
1	Military intelligence chief	LEADERSHIP COMES FROM KNOWING WHERE TO TAKE PEOPLE
2	King; Throne	LEADERSHIP IS INFLUENCING OTHERS TO FOLLOW THROUGH ON THEIR COMMITMENTS
3	Coach ^a	LEADERSHIP IS CREATING A TEAM OF STRONG INDIVIDUALS
4	Leader of his/her people; Religious leader	LEADERSHIP IS ORGANISING PEOPLE TO HAVE A COMMON UNDERSTANDING

^aThe leadership role of ‘Coach’ refers to the coach of a professional sports team; e.g. Major League Baseball

Table 6.6 Metaphor scenarios of the four leaders

Leader	Metaphor scenarios of the four leaders
1	The leader wants to use the members of the other leaders' groups for knowledge sharing and gathering. The other leaders are concerned that the leader's plan will cause the members of the other leaders' groups to leave those groups. The leader tells the other leaders that the situation will be monitored
2	The leader is at the top of a hierarchical organisation. There is a big campaign. The people who sign up to join the campaign are expected by the leader to follow through on their commitment. The leader commits to supporting the people who sign up
3	The leader is in charge of coaching a team to achieve its top performance. The team is not performing well. The team management is putting pressure on the leader to get results. The leader reports the situation to team leaders and explains that action needs to be taken to identify and remove underperformers. The underperformers are identified and removed from the team. The team's performance improves
4	The leader needs the people to hear an important message. The leader organises the people to meet at the same place at the same time. The leader tells the important message to the people

In my search for linguistic and systematic metaphors, I was trying to *see* (or interpret) the definitions of leadership of the four leaders and the conceptualisations of leadership in the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives in a different way than I had seen (or interpreted) them when conducting my narrative analysis. My focus was on how (from a metaphorical perspective) the leaders act in specific leadership roles that *differ* from their primary professional or official roles (e.g. doctor, lawyer, coach, etc.).

In what follows in this section, two or more extracts from the interview data are presented for a leader. The first encompasses a leader's definition of leadership. (These definitions are direct responses to the related item in the interview questionnaire.) The others are drawn from the leader's S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narrative. (See Table 6.3 for a summary of the S.T.A.R./C.A.R. narratives.) The Topic of the extracts is *leadership*, and the Vehicles in the extracts are underlined. After each set of extracts for a leader, I provide the researcher's interpretation of those extracts with the understanding that whether a metaphor exists is in the eye of the beholder (i.e. the researcher in this case).

Extract 1 Original Definition of Leader 1

...I think, um, I would say leadership, really what it means is uh, it's both, I guess leadership comes from, first of all, knowing the people that you lead, knowing what their strengths are, and then knowing how you can kind of optimize those, and also how you can develop those. But leadership is really about knowing the strengths of your team and also knowing where you can take those strengths over time.

Extract 2 S.T.A.R./C.A.R. Narrative of Leader 1

I commit that we are basically going to capture that information and come to you and talk about it. And that basically seemed to calm the room down [in what?] can be a pretty sensitive area. ...I knew that knowledge was essential, and that, we, you know, thought that

it could be a good thing for employees to have better knowledge of what's out there, better for us to retain our employees, better for them to look at, to know what our jobs are and to apply to those jobs as opposed to going out for staff, having to go outside of the company. So, trying to basically, you know, from their side, they had managers who had tight deadlines in terms of you know getting the next chip out, and so, they're very protective of their talent, right? So they're kind of trying to walk around it; mobility is a good thing versus processing that good on time, and I don't want anything to cause that to slip. So been there, understand that's the line that they walk, and I appreciate that, you know, that kind of tough situation, and that I was ready to engage with them on that. I wasn't just going to "poo poo" their concerns and say, don't worry about it but really engage them on what their main concerns were. In other meetings, if they did not raise that point, I would raise it for them because I knew that eventually someone would think if it, so at the end of the meeting, if that whole internal mobility point hadn't been raised, I would say, oh and by the way this could happen, and I understand that's something new and something different and so we're going to monitor and stay on top of it...I knew that I had [friendlies] in each meeting in there, so it's always nice to have eyes already in the room, and actually for the first one, I knew that um, you know, one of my, someone who I'm very close to on the HR General side was going to be sitting in that, and I knew that he's kind of an influential guy in that group so I actually called him up beforehand and say hey, this is what I'm going to talk about in the meeting, just so he knew and could basically support me in that meeting if anything went awry, so I had eyes in the room.

Researcher interpretations of Leader 1's conceptualisation In Fig. 6.1, the most prominent word group is 'knowing'. Extract 1 states that leadership comes from knowing; therefore, 'knowing' is *not* leadership, but it can be implied from the extracts that "strategic decision making based on knowledge" is Leader 1's conceptualisation of leadership. In Fig. 6.1, Leader 1 describes himself as being strategic and leading through ideas. From a metaphorical perspective, Leader 1 draws upon military Discourse and intelligence gathering of secret service agencies to describe the situation in his company, where employees are viewed as soldiers and knowledge is important for keeping them alive (i.e. retain our employees). In military terms, Leader 1 is engaged in intelligence gathering in the company (which is a nickname for the CIA), and his objective is to persuade the leaders of other military units to use their talent or soldiers for intelligence gathering purposes. He describes intelligence gathering with literal metaphors such as eyes in the room in Extract 2. Other military terms in the extracts include capture, protective, engage, mobility, monitor, side, and friendlies.

Extract 3 Original Definition of Leader 2

...the definition is really not my own words but it's a definition of leadership that...Gerald Ross back in uh, gosh, probably the 80's, who wrote a book. He wrote a whole book just on the definition of leadership, researching it and all that, so I knew that...I couldn't come up with one in my own words cause that's what I've adopted as my own.

Leadership is an influence relationship between leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purposes.

Extract 4 S.T.A.R./C.A.R. Narrative of Leader 2

So really the expectations, the main ones, on both sides, I think, would be, there's lots of different stakeholders. A big one, you know, we had about 140 people involved with the campaign, so my expectations of the stakeholders was that people would sign up to raise funds for this, if they would do so, they're going to commit, they're going to follow through on that commitment. And pretty much the same on the other end. My commitment to them was that, you know, I'm here to help you, whether it's asking someone, leading someone, explaining the purpose, whatever it might be, so I think a big expectation there is to follow through and commit regardless of whether the money was raised or the goal was met. I think going back to the original definition, right, intending to change or intention to raise 110,000 dollars. If we don't do that, that doesn't mean that we weren't successful. I think you're not successful if people aren't committed and things like that...

Extract 5 S.T.A.R./C.A.R. Narrative of Leader 2

I'm the chair,...it's a very hierarchical thing....and you have four community leaders, and each community leader has four neighborhood leaders, and each neighborhood leader has campaigners and it works like that.

Researcher interpretations of Leader 2's conceptualisation In Fig. 6.2, the most prominent word group is 'book'. The word 'book' can be defined as 'standards or authority'.¹² A military Discourse is also reflected in the linguistic metaphors of campaign, commit and follow through in Extract 4.¹³ From this military perspective, if someone signs up or joins the military campaign, he is expected to fulfil his promise to serve. Further, in the military, loyalty is valued, and the mutual commitment manifests itself in an *esprit de corps*.¹⁴ Extract 5 indicates that Leader 2 is on top of the hierarchy. As chair, Leader 2 is the throne or king to whom the troops are committed. This metaphorical based perception of the conceptualisation of leadership of Leader 2 differs from that stated in his original definition where 'the relationship' is not based on authority, but rather persuasion.

Extract 6 Original Definition of Leader 3

I would say leadership is the ability to achieve, to help others achieve their maximum potential, so that the team, those that you're leading, is stronger than the individuals as individuals.

Extract 7 S.T.A.R./C.A.R. Narrative of Leader 3

So, hours were down in one of our offices, and I called a meeting of the partners and of the council; these are the leaders of that office to a. bring it to their attention and b. say we've got to do something about this, soon, because the hours were so bad and I've got

¹²“The standards or authority relevant in a situation” Accessed at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/book>.

¹³“The troops were committed to the general's charge”. Accessed at <http://www.thefreedictionary.com/commit>.

¹⁴“The troops showed great *esprit de corps*”. Accessed at <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/esprit%20de%20corps>.

management breathing down my throat on this...so, it was successful in that we identified several underperformers who eventually were counseled out. We tightened up the group a bit and established a business development plan for that office that is moving forward today.

Researcher interpretations of Leader 3's conceptualisation In Fig. 6.3, the most prominent word group is 'individuals'. In the metaphor scenario, individuals in Extract 6 can be interpreted metaphorically to be players on a sports team of which Leader 3 is the coach. The sports team management is applying pressure on the coach to improve the performance of his team as described with the metaphorically used idiomatic expression breathing down my throat in Extract 7. After the weak players are removed from the team, the team's performance improves. The interdiscursivity of Candlin (2006) is also apparent in Extract 7 with the appearance of the legal Discourse of hours, partners, council and counselled out.

Extract 8 Original Definition of Leader 4

Well, this is a fairly stock way of defining it, but I would say it's organizing one or more people to achieve a common goal.

Extract 9 S.T.A.R./C.A.R. Narrative of Leader 4

I would say my effectiveness in this meeting was really dependent upon a, you know, a lot of experience that the full-time instructors had of me over a long period of time in many other meetings. It wasn't as though I could have achieved the outcome, a successful outcome, if I had just been appointed, you know. You know, I had established a level of trust already, but just a couple of comments on this. Um, first of all, uh, I made sure that all of the full-time instructors were together at one time for this meeting. I didn't want anyone to not be present. And um, one reason that that was very important to me is that in my experience, um, instructors, teachers, uh, vary tremendously in, as a group, they're very far from monolithic, every group of instructors I've known have, has been full of individuals who, you know, I mean almost everyone is an outlier. Um, you know, and the reason for that, I've always felt is because teaching is a highly creative activity and um teachers are akin in many ways I think to performing artists, and um, you know, like performing artists, there, it's a very individual activity, I feel. Anyway, for that reason, because of my perception of teachers that way, it was very important to have them all present because if even one was not present, then I certainly wouldn't get that person's buy in um through the message being relayed through other people; it had to come directly.

Researcher interpretations of Leader 4's conceptualisation In Fig. 6.4, the most prominent word group is 'stock'. Stock as a linguistic metaphor can be defined as a "supply of something available for use" and its synonyms include 'people', 'family' and 'clan'.¹⁵ Leader 4 as head of the faculty is metaphorically head of the family or head of his people. Extract 8 indicates that Leader 4 organised teachers in order to get agreement for his approach to achieving a common goal. The linguistic metaphor common can be defined as "of, relating to, or being common stock".¹⁶

¹⁵See <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/stock>.

¹⁶See <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/common>.

Accordingly, the common goal is the goal of Leader 4's people. In view of Extract 9, the linguistic metaphor of organising in Extract 8 implies strategic action to control behaviour of the people. This strategic action is perceived to be a fair way of controlling the people in view of the linguistic metaphor fairly in Extract 8.¹⁷

Leader 4 describes his activity to influence the faculty members in physical and spiritual terms; specifically, the instructors are very far from monolithic (Extract 9). 'Monolith' is defined as "a stone that was put in position by people as a monument or for religious reasons".¹⁸ Leader 4 needs the instructors to hear the message directly, and these two linguistic metaphors take on religious significance as to the importance of the message and the conveyor of the message. As a metaphorical head of his people, Leader 4 also already had a level of trust. The linguistic metaphor outlier sounds similar to 'out liar' or 'outright liar' as instructors would tend to embellish the message as performing artists and cannot be trusted to relay the true message over a very far distance from the monolith to reach others. From a spiritual perspective, this meeting was in a holy place or Mecca that the teachers were required to visit at the same time. Their spiritual leader could then convey the message directly to the believers so that the message would not become distorted.

In sum, Table 6.5 implies that two aspects of leadership are important: (1) creating a vision and (2) achieving a vision. The systematic metaphor of Leader 4 is related to creating a vision. The systematic metaphors of the other three leaders are focused on achieving a vision. All of the four leaders are described in the systematic metaphors as influencing others. Accordingly, from the perspective of the researcher, the conceptualisations of leadership of the four leaders involve influencing others to create or to achieve a vision.

In the next Sect. 6.6 of this chapter, I discuss my findings and put them in a wider perspective.

6.6 Discussion and Conclusions

In this Sect. 6.6, I take the stance of Schön's (1983) reflective practitioner in discussing my findings. First, from such a perspective, I see that the insights gained from the four leaders in this study were integrated into the researcher's conceptualisation of leadership. (See Fig. 6.5.)

The conceptualisation of leadership in Fig. 6.5 reflects the conceptualisations of leadership of the four leaders in terms of influencing others to create or to achieve visions. Further, Fig. 6.5 reflects the *motivational relevancies* of the researcher as it provides a model for conducting project-related leadership development with English language learners in Japan; i.e. leadership is a *creative* activity involving

¹⁷Fairly can be defined as "in a way that is right or proper: in a fair way". See <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/fairly?show=0&t=1394321719>.

¹⁸See <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/monolith>.



Fig. 6.5 Exact replication of Knight’s conceptualisation of leadership in Knight and Candlin (2015, p. 36). The “creative tension” section of the illustration was influenced by and adapted from Senge (1990a), which I had read around 20 years earlier. See also Senge (1990b)

communication to create visions and to achieve visions. (See Knight 2013.) Finally, in the light of Fig. 6.5, this chapter may be seen as the account of the leadership conceptualisation process of the researcher, where inputs into that leadership conceptualisation process include the research and analysis of the conceptualisations of leadership of the four leaders in this chapter.

The leadership conceptualisations of the four leaders (and also the leadership conceptualisation of the researcher in Fig. 6.5 may be considered to be *stereotypical* in view of Glynn and Dejordy (2010, p. 121), who credit Bass (1990, pp. 19–20) for coming up with an ‘integrative definition’ of leaders as ‘agents of change’. Further, Bass and Bass (2008, p. 24) cite Ciulla (1998, p. 11) in accounting for the various definitions of leadership that have arisen: “All of them discuss leadership as some kind of process, act, or influence that in some way gets people to do something”.

In regard to why definitions of leadership change, one answer may be found in the influence of social forces. For example, in the aftermath of the bankruptcy of Lehman Brothers on 15 September, 2008 and in view of the global financial crisis, Nohria and Khurana (2010) note the societal pressure for business schools (including Harvard Business School) to develop not only better leaders but better knowledge about leadership. Furthermore, in commenting on the state of research on leadership, the scholars identify five dualities (summarised as (1) performance vs. meaning; (2) special person vs. social role; (3) universal versus particular; (4) agency vs. constraints; 5. thinking and doing vs. becoming and being) that seem

to not only reflect research directions but also beliefs about leadership and how leadership is portrayed and promoted.

Although leadership was *not* identified a priori in the study in this chapter, a question about the portrayal of leadership has been addressed; specifically, why did the four leaders and the researcher provide such ‘stereotypical’ conceptualisations of leadership where the leaders acted to *influence* others? When the leadership conceptualisation process is illuminated as involving the leaders and the researcher in semi-structured interviews, one apparent reason for the stereotypical responses of the four leaders is the *behavioural question* created by the researcher (on the basis of his motivational relevancies). In effect, the four leaders were being asked to explain how they *influenced* others to achieve a goal in their roles as leaders in professional settings. Furthermore, the researcher (after obtaining, analysing, and reflecting on the four leaders’ answers to the behavioural question) communicated in Fig. 6.5 what he had *learned* about leadership from the four leaders. (See also Iedema’s (2003, p. 41) concept of ‘resemiotization’.)

In connection with how leadership is portrayed, this chapter has shown that the leadership conceptualisation process is relevant. As presented in this chapter, the leadership conceptualisations of the four leaders and the leadership conceptualisation of the researcher in Fig. 6.5 were created for specific purposes and with particular audiences in mind. The conceptualisations of leadership in this chapter cannot be completely understood apart from the researcher’s account of the leadership conceptualisation process. Accordingly, I conclude by arguing that leadership conceptualisations should be viewed and accounted for in connection with their various inputs, from multiple perspectives, and in consideration of the socially constructed leadership conceptualisation process.

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Chapter 7

Developing Distributed Leadership: Leadership Emergence in a Sporting Context

Nick Wilson

7.1 Introduction

Leadership is a central topic for researchers of language in the workplace, as demonstrated by this collective volume on the topic, but the focus of leadership research tends to focus on established leaders and the linguistic practices they employ to ‘do’ leadership (Holmes et al. 1999; Holmes 2005). Less studied is the way in which people become leaders (c.f. Schnurr and Zayts 2011). This chapter challenges the stereotype that leaders emerge because of some personality trait, such as charisma or extroversion (Fiol et al. 1999; Riggio et al. 2003), and argues that leadership is a locally defined practice. It explores how individuals construct themselves as leadership candidates, moving along a trajectory from followership to leadership. A further leadership stereotype challenged here is that an organisation usually has one identifiable leader. This chapter demonstrates not only that organisations may have more than one leader, but that these leaders may exist at various levels and positions in an organisation. This is known as a distributed leadership structure (Barry 1991; Gronn 2002) and this chapter proposes that it is crucial to leadership development and emergence within an organisation. Distributed leadership is not just about having multiple leaders within an organisation, but is about viewing leadership as an emergent, negotiated practice within an organisation (Bolden 2011). This position also challenges the stereotypical assumption that there is usually just one easily identifiable leader in an organisation.

An interactional sociolinguistic framework is used in analysing the excerpts presented in this chapter, which are derived from a dataset of interactions that took place within an amateur rugby team in New Zealand, and is gathered using a linguistic ethnographic methodology over the course of one year. Interactional Sociolinguistics focuses on the construction of meaning and identity through the

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use of language, and tends to focus on particular forms, functions or strategies that appear in authentic recorded interaction and analysed with reference to relevant context (Gumperz 1999). This analysis focuses in particular on the norms of interaction in the team in terms of contestive and supportive discourse strategies (Holmes and Marra 2002a), and the use of solidarity enhancing language in performing leadership, or relational leadership (Daly et al. 2004; Baxter and Wallace 2009; Marra et al. 2016). Building on the community of practice model (Wenger 1998), emergent leaders are conceptualised in this chapter as following a trajectory towards becoming leaders, with the hierarchy of the leadership structure being embedded within the community of practice. In contrast to existing stereotypes of leadership, this research sees leadership as a shared activity, and as a dynamic process of negotiation rather than a fixed set of roles and responsibilities. Importantly, this chapter discusses the linguistic practices not of a leader, but of leaders within an organisation, and how the leadership practices of each leader are emergent through interaction with other leaders and with followers (in this case the players in the rugby team).

As noted above, the research that underpins this chapter focuses on 17 h' worth of recorded interactions between coaches and players gathered as part of a year-long ethnographic study of leadership discourse in a New Zealand rugby team. This team contained a distributed leadership structure, in which there were two coaches, two captains, a vice-captain, and several other 'emerging' leadership figures amongst the players. The overall dataset, from which four extracts are drawn to support the discussion in this paper, comprises 32 frontstage interactions in which coaches and/or captains address multiple players, five backstage interactions between leaders and five backstage interactions between leaders and individual players. The qualitative analysis of how distributed leadership is constructed in the interactions is supported by participant observation and nine ethnographic interviews with the 'official' leaders within the team. Whilst this paper acts as a case study of leadership emergence within a distributed leadership structure, it also demonstrates that principles embedded within the communities of practice model, as a theory of learning, can account for the way in which members of an organisation develop into leaders and how they are spotted by existing leaders.

In terms of structure, this chapter first reviews the existing literature on distributed leadership and leader emergence before going on to discuss how the communities of practice framework can be applied to the rugby club that is the focus of this research; in particular, discussing the learning and development aspect of communities of practice theory in relation to leadership emergence. A series of four excerpts from authentic interactions between the various types of leaders within the team, as well as with players who are not leaders, are analysed using an interactional sociolinguistic framework that highlights examples of typical leadership practice within the team (Schnurr 2008; Vine et al. 2008; Holmes 2009). This is supported by an interview extract with one of the coaches. These examples are representative of the overall dataset, and although the analysis of each extract is qualitative in nature, they represent practices that were generally observable over the period of ethnography. Moreover, the linguistic construction of these leadership

practices can also be analysed quantitatively to gain a perspective on a leader's general leadership style (Wilson 2010). In the analysis and discussion provided in this paper, the argument is made that leaders emerge as a result of their environment: their leadership practices are shaped by their community of practice and some communities of practice provide a better environment for leader emergence than others. Thus the stereotype of the 'natural born leader', that Avolio notes encountering amongst leadership 'trainees' as a widely held belief (2005, pp. 1–2), is challenged by examining leadership as being embedded within the situated learning environment of a community of practice. Moreover, by looking at leadership as a learnable practice, this chapter refutes the stereotype that certain personality traits are necessary for leadership, particularly since leadership practice varies depending on the organisational environment in which it is developed.

7.2 Literature Review

7.2.1 *Distributed Leadership and Leader Emergence*

Just as identity is constructed by all participants in an interaction, leadership is jointly constructed by leaders and followers (Crevani et al. 2010; Morgeson et al. 2010; Raelin 2011). Furthermore, leadership activities can be shared among a number of co-leaders (Heenan and Bennis 1999; O'Toole et al. 2002; Vine et al. 2008; Wilson 2009). Whether this takes the form of co-leadership, which incorporates a hierarchy of leaders and deputy leaders, or shared leadership which is a flatter model of leadership, one structure goes further, and that is distributed leadership (Bolden 2011). In a distributed leadership structure, not only are there multiple leaders, but they occupy positions in a range of groups within the organisation, each representing different facets of the organisation that utilise different knowledge and skill sets.

Distributed leadership has been a popular topic of discussion in organisation studies for over twenty years at this point and garnered interest predominantly in its utility as an alternative to the 'hero leader' model that dominated prior to this (Gronn 2009). This represents a shift in thinking about leadership from being based on the individual to being based on the practices of leaders and followers (Barry 1991; Gronn 2000). The most important aspect of distributed leadership is that leadership practice (i.e. the things people do that count as leadership in an organisation) are spread out amongst a range of individuals in an organisation. While there may be an overall leader, or leadership group, this is apparently not completely necessary in a fully distributed leadership structure (Barry 1991; Bolden 2011). However, Gronn (2009) makes the point that there are a wide range of 'leadership configurations' in the various structures described as distributed leadership. At its loosest, the term is simply an umbrella term for leadership structures involving multiple leaders, although this rather misses a key point about leadership

being spread amongst those not in official leadership positions. If we are strict we could adhere to the idea that distributed leadership involves no overall leader, and leaders are selected based on the type of occupation they represent but Gronn (2009) rightly points out that in reality this is rare. He suggests that we should talk about a multiplicity of possible leadership configurations that could be described as distributed leadership and that these could include, for instance, a co-leadership structure with some distribution of leadership amongst a hierarchy, or a set of hierarchal shared leadership units. Essentially, it seems that distributed leadership is anything in which a range of individuals across an organisation are empowered to make decisions and jointly negotiate the direction of the organisation with other empowered leaders (Jones et al. 2012).

Yet distributed leadership does not always lead to organisational harmony. Chreim (2015) describes a situation in which two organisations merge leadership structures, and in the process, the leadership structures and practices of one organisation come into conflict with the other. His research lends further weight to the idea that leadership practice is negotiable and co-constructed between leaders and followers, but also posits that the very structure of leadership that exists in an organisation is also negotiable. The research discussed in this paper supports this idea.

There is very little research on how leaders emerge or develop in real organisations (c.f. Schnurr and Zayts 2011). Much of the research that has been conducted on the topic has taken place in controlled small group settings, and tends to take a positivist, trait-based stance on leadership, often linking it to charisma and extroversion (e.g. Campbell et al. 2003; Riggio et al. 2003). Most studies that take this approach examine psychological and demographic factors as predictors of leadership emergence. In contrast, this chapter suggests that leadership is demonstrated through language; therefore, emergent leaders will show signs of leader-like discourse before they are institutionally ratified leaders. This idea also challenges stereotypical ideas of what a leader is, taking the position that leadership is defined by practice, rather than by institutional status and that leadership is itself an emergent practice (Northouse 2009; Crevani et al. 2010; Raelin 2011; Arnulf et al. 2012).

7.2.2 Communities of Practice and Leadership

A community of practice is typically described in terms of three criteria: joint enterprise, mutual engagement and shared repertoire (Wenger 1998; Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999). To briefly summarise this, a community of practice is comprised of a group of people who meet on a regular basis (is mutually engaged) in order to carry out some form of purposeful activity (a joint enterprise), and develop a shared way of doing so (a shared repertoire). It is the shared repertoire that sociolinguists focus on, as it is the observable behaviour that signals communities of practice membership. Moreover, much of the shared repertoire often contains features that

are distinct from other contexts of interaction, such as jargon, or in-group linguistic forms (Bucholtz 1999).

Wenger (2000, p. 231) states that “[c]ommunities of practice depend on internal leadership”, and Drath and Pallus (1994) define leadership practice as a form of meaning-making in a community of practice, a point echoed by Clifton (2012). We can thus view leadership as integral to the study of communities of practice, particularly in workplace and organisational contexts. If we also take the position that leadership itself is a practice that can be learned (Carroll et al. 2008), then we can refocus our analysis of an organisation in terms of communities of practice, so that (in a distributed leadership structure) the leaders form a community of practice in which they negotiate the way in which leadership is done in that organisation. We can then invoke another concept from the communities of practice model that lets us analyse an individual’s learning journey, the *trajectory* that they taking in acquiring the leadership practice defined by a leadership community of practice and in so doing, becoming a leader with the right to ‘make meaning’ in an organisation (Clifton 2012, p. 153).

The community of practice theory allows for the description of internal movement and different degrees of alignment in a group defined as a community of practice. By analysing an individual’s membership of a community of practice as showing greater or lesser alignment to the practices that define the community of practice, they can be categorised as closer or further from the core of the community of practice (Wenger 1998). A member’s alignment can change over time, either as they adopt more of the core practices, or the defining practice of the community of practice changes. This can be described using the concept of a trajectory. A member may thus be described, for example, as peripheral but on an inbound trajectory, meaning that they do not currently exhibit all of the core practices that are part of the community of practice’s repertoire, but have adopted more of them over time and thus, if this continues, may in time be described as a core member. This concept is central to the idea of leadership as an emergent and negotiated practice among community of practice members as it allows leadership to be seen as a practice (Drath and Palus 1994), and the institutionally recognised leaders in an organisation as core members of a community of practice of leadership, since they embody all of the practices that construct leadership in an organisation (Drath et al. 2008). Emergent leaders, therefore, are members of an organisation who are on a trajectory not just in terms of the community of practice that forms around their core activities, such as insurance-claim handling (Wenger 1998), but also in terms of a leadership community of practice made up of the other leaders in the organisation. However, whilst a person may be on an inbound trajectory in terms of their membership of a leadership community of practice, they may come to engage more with this community of practice and less with their original working practice based community of practice. This would mean that they might at one point in time be a core member of their working practice community of practice and a peripheral member of a leadership community of practice. For example, we might have a teacher, who starts out as a peripheral member of a workplace community of practice, but over time aligns with (and negotiates) the teaching practices of their

workplace, thus becoming a core member of a range of nested communities of practices such as their class and their department. If they then are given some leadership responsibility, such as heading a department, they will also start to engage with other leaders, as well as their existing communities of practice. They may then be core members of the original communities of practice and peripheral members of a leadership community of practice. Over time, and perhaps with further promotion, they may engage more with leadership and management duties and their work becomes focused on these practices rather than their original work of teaching. At this stage, we might see them as peripheral members of their original work-based community of practice and core members of a leadership community of practice. Of course, the way a trajectory operates is dependent on the structure of an organisation. This idea is exemplified in more detail in relation to rugby players and coaches in Sect. 7.3.

In other words, if we see leadership as a practice (that is constructed through language), then a community of practice of leaders is formed that intersects with the other communities of practice in an organisation in which the various people who practice leadership interact (i.e. mutually engage). The crucial point here is that the leaders must interact in some way. In an organisation as small as a rugby team this happens very easily, however in a larger organisation, we might find that such a structure is formed through more ‘artificial’ means such as training or networking sessions, perhaps aimed at fostering distributed leadership (Jones et al. 2012). But not every emergent leader moves all the way up an organisational hierarchy. There are points along an individual’s trajectory in a leadership group at which they may stay, such as a deputy leader, who may be seen as less core than the main leaders, or a peripheral leader, whose role is secure, but of lesser importance and influence in an organisation as a whole.

7.3 The Emergence of Communities of Practice in the Rugby Team

The rugby team that provides the focus of this chapter, is like all rugby teams, segregated in terms of field position into forwards and backs. These positional groupings are inherent to the game of rugby, and whether a player is a forward or a back is determined early in their rugby career, although some players do manage to cross this divide.¹ The division between these two groups is reinforced by playing styles: forwards chase the ball, backs wait for it; and spatial organisation: forwards are in close physical proximity most of the time, backs stand far apart. As is discussed in this and following sections, proxemics have an effect on the communicative norms that are established in each group, since it is much easier to talk

¹A notable example is former All Black Jonah Lomu, who began as a forward but as a professional played as a back. A less notable example is the author of this chapter.

Table 7.1 List of players and coaches

Pseudonym	Official role	Positional group
Tommo	Head coach	Forwards
Parky	Assistant coach	Backs
Jon	Team captain	Forwards
Bug	Vice-captain	Backs
Mozza	Co-captain	Forwards
Jeff H	Player	Forwards
Tommy	Player	Forwards
Nika	Player	Forwards
Mason	Player	Forwards
Steve	Player	Forwards
Ata	Player	Forwards
Will	Player	Backs
Rik	Player	Backs
Rory	Player	Backs
Colin	Player	Backs
Smithy	Player	Backs

to someone when standing next to them than 10 or 20 m away from them. However, although each group has external constraints on their discourse strategies, it is up to any group thrown together by an institution to negotiate the practices that construct local meaning and identity for them in going about their shared enterprise. Once a set of communicative practices have been formed, we can analyse the position groups in this team as community of practice, and the same process is also true in other rugby teams (Wilson 2009). As the analysis presented in the remainder of this chapter will focus on the discourse of a large number of individuals, it may be useful at this juncture to provide an overview of who these people are in relation to their official leadership roles and their positional affiliation. For the coaches, this affiliation is notable in that they were once players and retain a positional identity, but also because each coach has specific responsibility for either the forwards or the backs and hence mutually engage with the group as a community of practice. However, they do so in a peripheral role: they cannot take the field and so cannot share all of the practices that define either a Forward² or a Back, this peripheral status is reflected in their variable use of inclusive and exclusive pronouns when addressing the players (File and Wilson 2016). The coaches and players featured in the analysis are listed in Table 7.1, alongside their positional affiliation and their leadership role in the team. Some of these are listed simply as players, however in the analysis that follows it will be shown that they are in fact emergent leaders, since they perform leadership discourse in certain situations.

²I am using capitalisation to denote whether I am referring to a positional group or a CoP. Forwards and Backs are the CoPs in the team based on the positional groups.

Typically, leaders in rugby teams have been ordinary players at some point, and through learning the practice of rugby leadership attain hierarchically recognised positions of authority, such as captain or coach. Thus their alignment towards the practice of leadership becomes institutionally reified (Wenger 1998, p. 261). Furthermore, the player leaders have to fulfil the same duties as the other players in addition to the work they perform in their leadership role. Aside from this, and as has been discussed already, distributed leadership is present in many sports teams, since there are a wide variety of roles and situations that take place in sport and it is usual that a number of players will take on leadership roles at least some of the time (Fransen et al. 2014). This is particularly salient in rugby and it is notable that former New Zealand head coach, Graham Henry pursued a strategy of distributed leadership and player empowerment prior to winning the 2011 Rugby World Cup (Bull 2015). Section 3.1 discusses how the coaches, Tommo and Parky, instituted a similar structure, and how the players negotiated their own roles within this structure.

7.3.1 Leadership and Field Position: Rationalising the Co-captaincy

The coaches may be regarded as the core of the Leadership community of practice, as they initially determine the meaning of leadership within the team. It is also up to them to choose the players who will be assigned leadership status within the official hierarchy of the team (and club). However, selection as a leader is not the sole criterion for being a successful leader. Instead, it is performing leadership according to the negotiated shared practice of leadership determined by the community of practice that defines a leader. Within the team at the time this research took place, the dominant leadership practice was a supportive, collaborative one, perhaps because both the head coach and the team captain were both Forwards, and this form of leadership is well suited to the way they train and play rugby. The Backs, on the other hand seem to have a different, more contestive style of leadership, and at team level, this did not seem to be accepted as readily for the whole team as the Forwards' style. Not all of the players selected as leaders are successful in enacting leadership and some players who are not selected as leaders perform as leaders, regardless of whether this status has been institutionally reified (Wenger 1998). This shows that leadership is not just about being called a leader, but by doing leadership in line with locally defined practice. Example 1 shows the justification given by Parky as to the selection of the players who make up the team captaincy and how Parky envisages that it will work. The excerpt is taken from an interview conducted with Parky during preseason training.

Example 1 Interview with Parky

- 1 Parky: so he[Tommo]'s named him [Mozza] and Jon
2 who are two of the senior players in the squad
3 as co-captains
4 because we're not sure whether Mozza'll
5 be here for the whole season or not
6 and so they'll simply complement each other
7 ... the other aspect of that is
8 that being a hooker
9 Jon's in the brunt of everything
10 and sometimes is going to get injured ..
11 Mozza's a loose forward
12 so it's quite handy to have them both ...
13 and then you got Bug sitting as a-
14 a = vice = out
15 Nick: = vice =
16 Parky: in the backs ...
17 it's just creating
18 a bigger leadership group
19 so there's not so much pressure
20 on one person /
21 Nick: okay
22 Parky: == and you're developing ..
23 you know ..
24 some of your senior players into those leadership roles so
25 that ..
26 you know ..
27 you can .. deal with all situations that can potentially come
28 up /
29 Nick: okay .. cool
30 Parky: == and also it keeps them honest as well

31 so on er .. a given Saturday if um ..
 32 Jon's having a shit game ..
 33 it's no problem with us pulling him off
 34 Nick: yeah ... yeah I see what you mean .. yeah
 35 Parky: so- and it broadens that leadership group
 36 so that- what Tommo does is he splits-
 37 once we're on a roll-
 38 once we're into the season
 39 a couple of weeks
 40 he'll take the team
 41 and he'll split them into mini-teams
 42 and there'll be a leader of each team
 43 so Mozza'll have a team ..
 44 Jon'll have a team ..
 45 Bug'll have a team
 46 and there'll probably be one other senior player that'll
 47 have a team

This indicates that there is a plan that the player leadership should function as a form of distributed leadership. In outlining this plan, Parky names three players, Jon, Mozza and Bug, as leaders. Due to the hierarchical norms of the rugby club, it is an institutional necessity to name a captain (or captains) at the beginning of a season. The potential problem inherent in this is that prior to being made captain, the player has no opportunity to behave as a captain in a match situation, unless of course he was captain the previous season (which was not the case in the Premis). While they may have aligned their practices in such a way as to position them as potential leaders, it is up to the coaches to give their leadership institutional reification (Wenger 1998; Davies 2005; Avolio et al. 2009). Furthermore, the traditional hierarchical model with one captain does not reflect the reality of the sport, in which multiple players are needed in order to enact a range of leadership functions (Fransen et al. 2014).

During their intra-team interactions, players are routinely called upon to make decisions, issue directives, pay compliments and deliver criticism: all acts of leadership. In other words, it is by speaking up at training sessions, giving advice to other players and making themselves noticed that players negotiate the discursive practices that are used by the leaders. However, a player may be selected as an 'official' leader, yet not successfully adopt the practices modelled by the core members of the Leadership group, the coaches, and hence never achieve full membership of the Leadership group, despite their 'official' status as captains. By selecting two captains, therefore, it may be that not only are the coaches hedging

against the possible injury of one of their captains (line 11), but against the possibility that one will not conform to the practice of leadership as it is constructed in the Premis. At this stage, Parky suggests an equal leadership status between Jon and Mozza. However, in reality, these two players negotiate a somewhat different leadership role for themselves than intended by Parky, with Mozza enacting a role as Jon's deputy.

As the most senior figure in the player leadership structure, through the institutional reification granted him by the coaches and Mozza's complicity, Jon has a strong claim on core membership of the leadership in the team, alongside, the coaches, Tommo and Parky. Through his alignment to the leadership practices determined by the coaches, and his institutional status as captain, he is in a position to renegotiate leadership practice. In fact, Jon's role as captain involves a different configuration of community of practice membership to the coaches' leadership roles. Jon is a core member of both the Forwards, as he is central to the action and embodies the communicative practices of the Forwards. He is also a core member of the Leadership community of practice. However, prior to becoming a coach, Tommo would have had the same situation when he was a team captain. Indeed this is a common trajectory for players who complete a leadership trajectory. Other players are moving on a journey towards the core in terms of leadership (or not: they could remain simply as players), but may be core members of their positional communities of practice, and the coaches are core members of the leadership community of practice, since they initially form the leadership practices, but are peripheral members of the positional communities of practice. Thus, captaincy in rugby marks a transition point in leadership, although one that may be stable over a number of seasons. Of course, a captain could move to another club (or be selected at representative level), in which case he would have to negotiate a place in a new community of practice. Arguably, what makes for a good leader is the ability to do this.

The distributed leadership structure not only contains institutionally reified leaders such as the coaches and captains, however. Other members of the team may align their communicative practices with the core members of this group in such a way that they may be considered leaders too.

In Example 1, Parky outlines the intended structure of the team of being split into four groups. However, over the course of the season, the players did not appear to construct any meaning for these groups that set them apart from the larger positional communities of practice. Perhaps as a result of this, the practice of using these groups as a way of doing leadership was not fully accepted by the players and although attempts were made to follow the coaches' plan, by midway through the season this practice had effectively been abandoned. This shows that although the coaches as the hierarchically defined leaders of the team, and, to begin with at least, the core members of the Leadership group specified a leadership practice for the team, this was negotiated not only by the players chosen to be leaders, but by the other players in their acceptance, or refusal of the legitimacy of these selections. This demonstrates the influence of followers in constructing leadership (c.f. Jackson and Guthey 2007; Agho 2009; Crevani et al. 2010). It also identifies a situation in which a top-down distributed leadership structure (Currie et al. 2009; Bolden 2011)

meets bottom-up negotiation of practice. In other words, whilst core leaders may have an idea of how to implement a leadership structure, it is up to the other members of the leadership group to negotiate this structure to fit with their local needs and practices in the work-based (or positional) communities of practice.

The power of the players in co-constructing other players as leaders is shown in the way in which Mozza, while being a very good leader in terms of his decision-making ability, was never accepted as an inspirational *hero* leader (Jackson and Parry 2001; Holmes 2009) in the same way as Tommo or Jon and thus could not successfully perform the practices that defined the role of captain within the Leadership group and the team. While a distributed leadership structure is said to preclude the need for a hero leader (Arnulf et al. 2012), it would seem that in this team at least, players expected the core leaders to perform leadership in a style similar to Jon. Instead he negotiated a position as a deputy, voicing support for Jon's decisions. However, this is not very different from the behaviour that might be expected from him as a core member of the Forwards. In fact, in discourse terms, Mozza seemed to behave the same as other core members of the Forwards, fully subscribing to their supportive norms and using the compliment/encouragement strategy that has been noted as a feature of their discursive repertoire. Bug, on the other hand, negotiated a position as sole leader of the Backs by not only conforming to the same inspirational leadership style as Jon and Tommo during huddles, but by also constructing a style of leadership that drew on his hierarchical status to exercise power over the other Backs. This seems to have been accepted by the Backs although it is uncertain whether, like Mozza, he was conforming to the discursive norms of the community of practice or was in fact the driving force behind their construction.

7.3.2 Differences in Leadership Style Between the Forwards and Backs

As noted above, the players are split into two separate groups determined by their field position, Forwards and Backs. These groups train separately, the Forwards with the head coach, who was a Forward himself in his playing days, and the Backs with the assistant coach, who was likewise a Back. Due to the separation of the groups in the training session, and different forms of engagement, each group develops practices separate from one another, thus becoming communities of practice in their own right. Different ways of training begin to emerge as these positional communities of practice emerge and communicative norms are influenced by differences in training such as player proximity and physical contact. Although these groups are defined by the positions that the players take up on the field of play (Melnick and Loy 1996) and are thus not initially defined by practice, the way that each group trains is very different and this impacts upon the shared repertoire which they develop as they form a community of practice. This is relevant to leadership emergence because leadership practice is defined firstly at team

level, but then at a positional level, through the appointment of player leaders, such as Jon, Mozza and Bug who renegotiate their own leadership practice with the players in their communities of practice, who may in turn emerge as leaders. Alongside the development of the positional groups into communities of practice, we see how each community of practice also defines leadership differently, according to the communicative norms which are in turn constrained by the nature of the positional groupings themselves. This section analyses the discourse between players in training sessions in order to exemplify the discursive norms that are negotiated in each community of practice, and how these norms set up different environments for the emergence of leaders.

Since it is position that is the starting point for the development of the two communities of practice, it is important to understand how this is conceptualised in terms of the way that the players use the space of the rugby field. The use of space and the relative distance between players during training can be interpreted as having a major influence not just on the discourse strategies that are employed, but also the communicative norms that define each group (Sullivan and Feltz 2003; Mondada 2009; Sobociński 2010). This is because, simply put, the Forwards spend more time standing close enough to talk, and thus do so constantly, and the majority of their actions are routines that are repeated many times in practice and matches. Conversely, the Backs are further away from each other and only talk in the intervals between moves when they must decide what to do next (Melnick and Loy 1996). This is not to say that these physical and spatial factors are solely responsible for the different communicative norms which are negotiated in each group, but they provide a context within which some discursive strategies work better than others in fulfilling the transactional goals of each community of practice, and hence constrain the style of leadership that is effective in each context.

Example 2, below, illustrates how the Forwards use frequent supportive interaction and how several players perform leadership functions. Although there is not space here to similarly analyse an excerpt from the Backs in a training situation, it can be noted that the Backs tend to demonstrate much more competitive discursive norms, even when doing solidarity work through insults (Wilson 2011). Conversely, the Forwards seem more overtly supportive of one another, with frequent compliments and encouragement rather than insults and one-upmanship. Example 3 took place during lineout practice, a key area for Forwards to practice and one which makes them stand close together and practice lifting one player (the jumper) while he attempts to catch the ball that has been thrown in by the hooker (Jon). Jon is in a key position in two respects. He takes the lead not only on the basis of his team captaincy, but also the leadership of this situation in which he starts with the ball and hence determines the play. He is thus a leader of the Forwards, the team and the situation. This extract illustrates how supportive of each other the Forwards are and how directives are not questioned. Many of the Forwards contribute not only in terms of encouragement, but also by directing each other, thus constructing a distributed leadership structure that helps Jon to lead the Forwards effectively.

Example 2 Lineout training

1 Jon: standard ..
 2 going that way ..
 3 form it up ..
 4 let's go boys
 5 [mixed voices of forwards while they form the lineout]
 6 ...
 7 Tommy: let's go boys eh
 8 Nika: let's go brothers
 9 Jon: you mark it ..
 10 Nika .. you set it up bro
 11 ... standard
 12 =..= two seven eight four ...
 13 Mason: =yeah=
 14 Cliff: you got half back Jeff ?
 15 Jeff H: Yeah
 16 Ata: on Nika on Nika
 17 Nika: on me
 18 Ata: two seven eight four
 19 [ball is thrown in]
 20 Tommy: nice Mason ... good start good stuff Jon
 21 Jon: one .. three .. eight six .. one three eight six
 22 ..
 23 [ball is thrown in]
 24 Mozza: here Tommy here
 25 Jon: pass ..
 26 hey nice Tommy ..
 27 good work there bros ...
 28 two five eight four
 29 two five eight four
 30 [ball is thrown in]
 31 Ata: up up =1 up =
 32 Steve: =1 yeah = right here =2 right = here
 33 Tommo: =2 nice =
 34 good work
 35 Jon: shot Stevo .. all day bro .. all day eh ?

The constant communication between the Forwards seems to be important not only because it enables them to perform their roles effectively, but because it enhances their solidarity. What stands out in this regard is the repetition that occurs when a player makes a comment (lines 4, 7 and 8, 16 and 17). Interestingly, on both occasions in this extract the player who repeats the comment changes the phrasing slightly. There is also however, a transactional reason for the repetition that occurs within the Forwards, not just when one speaker repeats another but when one repeats himself. Repetition could occur because the interaction takes place over a very short space of time, the players are moving about and there is often wind and other background noise. Therefore, important messages such as lineout codes, which communicate which player is to receive the ball (lines 12, 18, 21 22, 28, 29), are always repeated in order to ensure that all have heard the call. This discursive practice may have become such an integral part of the Forwards' repertoire, for transactional reasons, that it is applied to other utterances, with a relational effect. For example, when Tommy says *let's go boys eh?* (line 7) he is repeating Jon (line 4) but adding the pragmatic particle *eh?* This not only endorses Jon's original utterance which signalled to the Forwards that they were about to start, but this utterance can also be interpreted as encouragement (equivalent to *come on*), and the repetition helps to give it this meaning as well as Jon's original start signal. Tommy thus supports Jon's leadership by repeating his instructions and builds on their function through his repetition. The plural address term, *boys*, is then modified in Nika's repetition to *brothers* (line 8). Not only does Nika's repetition of Tommy's words of encouragement endorse them and strengthen their illocutionary force, but his change from the already high-solidarity address term, *boys*, to the even more inclusive *brothers*, further enhances the message of solidarity and encouragement that Jon's original utterance conveyed. Thus, by repeating and strengthening encouragement, Nika and Tommy not only build solidarity among the Forwards, but between themselves and Jon as they all align to a common message. The use of repetition is an example of how the constraints, such as background noise, on a communicative event can lead to a practice being developed that not only overcomes the initial constraint but leads to the development of a relational practice that enhances solidarity through a similar strategy.

Overall, the supportive discourse strategy used in this example is representative of the way the Forwards communicate, and in terms of leadership, it shows that they not only accept Jon's leadership, but are active in co-constructing the direction of the Forwards through the repetition and strengthening of his utterances. Moreover, the initiation by players of supportive moves such as compliments and encouragement serves to construct a group identity in which co-operation is key. In this extract, all of the players who speak could be said to be contributing to the distributed leadership of the Forwards.

Nika again uses repetition in line 17, when he acknowledges Ata's advice to the other Forwards to bind round Nika (line 16). By repeating and rephrasing, Nika acknowledges this and reaffirms Ata's advice giving it validity and encouraging the other Forwards to follow it. As well as effectively endorsing Ata's position to issue advice, Nika's utterance also fulfils the function of an *attention-getter* (Ervin-Tripp 1976), by alerting the Forwards to his exact physical location so that they can be where they are supposed to be in the lineout. Thus, what appears at first as a simple piece of repetition functions on both a solidarity level and a transactional level.

Aside from repetition, there are also several examples of compliments in this extract (lines 20, 26, 27, 34, 35). These serve to construct the Forwards community of practice as a high-solidarity, supportive community in which each player supports the other's efforts and applauds them for their successes. This was noted not only in lineout training but in every training drill involving the Forwards and it comes through in their prematch huddles as well. In this regard, the Forwards form a community of practice that has more overtly supportive discursive norms than the Backs, and is one of the communicative practices that distinguishes them as a community of practice. Whether or not it is Jon's leadership that enables this is uncertain, but the frequent use of the address terms *brothers* and *bros* serves to emphasise a degree of collegiality that does not seem to be expressed among the Backs, as can be seen in Example 3.

At the beginning of the extract, a discussion has been going on for some time about what they should be doing, with Will being the main speaker suggesting what to do. At this point however, we can see that the discussion is overwhelmed by jocular insults as well as disagreements. Will builds this into his attempt to steer the group into deciding what to do.

Example 3 Backs during training

- 1 Rik I'll go at first five
- 2 Bug no you stick to-
- 3 you got to get good at your position .. wing
- 4 Rik if I improve Parky was offering it to me
- 5 Bug [laughs]
- 6 Rory (we go straight forward if they move it)
- 7 Rik fuck off
- 8 All [laughter]
- 9 Rik you fucking caned again ?
- 10 Bug do you want a starter's spot or not ?
- 11 Rik what for the senior firsts ?
- 12 Colin fucking (no one else is on the ball)
- 13 Bug you guys are plain mad aren't you
- 14 in the senior firsts ..
- 15 you guys plain mad
- 16 Will Parky has show(n) me bits of the video
- 17 Colin {[to Rory] you're fucking weird}
- 18 Will here's what we'll do
- 19 =1 .. I'll go the halfback 1=
- 20 Smithy =1 he's just another halfback eh ? 1=
- 21 Will .. you go twelve you =2 go thirteen 2=
- 22 Smithy =2 fucking hell ()2 =
- 23 Will first thing we're gonna do
- 24 is skip pass thirteen
- 25 Bug [laughs]
- 26 Rory (I might race out and put it down)
- 27 Bug maybe want to put um like Stacey Jones^a
- 28 .. [team name] Stacey
- 29 Colin and he calls himself little too
- 30 ... the little general

- 31 Bug the little general [laughs]
 32 {[loud] the little general}
 33 Colin and he's alright ..
 34 ran at first five eh dummied -
 35 Will no seriously game plan
 36 Bug no seriously game plan
 37 chuck it to me .. I'll score ()
 38 Sean I've got to get my weight up
 39 I've dropped down to ninety KGs
 40 Bug are you ninety KGs ?
 41 [laughs] you bitch
 42 Smithy will we split there ()
 43 Will I really don't think we should split both sides ()

^aStacey Jones is a former New Zealand rugby league player renowned for his small stature and his abilities as a playmaker, this has earned him the nickname 'the little general'.

In Example 3, there are insults traded between many of the Backs that are involved (lines 7–15, 20, 29–32, 41). As demonstrated by the frequent laughter, the insults are jocular abuse (Hay 1994) and as such can serve to enhance solidarity (Kuiper 1991; Daly et al. 2004). This is a feature of the Backs' discourse that appears to have been negotiated as a shared practice, used to establish solidarity while also creating a competitive discourse structure. Furthermore, although the Backs seem to disagree about who should be doing what in this part of training, prior to this Will had been trying to take charge and lead them through a decision making process. He further attempts this in the extract by suggesting he has inside knowledge on tactics from watching the video analysis of the previous match with Parky (line 16), but he is interrupted by the end of the exchange between Colin, Bug and Rik who are jointly contesting Rory's suggestion they go *straight forward* (line 6). Rory is a marginal member of the Backs' CofP as he has been playing for the Senior Ones until the previous match and although he knows the other Backs well enough through their mutual interaction in preseason training, he has not been present for the negotiation of meaning in this community of practice. As such, the other Backs seem to close ranks against him, putting down any suggestion he makes by suggesting that his membership of the Senior Ones means that he is on drugs (line 9), or mad (lines 13–15). This shows how insults can be used to define the boundaries of a community of practice as well as to engender solidarity within.

Will's first comment on the game plan (lines 18–24) could also be interpreted as a continuation of the insults to Rory (who plays at number thirteen), suggesting that the first thing they do is miss him out (lines 23–24). Smithy, however, sends an

insult Will's way during his build up to this, referring to him as *just another half-back* (line 20). This may be a challenge to Will's legitimacy in directing the play, or a reference to the fact that he has changed position during the course of the season, from centre to half-back. It seems that each of the Backs is attempting to contribute an insult, demonstrating that they are fully conversant with this discursive practice and thus can claim full membership of the group. Rory makes a further attempt to suggest a plan (line 26), which is this time met with a statement that could be interpreted as a sarcastic suggestion that Rory compares his skill level to that of rugby league player Stacey Jones and should thus be called [team name] Stacey (lines 27–34). Will attempts to stop the jovial nature of the discussion at this point and return to the formulation of a game plan. However, Bug carries on with the humour suggesting that they should just give the ball to him and he will score (line 37). Notably, no one challenges Bug in this assertion of his skill, unlike when Rory made a similar suggestion. This is likely to be because of Bug's status both as a core member of the Backs and as their official leader through his status as vice-captain of the Premis.

Despite the solidarity work that the jocular insults and humour create in this interaction, it is essentially a disagreement, and one in which no resolution is reached. Again, this is a typical pattern of interaction among the Backs when Parky is not present and Bug is. In other words, the presence of a particular leadership figure appears to have a significant impact on the contextual norms that are in operation. As Bug often adopts an authoritative, abrasive leadership style, he engenders competition and confrontation among the other Backs.

At this point, then, three features of the Backs discourse have been identified that can be considered part of their discursive repertoire: jocular insults (used to solidify boundaries and promote solidarity), a competitive style of interaction based on disagreement, and at times a more co-operative style. It seems, however, that Bug, as the official leader of the Backs, has the most influence in creating the competitive discourse style. If we compare the discourse of the Backs with the Forwards, however, it is the competitive style that stands out as unusual and it may be that the overall team norm is more co-operative. Other research (Holmes and Marra 2002a; Daly et al. 2004) has shown that a contestive style of humour can serve to create solidarity in some groups, and this may be what is happening in the Backs. Moreover, in the unification of the core members of the Backs against Rory, the marginal member, humour is used as a means of marking a group boundary, highlighting Rory's lesser integration into the community of practice (c.f. Holmes and Marra 2002b).

In contrast to the Backs, the solidarity expressed in the Forwards, and the way in which many players take responsibility for the success of key aspects of communication during play shows that distributed leadership is happening in this community of practice to a greater level than elsewhere in the team. This means that it may be easier for leaders to emerge in the Forward as they have a greater chance to develop leadership discourse strategies and thus, it might be inferred that a forward is more likely to become a team leader than a back. Interestingly, not only is this confirmed by my own analysis of the potential leaders in the team based on the

types of speech act they contribute to team interactions (Wilson 2010), which was cross-checked and confirmed by the coaches, but also by Melnick and Loy's (1996) quantitative analysis of the positional origin of team captains in New Zealand rugby, which found 75% of team captains to be forwards, and that high rates of task interaction are a reliable predictor for leadership selection.

7.4 Discussion

The extracts analysed in the preceding sections have demonstrated not only that leadership practice is negotiated in the rugby team, but that the players negotiate the configuration of leadership, to an extent. As Chriem (2015) points out, different organisations have different leadership requirements and so construct different leadership configurations. In the case of this team, we can see that this takes place in the differing approaches to leadership structure and practice in the Forwards and Backs, with the Forwards adopting a much more distributed approach to leadership whilst the Backs favour a more traditional hierarchical model.

The role of field position has been suggested as one of the predictors of leadership in rugby, not just in this team, but also in other teams, having looked at the patterns of captain selection (Melnick and Loy 1996). However, this is more complex than it at first appears. Field position is only important because it is used as the basis for the community of practice structure of the team, and in fact is settled upon by the players in preference to the more nuanced structure intended by the coaches. The formation of these communities of practice then entails that local practices and norms of interaction form in each and these in turn have an impact upon the leadership structure and practices of the leaders. The community of practice that forms based upon the Forward positions produces an environment in which leadership is nurtured through a supportive environment, whereas the competitive environment of the Backs enforces the traditional hierarchical model in which a leader maintains authority through effectively controlling any opposition. Although not discussed here, this also reflects the leadership styles of the coaches, with Tommo (a Forward) taking a more solidarity led, supportive approach to leadership than Parky (a Back) (see Wilson 2013).

An argument has been made that the leaders in an organisation such as a rugby team can be viewed as forming a community of practice and this allows us to see leaders as following a trajectory from potential leaders (everybody) through emergent leaders to core leaders, or anywhere in-between. This works well in the rugby club where the leaders are all mutually engaged around the joint enterprise of leading the team and construct a shared repertoire of leadership practice is doing so. However, in an organisation where leaders are not mutually engaged, this does not necessarily happen. One might conclude therefore that one way to promote leadership development and emergence is to facilitate leadership communities of

practice in an organisation, and a useful way to do this is to adopt a distributed leadership configuration. Thus, we can see that one of the key enablers of leadership emergence is in fact distributed leadership.

7.5 Conclusion

There is much more to say on this topic and many more examples that could have been discussed in doing so. For example, what happens when a player moves to another team? Another area of discussion that could be taken up is the way in which gender stereotypes feed into the leadership practices in the team. However, what has been discussed in this paper is the importance of distributed leadership for leader emergence, as well as the utility of the communities of practice framework in analysing both of these concepts. The stereotype that leaders emerge because of some individual trait has been challenged. Although this has been challenged by a large number of scholars, many still hold onto this assumption. However, it should not be thought that leadership is a skill that can be learnt in the same way that one learns to read, or to throw and catch. Leadership is a situated practice and as such, an individual learns how to be a successful leader through a process of social learning well described by the communities of practice model. This means that emergent leaders model their leadership practice on existing leaders, but also subtly change what they do when they have the opportunity and as their specific role requires it. Leaders emerge more frequently when an organisation nurtures their development, gives them room to grow and provides plenty of role models.

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Part II
Case Studies on Exposing and
Problematizing Gender Stereotypes in
Leadership Discourse Practices

Chapter 8

Freeing Women Political Leaders from Their Gender Stereotypes

Judith Baxter

8.1 Introduction

Despite career progress made by UK women leaders in the professions, right-of-centre newspaper discourse continues to construct women in reductive ways by foregrounding sexual aspects of their identities. Kanter (1993) classically argued that leading women are targeted because they are highly visible as people who are different, and yet they are not permitted the individuality of their own unique, non-stereotypical characteristics. They are often women in a masculine domain, who are ‘perceived to aspire inappropriately to the privileges of the dominant order’ (Kanter 1993, p. 211). In this chapter, I will explore how newspaper discourse harnesses stereotypes of women leaders such as the iron maiden, the seductress and the mother, in order to ‘reduce’ women by inappropriately sexualising them. Despite this, I argue that newspaper representations are rarely uniformly reductive; they provide gaps and ambiguities that allow feminist critique of dominant readings.

One way to achieve critique of leadership stereotypes is to utilise methods based on Feminist Poststructuralist Discourse Analysis (FPDA; Baxter 2003) to read newspaper texts ‘against the grain’. Resistant readings can rupture the text to produce multifaceted, more empowering constructions of women’s plural identities. The chapter will examine the sexualised constructions of political leaders such as German Chancellor Angela Merkel, Ukraine politician Yulia Tymoshenko and British Prime Minister, Theresa May as these are represented in the UK top-selling, middle-market newspaper, *The Daily Mail*. The larger dataset consists of a corpus of newspaper articles from a range of UK national broadsheet and tabloid newspapers from which the feature articles on each of these political leaders were selected. The strategies for reading gendered newspaper articles against the grain

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are proposed to enable scholars to challenge male journalism that continues to entrap women leaders within narrow, sexualised stereotypes.

I begin this chapter by proposing Kanter's (1977/1993) theory of 'role traps' as a useful conceptual framework for analysing gendered stereotypes of women leaders in newspaper discourse. I then review the literature on the stereotyping of women in the news media more widely, which has led feminist scholars to critique their negative constructions of women. In contrast to this approach, I propose deconstructive methods based on the principles of FPDA to enable scholars to read newspaper texts 'against the grain'. This method not only challenges news media stereotypes but releases more positive readings of women leaders. Finally, I give a deconstructive reading of three newspaper articles, each featuring a senior women politician, in order to demonstrate how scholars can challenge male journalism that continues to entrap women leaders within damaging stereotypes.

8.2 Kanter and Stereotyping Women Leaders

The social psychologist, Kanter was one of the first to suggest that senior women are often unconsciously stereotyped by their colleagues in the workplace in order to contain and reduce their power and effectiveness. She famously argued that women in senior positions (henceforth, 'senior women') are 'tokenised' in male-dominated organisations in which they form a small proportion of senior directors. Because senior women are represented as different, they are forced into gendered but approved subject positions, or in her terms, 'role traps'. She identified four such role traps—Mother, Seductress, Pet and Iron Maiden, based on familiar, historical archetypes of women in power.

Kanter argued that while, on one hand, role traps offer women a range of professionally approved leadership positions in male-dominated corporations, on the other, these act to subordinate women's professional identities to their 'gender category'. That is, women are judged on the basis of their gender rather than on the basis of their achievements as leaders. She further claimed that role traps significantly constrain the way women's individual expertise and experiences are perceived and valued, which could have a detrimental effect on their career performance and progression. As a social psychologist, Kanter made somewhat essentialist assumptions about the roles of women as they were characterised by others, and thus, did not explore how these roles were enacted through linguistic and semiotic practices.

While it might be argued that Kanter's theorisations are quite dated, the professional context within which senior women find themselves has barely changed. According to the *Female FTSE Board Report* (Sealy et al. 2016), women occupy around 20% of leadership positions on the top 250 UK plc boards. While this figure represents a development (from just 12.5% in 2010), it seems that business leadership continues to be at least one professional domain where gender differentiation on the basis of assumed biological sex is evident, and clearly prejudicial to the

social category of women. This is therefore a context where gender as a binary distinction 'is made relevant' to scholarly discussion (Kitzinger 2007) because it has both material and discursive effects in terms of the presence/absence of women as leaders and professionals at senior management level (Baxter 2014). In this chapter I use the terms 'men' and 'women' to denote fluid, social constructs rather than essentialist categories.

Thus, Kanter's work remains very much relevant to a current discussion of the ways in which senior women are represented in the news media precisely because the gender balance at senior management level has largely remained unchanged, which in turn reproduces an unsympathetic, masculinised work culture for women (Angouri 2011; Baxter 2010; Holmes 2006; Koller 2004; Mullany 2007; Schnurr 2009). Kanter's theory about role traps still offers powerful insights about the ways in which women continue to be represented, especially in the right-wing news media. However, Kanter's work has relevance today only if it is reconceptualised in more agentive terms as a set of linguistic and discursive resources that both scholars and women leaders themselves can draw upon to reimagine leadership in fluid, versatile, and dynamic ways. If reconceptualised as such, Kanter's theorisation can help scholars and readers not only to identify the common stereotypes by which senior women in the media are portrayed, but also to develop ways of deconstructing and resisting these harmful representations.

Kanter's theory of role traps was formulated on the basis of characterising senior women's minority status within business organisations as 'tokens' in male-dominated organisations. She observed that the characteristics of tokens are often 'distorted to fit pre-existing generalisations about their category as a group' (Kanter 1993, p. 230). Women are therefore 'assimilated' as a 'numerical rarity' into a range of gender-stereotyped roles which are deemed acceptable for women to perform within an organisation primarily led by men. Kanter's (1993, p. 312) central thesis was that these roles are in no way natural to women, and indeed 'when men and women are in similar situations operating under similar expectations, they tend to behave in similar ways'. In her view, patriarchal gendered conditions are responsible for producing these four role traps within the business domain, which she characterised in the following ways.

The first role trap Kanter delineates is the 'iron maiden' or 'battle-axe'—ostensibly the most powerful and stereotypically masculinised of the four. The iron maiden is viewed as unnaturally virilised in so far as she is considered to speak and behave aggressively, and she is routinely represented by colleagues as 'scary', 'tough', 'mean', 'hard', 'bullying', 'calculating' and perhaps 'bitchy' (Baxter 2010). Although this position appears to encapsulate the most explicit power of the four, it is potentially limiting because an iron maiden is assumed to be so independent and resilient that she experiences no problems of her own, and thus does not require support from her colleagues. She may also be the butt of cruel jokes from both men and women about her presumed lack of femininity, warmth or sexuality.

The second role trap Kanter identifies is the ‘seductress’, which encapsulates an objectified view of women as primarily serving the sexual needs of powerful men. According to Kanter, the seductress usually forms an alliance with one very senior man in the organisation; she uses her sexual/feminine appeal to gain influence with other senior men and is therefore a source of threat and suspicion to both male and female colleagues alike, who in turn may avoid and marginalise her. This is conspicuously a more vulnerable and threatening position for a senior woman than the other role traps because the seductress is viewed as using her sexual attractiveness to succeed in the organisation rather than her specialist, professional abilities.

The third role trap is the ‘mother’, which encapsulates a traditional position of authority, if usually located within the domestic and ‘private’ sphere of the family (for a critique of the private–public divide, see Cameron 2006). According to Kanter, the role of the mother is socio-emotional rather than reliant upon professional expertise; she is expected to provide the service of comforter and sympathiser to colleagues; she is regarded as dull and safe in that she is not a sexual threat to men, and may be described as ‘warm’, ‘caring’ and ‘approachable’ but also ‘headmistress-like’ by colleagues (Baxter 2010). However, this position is fundamentally limiting for senior women because the mother is not seen as a powerful role, as she is expected to provide a support service to peers rather than to be respected for her independent, professional and critical abilities.

Finally, the fourth role trap is that of ‘pet’ who ‘is adopted by the male group as a cute, amusing little thing and symbolically taken along on group events as a mascot’ (Kanter 1993, p. 235). The pet is expected to be teased by her senior male colleagues, but in compensation she may be described as ‘cute’, ‘funny’ ‘a laugh’, ‘a good sport’ (Baxter 2010). She may be seen as innocent and somewhat naïve. This is likely to be a limiting discursive role because the senior woman is encouraged to be girlish and self-effacing, not capable of acting on her own or being a proper grown-up, thus preventing her from displaying real power or competence.

All four role traps (and especially the first three) are readily identifiable in the newspaper media as dominant ways in which senior women are routinely represented, but this narrow and sexualised range of leadership stereotypes has rarely been theorised from an FPDA perspective, as I intend to do in this chapter.

8.3 Stereotyping of Women Leaders in the News Media

The stereotyping of women across the mass media has long been of interest to scholars of gender studies in the social sciences, although there has been comparatively little published work from a linguistic perspective on the ways in which women *leaders* are represented in newspaper discourse. Most gender scholars acknowledge that news is a cultural product that reflects the dominant cultural assumptions about who and what is important, as well as how we should view news topics and people as news ‘subjects’ (Gill 2007). Such assumptions are always governed by interwoven social variables such as gender, class, ethnicity, wealth,

power and nationality which in turn determine what social relations are considered to be natural and normal.

Feminist studies of how gender is constructed in the news media have used both quantitative and qualitative approaches to demonstrate that women are both underrepresented *numerically* around the world, and also represented *linguistically* and *semiotically* in limited, negative and often sexualised ways. On the numerical point, for example, even in Scandinavian countries where women's participation in decision-making and public life is high (women constitute 43% of the national Parliament), they were found to be dramatically underrepresented in the news media (Gill 2007). On the semiotic point, research has found that newspaper texts focus consistently on women's physical appearance at the expense of other features. Common across middle-market and tabloid newspapers, for example, is the tendency to describe a woman's age and hair colour ('blonde', 'brunette' and 'flame-haired'). As I write, there is a brief article in *The Daily Mail* on the UK businesswoman and celebrity, Victoria Beckham, who is introduced in a fragmented way as the wearer of '£585 Casadei shoes with four and a half inch steel heels', and then as 'the slim mother of four' (Ferris 2015, p. 23), rather than as a successful business woman or as an ambassador for UNAIDS, mentioned towards the end of the article. This tendency to foreground physical appearance at the expense of a woman's working role is not true of the ways in which men are described in this newspaper and others. On the same page of *The Daily Mail*, there is an article about the British artist and celebrity, Damien Hirst, who is introduced in terms of his art and wealth with no mention of his clothes or physical appearance:

Hirst, who made his name picking dead animals – most famously a shark – and has an estimated fortune of £215,000, is part owner of [the restaurant] the Quay.

(White 2015, p. 23)

Closely related to this point is the tendency in the British newspaper media to focus on the sexual attractiveness of women. Many tabloid, and increasingly, broadsheet newspapers routinely feature photographs of young, white, long-haired, sexually attractive and scantily clad women, frequently photographed in colour, alongside articles with which there is just a tenuous connection. The reverse side to this is that women who, for whatever reason, do not conform to the news media's narrow views of feminine attractiveness (for example, older, fuller figured, short-haired, black, fully dressed, etc.), are often vilified for their lack of physical allure. Gill (2007, p. 116) states that 'the viciousness with which women are attacked if they do not meet the normative modes of attractiveness demanded by the press is chilling'.

These trends in the representation of women are clearly evident in the ways in which women politicians who have made it to positions of high public office are treated by the newspaper media compared with their male counterparts. Ross (2002) argues that senior women's age and marital status are routinely commented upon in news reports, they are frequently referred to by their first name, shown in a domestic rather than a work environment, and have their physical appearance

obsessively ‘pulled apart’ by journalists. This pulling apart was taken to its logical conclusion in an article in *The Daily Mail* about the promotion of a number of women at the expense of men, in the British Conservative Government’s cabinet reshuffle (Chapman 2014, pp. 4–5). In an article entitled ‘Esther, the Queen of the Downing Street Catwalk’, a number of senior women Members of Parliament (MPs) were pictured on their way to the Prime Minister’s residence, 10 Downing Street. Beside each woman, there were a series of boxes entitled ‘Dress’, ‘Bag’, ‘Legs’, ‘Make-Up’, etc., which gave a detailed consumer breakdown of the brands and costs of the items concerned, as well as an evaluation of the calculated impact each woman was presumed to seek to achieve upon viewers and readers. All the women were presented as objects of both the male and the female gaze: in relation to male readers, the MPs’ level of allure was implicitly assessed, and in relation to female readers, it was the extent to which these women would incur admiration or envy. In all cases the women were portrayed to be *in competition* with each other for the attention of the (male) cabinet members they were on their way to meet. In the MP Esther McVey’s case, she was depicted and judged as a ‘seductress’ with a strong emphasis on her sexiness (‘the thigh slit is a touch too revealing for a serious Cabinet operator’) and ultimately, she is assessed as *too* sexy (‘she needs to tone it down a little for attending cabinet meetings’).

In a comparative study of female parliamentarians in Britain, South Africa and Australia, Ross (2002) offers many examples of the newspaper media’s obsession with what women look like and many annoyed reflections on it by women politicians. According to Ross, one MP commented:

Women are never the right age. We are too young; we’re too old. We are too thin; we’re too fat. We wear too much make-up, we don’t wear enough. We are too flashy in our dress; we don’t take enough care. There isn’t a thing we can do that is right.

(Dawn Primarolo, MP, quoted in Ross 2002, p. 90)

Across all these representations, what emerges is that different stereotypes are invoked and mobilised for different purposes, and Kanter’s four role traps are clearly evident here. However, these stereotypes are not deployed uniformly but in competing and contradictory ways. It is not simply the case that a politician such as Esther McVey is only depicted as a ‘seductress’, although the article above offers this as a dominant reading. The article also hints at Kanter’s ‘iron maiden’ stereotype in its representation of the subject (for example, the comment, ‘McVey’s trademark “don’t mess with me” fuchsia lipstick looks striking’). This indicates that the subject may be using her appearance for a different purpose: to create a sense of power, distance and impact with her colleagues. While this use of competing stereotypes does not liberate McVey from a negative portrayal, it indicates that a more complex reading of the subject may be required. This slight fluidity in the stereotyping of senior women means that subjects can rarely be ‘pigeonholed’ by news reports, but rather provide small spaces for the reader to deconstruct the obvious stereotyping and avoid accepting the representation at face value.

8.4 Stereotyping Women Leaders: Reading Against the Grain

An FPDA perspective on newspaper representations of women leaders would suggest that while multiple readings of any text are possible in theory, many texts are formulated in such a way that readers are invited to take up the dominant and often most gendered reading (Baxter 2003; Weedon 1997). I suggest that while readers are strongly guided to take negative and often sexist positions towards the subjects in newspaper articles, there is a level of readership agency: we can choose to *resist* the dominant reading offered to us, and find ways of constructing alternative or oppositional readings. However, this level of choice is always restricted; it is made to be hard work by the text structures and formulation, and without specific reading strategies, most of us would not take up that option. The purpose of this chapter is to offer readers strategies not only so that we can produce more positive, life-affirming readings of newspaper representations of women leaders, but also so that we can find a way to restore some agency and empowerment to the news subjects themselves.

Within a poststructuralist view of the world (e.g. Barthes 1973; Derrida 1967), the author of a text is ‘decentred’, and the intended meaning is secondary to the meaning that the reader perceives. The author’s identity as a stable ‘self’ with a single, discernible ‘intent’ is also viewed as a fictional construct. Poststructuralism does not accept the idea of a text having a single purpose, meaning, or existence. Instead, every individual reader creates a new purpose, meaning and existence within the confines that a textual formulation offers. Drawing on Saussure’s (1974) influential theories, meaning is constructed by an individual from a signifier. This is why the signified is said to ‘slide’ under the signifier, and explains the theory about the ‘primacy of the signifier’. The ‘structuralist’ part of poststructuralism suggests that the texts themselves do play a part; they are structured in generic and formulaic ways to invite given readings, even if the reader chooses to challenge, resist or oppose those dominant structures. The ‘post’ part of poststructuralism indicates the role of the reader in arriving at a reading of a text. According to Eagleton (1983), a reading is governed by the formulation of the text itself as it interacts with the reading experience of readers, complex aspects of their identities (their gender, class, ethnicity, etc.), and the cultural and immediate context in which they produce readings. Such factors will have both a limiting and an enriching effect on the range of readings possible.

So, what are the characteristics of a poststructuralist approach to reading texts? A reader is engaged in the task of taking up a particular/accepted reading of the text, and then deconstructing it. This deconstructive process, is often referred to as ‘reading against the grain’ or ‘reading the text against itself’ (Eagleton 1983). Deconstructive readings uncover the subtext rather than the overt, conscious, discernible or most inviting dimensions of the text, that is, all of the aspects that an ordinary reading of it might gloss over or fail to recognize. According to Derrida, a deconstructive reading:

must always aim at a certain relationship, unperceived by the writer [or readers], between what he [sic] commands and what he does not command of the patterns of language that he uses ... [It] attempts to make the not-seen accessible to sight.

(Derrida 1967, pp. 158, 163)

So deconstruction practises an oppositional reading, which is reading the text with the aim of unmasking internal contradictions or inconsistencies in the text, and aiming to show the disunity which underlies its apparent unity. This disunity is a product of the internal workings of language, texts, and the readers themselves.

Overall, what does a poststructuralist reading involve? First, readers may study the surface features of words—for example, the root meanings of words, a dead or dying metaphor and bring these to the foreground, or obvious oppositions and contradictions in the choice of lexis, so that they become crucial to the overall meaning, or even disrupt the overall meaning. Readers seek to show that in the lexical and grammatical construction of a text there are competing and at times, contradictory meanings. Second, readers concentrate on a single short text (such as a news article) and analyse it so intensively that it becomes impossible to sustain a ‘univocal’ reading, and, as Newton (2006, p. 1) puts it, ‘the language explodes into “multiplicities of meaning”’. Finally, readers look for shifts and breaks of various kinds in the text and see these as evidence of what is repressed or glossed over or passed over in silence by the text and bring these to the surface, analysing how their presence affects the overall meaning of the work. These principles will guide the method that I propose for reading three news articles on women leaders against the grain, which I explicate in more detail in the next section.

8.5 Methodology of the Study

My interest in newspaper textual representations of female leadership grew naturally from ‘lived experience’ as a reader of several newspapers over a period of 18 months starting in March 2014 and ending in November 2015, having gathered 100 articles in all. Initially, my attention was sparked by the routine use of gender stereotyping of women leaders, as well as the competing ways in which journalists represented the subject during this period. The limitations of this semi-ethnographic method (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995) are that I did not sample a cross-section of all British newspapers in a ‘scientific’ way. I collected articles that my family, friends and I bought or read, which were largely found in the left-of-centre newspaper, *The Guardian*, the right-of-centre newspaper, *The Telegraph* and the right-of-centre tabloid, *The Daily Mail*. Nor have I been able to collect all the articles on the subject from the selected newspapers over the whole period; there were doubtless several that I missed. In an ethnographic sense, my study can only claim to offer a set of partial (yet hopefully) rich and detailed set of insights on the topic, but the approach has the advantage of potentially reflecting the more selective experiences of a typical, if well-read, newspaper reader.

Although the articles in the larger corpus amounted to a cross-section of British newspapers in terms of political affiliation, interest in business news, target audience, and size of circulation, the articles to be analysed in this chapter are all from the UK newspaper, *The Daily Mail*. In the interests of providing a detailed, qualitative analysis of three articles, I felt it best to select one newspaper source as a stable context. *The Daily Mail* was chosen because it is a middle-market tabloid, and the second, biggest-selling British newspaper in print with a circulation of over 10 million monthly (compared to just 140,000 for *The Guardian*), with equal numbers of female and male readers (Mail Advertising 2015). As my purpose is to take articles that represent the tendency in the newspaper media to stereotype women (Gill 2007), and then to deploy strategies for reading such articles against the grain, *The Daily Mail* provides more obvious opportunities to showcase these methods than those from the more left-of-centre, gender-aware publication, *The Guardian*.

The three articles for attention are selected on the following grounds: they all feature senior women politicians but from different parts of Europe: Chancellor Angela Merkel from Germany, Yulia Tymoshenko, former Prime Minister from the Ukraine; and Theresa May, then Home Secretary from the UK, thus offering a geographical cross-section of women leaders within Europe at least. All the texts are feature articles by journalists writing in the first person, rather than standard newspaper reports and thus they offer profiles of each leader from the perspective of a British (male) journalist. Each feature article occupies approximately one full tabloid page of journalism. On an initial reading, all three articles appeared to adopt a strong, negative stance towards their subject, regardless of how that leader is generally viewed in the public eye. All three articles appeared to offer opportunities to analyse the dominant reading of the text, as well as the potential to adopt strategies to read these texts against the grain. This chapter does not attempt to assess the 'real' worth of these three leaders; the course of history will judge whether each was deemed successful, effective or a 'good' person. My concern is a feminist one: that women leaders currently deserve better in the ways that they are routinely represented, and the job of the feminist critic is to find them that space.

Hitherto, FPDA has been largely utilised as a methodology to analyse *spoken interaction* but, building on Newton (2006), I have adapted its analytical framework to deconstruct printed, newspaper texts based on the following core FPDA principles (see Baxter 2003):

- (i) *A feminist focus*. Whatever the textual medium, the purpose of FPDA is to give space and expression to those voices (such as the women leader subjects) that have been silenced or ridiculed on the grounds of their gender or sexuality.
- (ii) *Multiplicity and interplay*: FPDA seeks to open up the diversity and richness of meanings any text can give, so that meaning is never fixed, univocal and static, but always open to reinterpretation, contestation and change.
- (iii) *A focus on textual deconstruction*: in parallel with FPDA's method of analysing dominant and marginalised 'discourses' in spoken interactions, the analysis of printed, newspaper texts involves uncovering dominant and

marginalised meanings at three levels: linguistic, textual and representational (see below).

So how does FPDA's analytical framework work in practice? I propose the following steps:

- First, analyse linguistic strategies that support the obvious, surface, 'common-sense' reading. In other words, what impression of the news subject does the text ask you to take up? For example, is your immediate impression of the leader that she is likeable, honest, warm and effective at her job? Or that she is unpleasant, dishonest, cold and ineffective? What aspects of the text lead you to think this? This analysis need not be exhaustive, but should provide some evidence that readers are being positioned by text, typography and photographic image to view the subject negatively and as a gendered leader stereotype (Bignell 2002).
- Second, to begin reading against the grain, you need to become more sceptical of the text, to deconstruct it, not to accept it at face value. In order to adopt resistant ways of reading a text, I propose three further levels of investigation: *micro-linguistic*, *textual* and *representational*. These are not necessarily separate but may often be interrelated:
 - The *micro-linguistic* level involves looking into the text for lexis with negative, ambiguous or double associations. If you think further about the meanings of evaluative, loaded or derogatory words, you begin to see that the meaning which seemed clear and 'obvious' is filled with complications. This hints at the repressed double or multiple aspects of these words that a critical reader can bring to attention, complicating the meaning of the work. For example, you might look at words loaded against women and seek to reappraise them, such as 'bossy', 'scary', 'pushy' and so on. Journalist Eleanor Mills (2014, p. 4) wrote in *The Sunday Times* that "women should be proud to be pushy" and that such words should be recharged with positive not negative connotations. This recalls earlier work in gender and language on linguistic sexism, where sexist words and phrases were reappropriated and charged with more positive, more female-friendly meanings (e.g. Miller and Swift 1995; Mills 2008; Pauwels 1998).
 - The *textual* level focuses on the thematic patterns in a text, conveyed by words, phrases or longer stretches of text. This involves looking at the relationship between common binary oppositions throughout the work such as positive/negative, male/female, day/night, light/dark, good/evil, nature/society, etc., in which one construct appears to be 'privileged' over, or more highly valued than the other. A poststructuralist reading would look closely at this hierarchy in order to show how it is not sustained throughout the work, or how the two constructs are not oppositional at all but interrelated and interdependent. In the case of newspaper representations of women leaders, we might aim to accomplish two types of analysis. The first would be to examine the claims that tend towards a negative evaluation of the

subject, ask whether they are counterbalanced at all by any more positive claims or connotations, and where these occur, give them more weight in our reading. The second type of analysis would be to look out for inconsistencies and contradictions in the binary oppositions between terms denoting admiration and contempt, and seek to reinstate the subordinated term.

- The *representational* level involves looking for moments when the ways in which news subjects are represented or positioned by ‘gendered discourses’ (Sunderland 2004) cease to be uniform, consistent and predictable. Rather the text itself gives clues that the news subject is multiply constituted or can be viewed in multiple ways. Even if there is a dominant representation of the subject as a stereotype, competing representations make that subject positioning untenable and open to question. For example, if we use Kanter’s (1993) conceptual framework, many of the women leaders transcend the boundaries of one or more of the women leader stereotypes. Representations may combine several stereotypes in one portrayal, suggesting that journalists are unable to ‘pigeon-hole’ their subjects, and that these cannot be easily contained within the limits of a single stereotype. Alternatively, as Baxter (2012) proposes, the multiple representations might indicate that the leaders featured are proactively *using* these roles as resources to accomplish leadership. For example, Hilary Clinton, while US Secretary of State, periodically played on a ‘good wife and mother’ persona to soften her image as an ‘iron maiden’. Thus, you might look for whether the subject is constructed within a single, specific stereotype or whether she is represented in more fluid ways that intersect stereotypes. This might indicate some agency on the part of the subject; that they have refused to be confined by a single stereotype and have extended their range of speech/behaviour in ways that cannot so easily be categorised by journalists. Two further questions that you might ask at the representational stage would be: “If this description was used about a man, would the impression be better, worse or the same? What kinds of gender distinctions are therefore being assumed?” “What is the subject quoted as saying about herself...do these quotations help to understand her/context or overturn journalistic representations?”

Overall, the critical reader is seeking out more positive endorsements of the subject within the article; by accumulating the positive features into a whole, the reader can form a profile of the woman leader’s complex attributes.

8.6 Analysis

In the interests of space, I shall sample the approaches described above, rather than attempt an exhaustive analysis of each of the three newspaper feature articles. I will demonstrate how each article might be analysed at the micro-linguistic, textual and

representational levels using different techniques as these seem to apply. As newspaper representations are semiotic as well as linguistic, I will also comment briefly on the newspaper texts' use of typography and photographic images that appear to complement or challenge the readings I produce, although I do not have the scope in this chapter to offer a detailed, semiotic analysis. From an FPDA perspective, I do not attempt to give a definitive reading in each case; other readers might use the methods above and find that they produce varying interpretations of the texts. However, in line with Eagleton (1983), I contend that there are limitations to the range of readings either with, or against the text that it is possible to yield.

Article 1: 'Kaiser Merkel' by Dominic Sandbrook; Saturday 20th April 2013

Common sense reading:

This feature article on the German Chancellor, Angela Merkel, is an assessment of her rising power, influence and status in Europe, and appears to be written as a warning to British readers not to underestimate this politician. The article is based on the review of a book by an academic, Ulrich Beck entitled *German Europe*. If we were to conduct a reading of the article on the surface, common sense level, there are a range of features that invite a derogatory and stereotyped reading of Merkel. On the micro-linguistic level, the title 'Kaiser Merkel' is immediately noteworthy as the form 'Kaiser' is masculine and should really be 'Kaiserin' (i.e. marked feminine as it refers to Merkel). An immediate association is therefore being made between Merkel and an unnaturally masculine identity. This is followed by a series of negative, evaluative claims about the character and behaviour of the German Chancellor, of which the following subheading to the article is illustrative:

Many dismiss her as a mousy hausfrau. But with ruthless cunning, Angela Merkel has made Germany master of Europe in a way that Hitler and Kaiser Wilhelm only dreamt of. The implications are frightening.

It is quite apparent that this subheading offers the reader a dominant way of viewing Merkel from the start by means of a number of stylistic and semiotic devices. First the subheading is printed white against a black background, which allows the typeface to stand out but also indicates the notion of contrast between the deceptive appearance of the subject and the reality that lies beneath. Second, the headline here uses a classic dialectical structure: the thesis is that Merkel may look like a 'mousy hausfrau' but the antithesis compares her to two of the most hated and feared, anti-semitic figures in German history: the Second World War Chancellor Adolf Hitler and the first world war ruler, Kaiser Wilhelm, both known historically for their ruthless and murderous policies. This is followed by the synthesis, which claims that Merkel is considerably worse than either of them. A series of negative, emotive adjectives and nouns are used to support this message such as 'ruthless cunning' and 'master of Europe'. While the latter phrase might sound normative when applied to a man, the judgement of the same epithet applied to a woman is captured in the statement, "the implications are frightening". The image accompanying the text drives home the same message: a photoshopped head and shoulders shot of Merkel

shows her wearing a First World War military helmet. The dominant reading of Merkel as an iron maiden who is unrelievedly evil is difficult to resist.

However, if we now attempt to do exactly that, we would need to go beyond the sub-headline to other parts of the article. On the linguistic level, a poststructuralist reading would seek to look at the repressed, double or multiple meanings of words that on the surface appear negative. The Merkel article is loaded with words that are evaluated negatively, largely because they appear in strings of similar words, of which the following is typical:

At its [Germany's] head is Angela Merkel, a former chemist from East Germany and a political mastermind of extraordinary cunning, subtlety and ambition.

This statement is followed by a comparison of Merkel with the medieval Italian thinker Niccolò Machiavelli, known for his apparent political cunning and also synonymous with evil. Indeed, Merkel is mockingly nicknamed 'Merkiavelli' by Ulrich Beck. However, if we draw on independent, contextual knowledge, there is some evidence that Machiavelli is undergoing a significant reappraisal by historians and is being re-appreciated for his invention of 'realpolitik' (Barnet 2006). Rather than being seen as evil, he is now being seen as simply a modern, pragmatic politician with a focus on goals and outcomes in the best interests of the state. Many male politicians such as Tony Blair, Vladimir Putin or Bill Clinton, while contentious leaders in different ways, might have been viewed similarly. In wider use, words like 'subtlety' and 'ambition' are not always negatively charged, but potentially convey positive attributes in relation to a political leader. Their connection in the sentence with the phrase, 'a former chemist' could suggest that Merkel has had extraordinary drive and vision to achieve her position as 'master of Europe'. In a man, these qualities would almost certainly be seen as admirable.

On the textual level, I will take the strategy of deconstructing binaries (see above) as a means of enabling more positive readings of Merkel's positioning in this article. Early in the text, binary oppositions are set up between values such as female and male; hate and love; harmfulness and harmlessness, and evil and good. In each opposing pair, the negative quality is privileged over the positive quality (male over female; hate over love; harmfulness over harmlessness; evil over good). We can see this in an early framing comment to the article as follows:

...in her country, the German Chancellor has become a public hate figure with protesters regularly likening her to the war criminals in the Third Reich.

Here, there is the use of categorical assertions supported by negatively charged words and phrases to reinforce the idea of negative public attitudes against the chancellor. However, further on in the same article, we have a rather different evaluation of these public attitudes:

Yet in her native Germany, Mrs Merkel is hugely popular...her countrymen (sic) applaud a Chancellor who lectures the rest of Europe about their failings.

While there is an implied contrast (in the adversative conjunction, 'yet'), between attitudes in Germany and attitudes from supposedly frightened citizens in

the rest of Europe, this is nonetheless a statement that challenges and contradicts the earlier journalistic comment, and potentially reveals inconsistencies and a lack of univocality in the news narrative. If the German public strongly approve of Merkel, perhaps British readers should question their own attitudes to her as members of the European Union (that is, no longer at war as Britain was in Hitler or Wilhelm's times)? The textual disunity here allows the reader to pull out the more positive reading: that is, to read into this that European feeling towards Merkel is at worst mixed, but may be far more positive than the article suggests.

On the representational level, Merkel is never simply fixed as one leadership stereotype, although evidence of Kanter's (1993) stereotypes can be clearly observed in this article. As my initial 'dominant reading' noted, Merkel is primarily depicted as an iron maiden or battle-axe. Visually, she is represented as an unnaturally masculinised, military leader in a First World War helmet; she is described in male terms as a 'conqueror' and a 'master' of Europe; references are made to evil, historical figures; examples of her ruthless actions as a leader are given (although these examples of her fight for economic austerity hardly compare with Hitler's persecution of the Jews, and serve to undermine the journalistic claims). An implied comparison is also made between Merkel and Britain's first female Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, who was known as the 'iron lady', in the article's reference that "Mrs Merkel is not for turning". However, the article also provides spaces for alternative representations of Merkel, even if these are used to indicate the message "she is not what she seems". Throughout the article, there are references to Merkel fitting the warmer, protective leadership stereotype of the mother. She is described as 'a mousy hausfrau', 'a suburban German housewife' and we are told that her 'appeal is [in] her sheer dullness'. In contrast to the masculine, iron maiden persona, she is also bestowed with strong feminine qualities, described as 'the uncrowned Queen of Europe'. The competing and almost conflicting qualities (she is depicted as both extremely male and extremely female) test the attempt to fix and position her as a ruthless dictator. While these different stereotypes might support the message that Merkel is hiding her true, evil self, they also support a competing message that she is adept at utilising differently gendered, leadership resources to achieve her goals as a pre-eminent European Chancellor. Her dullness, her regality and her ambition all help her to achieve these goals. In a deconstructive reading, she cannot be contained by one stereotype but is multiply positioned as neither wholly 'good' nor 'evil'.

Article 2: 'Don't be fooled by her angelic looks, she's as ruthless as she's corrupt.' Edward Lucas, The Daily Mail, 24th February 2014

This article is a profile of Yulia Tymoshenko, a Ukrainian politician and one-time Ukrainian Prime Minister, who is also a highly successful businesswoman and billionaire. This is an almost unrelievedly negative article about the Ukrainian leader, and the difficulty with this article is finding a way to read it against the grain. If we look at the obvious, surface common sense reading of the article from a linguistic perspective, the headline illustrates the ways in which this subject is both sexualised and demonised. We are commanded by the imperative 'don't be fooled', and by the use of negative, evaluative adjectives whereby an opposition is

immediately created between the descriptive lexis, 'angelic looks' and 'ruthless'. Like the Merkel article, the use of the word 'ruthless' (especially unacceptable, it seems, when applied to a woman) and the contrast between two opposing sets of characteristics enables the article to imply that the news subject is capable of deception by hiding her pitiless nature behind an angelic mask. This message is fortified by the visual image of a woman with a blonde, crowning plait around her head and a lack of obvious make-up. This combination connotes an almost childlike innocence. The joint visual and linguistic signs call up the historical dichotomy between virgin and whore, a popular archetype which has figured in representations of women through the ages. The article as a whole develops the conceit of an opposition between a vulnerable woman on one hand, and a terrifying, merciless tyrant on the other.

On a micro-linguistic level, it is hard to find a way of deconstructing the use of repressed, double or multiple meanings of words that on the surface appear negative but may release more positive, sub-textual meanings. Typical of the unrelieved negativity is the claim:

The truth is that her determination is terrifying. Nobody and nothing gets in her way.

Because the headword 'determination' here is surrounded by negative categorical evaluations such as 'terrifying', it might be difficult ever to reread this as positive. Arguably, even if this statement referred to a man, it would still be a damning judgement. However, let us take another quotation to describe her determination later on in the article, such as:

Nobody would doubt her entrepreneurial zeal. Raised by a single mother in the gritty conditions of the provincial Soviet Union, she proved herself formidably resourceful.

In this sentence, the words 'zeal' and 'formidably' continue to hint at a certain extremism that we are supposed to read into Tymoshenko's behaviour, but it is also possible to read these words within their immediate context. There is scope to charge this statement with positive, heroic connotations: in order to be successful, Tymoshenko has had to overcome difficult conditions that invite considerable sympathy from the reader (no father; poverty; harshness of Soviet political conditions). Indeed this success is grudgingly admitted by the article itself ('Nobody could doubt...'), and if this description had been written about a man (*'his entrepreneurial zeal'*), it could be read as a positively glowing account.

On the textual level, in terms of looking for binaries along which the article is constructed, it is hard to find ways of overturning the negative thread that pervades the whole text. Even where the journalist 'cuts Tymoshenko some slack' by paying her compliments, citing the positive compliments of third parties, or finding positive aspects in her behaviour, these are framed by sceptical journalistic judgements as follows:

Yulia Tymoshenko is the only politician in all Ukraine who understands democracy', [Boris Berezovsky] told me. I was unconvinced though.

From the start, the article sets up binary oppositions between related quasi-religious concepts such as angel and devil, heaven and hell, innocence and guilt, vulnerability and ruthlessness, and victimhood and persecution, by proposing a conventionally positive value then negating it with the preferred concept (she may appear to be a victim but in fact she is a persecutor, etc.). It is only later in the article that Tymoshenko's victimhood is given extended space, and that we begin to learn through the utter interdependence of the apparent binaries of persecution/victimhood that Tymoshenko can be viewed as much a victim as an agent of the tangled and corrupt world of Ukrainian politics:

...[Mr Yanukovych] took swift revenge. Mrs Tymoshenko was tried and sentenced on flimsy sounding fraud and tax charges. Despite widespread international pressure, and mounting evidence of serious medical problems, the authorities refused to release her.

Even the text here invites some sympathy for Tymoshenko's position: evidence against her was 'flimsy'; support for her cause was 'widespread' and 'international' suggesting that she had considerable public support around the world. In the complexity of context and circumstance, it is possible to find a way of reading this text against the grain, and of appreciating that apparently oppositional frames of evaluation are often codependent and inextricably linked.

On the representational level, Tymoshenko, like Merkel, is never simply fixed as one leadership stereotype, although evidence of Kanter's (1993) stereotypes can be once again clearly observed in this article. As my initial 'dominant reading' indicated, Tymoshenko appears on the surface to conform to the pet: she has 'angelic looks', 'kittenish ways', and as I mentioned, the accompanying photograph depicts a blonde, plaited, youthful woman without make-up. However the article is quick to assert that underneath she is an iron maiden, a battle-axe, and even worse, a fierce demon with almost magical powers. She is described as having 'cooing tones' that are 'almost hypnotic', who is 'capable of explosive anger'. While the article also provides spaces for alternative representations of Tymoshenko, these are manipulated intertextually to magnify her 'terrifying' power over people, particularly men. The 'seductress' stereotype is utilised to show how her 'magic' works:

When she needs to, she is prepared to use her undeniable sexual magnetism...her body language, eyes, coquettish tosses of the head and cooing tones are almost hypnotic.

This triple stereotype takes Tymoshenko's representation to an almost mythical level as a fury, a siren, a harpy, a gorgon. One way for a critical reader to demythologise this reading is to look for alternative representations in the article, which undermine this dominant positioning. Further in the article, where Tymoshenko's victimhood is described (see above), there are elements of normality that perhaps unwittingly intrude into her 'evil' representation. We are provided with more intimate, sympathetic, domestic details which remind us that Tymoshenko is a wife and mother with a close family who has suffered alongside her as she experienced trumped up charges as a political leader:

And the bruising world of Ukrainian politics has taken its toll on her personal life. Her husband Oleksandr fled the country in 2012...their only daughter, who studied at the London School of Economics, has proved her mother's most loyal supporter.

These contextual details enable us to question the negative representations of Tymoshenko as a sexually charged, iron maiden, and to appreciate the more rounded, multidimensional human being that has been lost in the journalistic caricature. As with Merkel, the competing and almost conflicting qualities (Tymoshenko, like Merkel, depicted both as extremely male and as extremely female) test the attempt to fix and position her as a ruthless leader. While these various stereotypes might support the message that Tymoshenko is cunning and deceitful, they also endorse a competing message that she is adept at utilising differently gendered leadership resources to achieve her goals as a businesswoman and politician. Like Merkel, while this article is demonstrably harder to read against the grain, Tymoshenko's leadership cannot be contained by one stereotype and she is multiply positioned as never wholly a perpetrator or a victim.

Article 3: 'May smiles and the temperature dips by a few degrees.' *Quentin Letts, The Daily Mail, 5th November 2015*

This news feature considers an event in the UK House of Commons, in which the then Minister of State, Theresa May is proposing a change of policy in her surveillance powers as Home Secretary of the social media. However, rather than focusing on the detail of the event itself, the text invites us to consider the appearance, qualities and characteristics of the political leader herself. If we were to conduct a reading of this article on the surface, common sense level, once again there are a range of micro-linguistic, textual and representational features that invite a negative, derogatory and stereotyped reading of this woman leader. The title of the article sets the lexical tone with the metaphor of a freezing temperature being used to describe May's perceived lack of warmth and character as a human being. The description of her smile, the usual token of human warmth, is reconceptualised as 'frosty' and indicative of her 'grimness'. The theme of 'coldness' and its contrasting implication, a lack of 'natural' feminine warmth, pervades the rest of the article, as in the line halfway through:

The effect of a May smile is much the same as the opening of a freezer door; the temperature nearby lowers a few degrees.

The conceit is used to develop a binary opposition throughout the text between a series of related concepts: coldness, grimness, seriousness, blandness and joylessness privileged over and contrasted with warmth, lightness of touch, vividness, colour and joyfulness. Unlike the other two articles, there are no photoshopped images to drive home the austere message, but rather, two straightforward action shots of Theresa May on her way to the UK House of Commons, and then speaking at the despatch box. In both photographs, Theresa May is shown smartly dressed and unsmiling. However, the style of linguistic expression used throughout appears to mirror the characterisation presented in the article: a series of short, two-line paragraphs, equally brief, clipped, content-rich sentences, and a series of negative

evaluations, which serve to reinforce the message of the news subject as entirely focussed on 'serious business':

Logic. Reality. Welcome to Mayland. There is a joylessness to this Secretary of State that sits well with her Department and its burdens.

Once again, the article provides limited scope for an alternative, poststructuralist reading that might review her leadership role as an accomplishment. On a micro-linguistic level, this latter extract can be deconstructed lexically in order to bestow a more positive meaning on the subject. Both 'logic' and 'reality' can be viewed as positive qualities for a person with the considerable responsibilities of a Home Secretary, particularly one who is in charge of key areas such as national security, national borders, immigration, the army and the UK police force. Qualities such as 'logic' and 'reality' are surely crucial for a political leader who is constantly required to size up statistical reports, and be prepared to act on these. If applied to a man, these qualities would be viewed as commendable, but as there are strong cultural expectations upon a woman to be warm (Coates 2004), May fails to fit the feminine stereotype. Even in this sentence itself, there is a hint of acknowledgement that May's qualities are necessary for a demanding job other than that her consequent "joylessness... sits well with her Department and its burdens".

Textually, we have seen how the article is constructed along a metaphorical set of oppositions with May found wanting as a human being and as a woman. However, while the article is almost unrelievedly negative about the Secretary of State, there are omissions and a 'glossing over' in the narrative that invite us to question the privileging of coldness over warmth that has been constructed. After 27 lines of focus on May's 'joylessness', we find an unexpected shift in the retelling:

Andy Burnham, for Labour, pretty much accepted her proposals.

After some journalistic speculation about the unexpectedness of Burnham's response, there is another similar comment:

Nick Clegg (Lib, Sheffield Hallam) who was Something Big once, tried (not particularly hard) not to be churlish. Even he seemed broadly satisfied with Mrs May's plans.

What these comments reveal is that, despite the article's mocking criticism of May (note the use of her married title in comparison with the use of untitled names for the two male politicians), both principal opposition parties *supported* and *agreed* with May's proposals, surely a relatively rare event in Parliamentary proceedings, which indicates that her proposals and her delivery of them must have been viewed as effective. This glossed over fact is stated without any real comment, but if we pull it out and highlight it, critical readers can imbue it with far greater significance than the text accords it: May achieved a resounding success in the House of Commons.

Finally on the representational level, like the other two articles, there is evidence that May is being portrayed principally in line with Kanter's (1993) stereotype of the iron maiden: cold, attacking and independent. The text portrays her as the

antithesis of motherly warm feeling, as utterly desexualised except in a robotic, or brutal, sadistic way ('hair a grey helmet, her voice metallic, text tight'), and certainly as no pet to David Cameron the Prime Minister. It is difficult to find evidence that May fits or utilises any other approved stereotypes as resources for leadership. Where there is some scope to read her portrayal against the grain is in the slight hints and references to May as 'queenly': that is, as someone who is able to command supreme respect and hold her male peers in awe—manifested concretely in the success of her proposals in Parliament. The text attributes her with queenly characteristics in a number of small ways. Her competent performance in Parliament earns her the soubriquet, 'the Queen of Calm'; she is attributed with her own country ('Welcome to Mayland'), if facetiously, and her surname is used twice to denote a special brand of characteristics ('when the May lips do briefly part to reveal her teeth' and 'the effect of a May smile is much the same as opening a freezer door'). Nothing is complimentary here, but there is a grudging admiration for her supreme power ('no one matches Theresa May'). The hints of an alternative, albeit gendered, characterisation of May as queenly, allows the subject to escape the sexist straitjacket of the iron lady 'role-trap', and to be shown as capable of using a wider range of behavioural and interactional strategies as a political leader.

8.7 Concluding Discussion

This chapter has set out to achieve two aims. The first was to present three cases of how newspaper discourse commonly represents women political leaders, and the dominant readings these representations invite. In all three cases, the leaders are represented according to a narrow set of stereotypes, and it is worth asking why this might be. The second purpose was to ask what we as readers can do in response to newspaper texts that position the reader to demonise and sexualise highly successful women. By using methods in line with FPDA, we can find ways of reading such texts against the grain, which may release more positive interpretations of texts and restore some agency and dignity to the news subjects represented.

In terms of the first aim, all three texts (articles on Angela Merkel, Yulia Tymoshenko and Theresa May) showed that the women leaders featured are represented in crudely stereotyped ways. Such uncompromising types of stereotyping may be used against female political leaders in particular, because they are familiar figures who are frequently 'in the public eye'. Kanter's (1993) theory of 'role traps' proved to be a useful conceptual framework for analysing these representations. We saw that in all three cases the news subjects were predominantly characterised according to the iron maiden or battle-axe role trap—as scheming, manipulative, cold-hearted and evil. In Merkel's case, her stereotype was interwoven with 'the mother' stereotype but mainly to reveal the level of deception she was able to execute on those around her. The 'dull hausfrau' image was shown to be part of a cover-up, an elaborate act of deception to hide her 'true', imperialist nature. In Tymoshenko's case, the iron maiden stereotype was interwoven with those of the pet and the seductress in order to

provide an explanation for her popular appeal as a woman capable of ensnaring men with her 'blonde tresses' and her 'magical' powers. Only Theresa May was represented purely according to the iron maiden stereotype, although the article developed this in relation to its binary opposite (warm, colourful, human, lively, charismatic) to emphasise all the qualities she apparently lacked. Kanter's four role traps can be conceptualised according to degrees of sexualisation, with the seductress as the most obviously sexualised of the role traps, and the pet perhaps being a cuter, less threatening version. The iron maiden and mother stereotypes are also less sexualised than the seductress because they both imply a certain absence of womanliness and therefore sexuality (the iron maiden), or a presence of womanliness but an absence of sexuality (the mother). However arguably, both stereotypes do carry hints of distorted sexual desires. With the iron maiden, there are sexualised implications in the suggestion of the brothel madam who is paid to dress up in a military costume in order to subject her clients to her brutal power ('Kaiser Merkel'); and there could be hints of Freudian sexual desire in the mythical love that the German people may feel for Merkel as the mythical mother (although this is not a strong feature of the article). Some of these implications are played out in the three articles, while failing to offer rounded portrayals of women leaders as diverse, multifaceted, resourceful and capable of change.

Why are women political leaders such as these three, demonised in this way? One answer can be found in Kanter's (1993) theorisation that women remain in the minority at senior level in most professions (even today), and consequently they stand out as different and attract undue attention. Because historically women are a comparatively recent presence in politics and other professions, they constitute a threat to men and women alike. They are threatening to *male* colleagues because men fear that such women 'inappropriately aspire to the privileges of the dominants' (Kanter 1993, p. 225), or that senior men will be unable to work professionally with women because they pose a sexual 'distraction'. Women leaders are threatening to *female* colleagues because they are expected to compete with each other for senior men's attention and approval. Anecdotaly known as "the Queen Bee syndrome", Kanter (1993, p. 230) called this the "woman prejudiced against women" hypothesis, and Sunderland (2004) renamed it the 'woman beware women' discourse. All three versions of the discourse are predicated on the idea that by encouraging women to see other women as their rivals in the workplace, this will fragment any solidarity women may attempt to construct with each other on issues such as their rights, working conditions and career progression. This discourse may also play into the dominant ways in which right-wing newspaper articles represent and position women. Thus, *The Daily Mail* articles may be implicitly inviting different groups of female readers (women who stay at home; women with jobs but not careers; women at lower levels in their careers) to collude against and 'otherise' the relatively small group of women leaders who have been highly successful in roles previously occupied by men.

The study in this chapter is clearly limited by its adoption of a small-scale, qualitative approach, and therefore I do not claim that the three articles represent the ways women leaders are portrayed more generally in *The Daily Mail* or across the newspaper media. However, what the qualitative approach to this analysis does

offer are some detailed insights on the gendered and sexualised ways in which very senior women political leaders are constructed as stereotypes in newspaper texts that may be harmful to women leaders, or to those who might aspire to leadership. My second aim in this chapter has been to apply an FPDA perspective to reading such newspaper articles, and to model one particular way of reading against the grain. The approach asks readers to deconstruct each text on three levels: micro-linguistic, textual and representational. I have not suggested that such an approach is easy; it requires several readings of each article and a determination to ‘see through the cracks’ of a text to release more positive, life-affirming meanings. However, I consider the effort is justified, and I hope that more gender and language scholars will take up the challenge of reading newspaper discourse in this way.

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Chapter 9

Cracking the Concrete Ceiling in Male-Dominated Societies: A Tale of Three ‘Presidentas’

Diana Boxer, Lennie M. Jones and Florencia Cortés-Conde

9.1 Introduction

The increased representation of women in governments around the world is a phenomenon that has been examined from many sociopolitical angles. Questions continue to be raised about whether the quantity of women in positions of leadership has impacted the quality of how gender is perceived in politics; how gendered identities are exploited, repressed or altered to attain successful political brands; and what hurdles still remain for women politicians to overcome. Research seeking answers to these questions is necessarily longitudinal in nature, as the social and cultural premises determining the role gender plays in politics consistently evolves over extended periods of time.

This present chapter contributes a pragmatic and critical discourse analysis, examining the methods by which incumbent Presidents Cristina Fernández de Kirchner (CFK) of Argentina, Michelle Bachelet Jeria (MBJ) of Chile and Ellen Johnson Sirleaf (EJS) of Liberia have implemented successful discursive and semiotic strategies in managing to effectively manipulate gendered identities in discourse produced during their political campaigns and tenures in office.

Previous studies of how women incorporate gender into political strategies have often analysed the *double bind* (Jamieson 1995) women face in attempting to be perceived as powerful leaders but not so masculine as to detrimentally rupture the image considered appropriate for a woman. Our chapter addresses this conundrum

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but challenges the stereotype that it is the masculine which always marks the quintessential political brand. Rather, we submit that male politicians find themselves in a double bind as well, where they may be obligated to adopt traditionally feminine discursive and semiotic styles while taking care not to appear ‘too’ effeminate. The burden of the double bind for male politicians, however, is far less frequently recognised, due to the un- or under-acknowledged value of the feminine in political brands. In other words, a veil is cast over the institution of the feminine in politics by the more visible institution of masculine politics. Where most analysts of gender and politics have readily highlighted hegemonic standards of masculinity, there arises a lacuna in the discussion with respect to how traditionally feminine characteristics and behaviour have become institutionalised in politics as well. With so much focus on what has consequentially become the visible masculine nature of politics, the impact the feminine has had on global political culture is largely overlooked. The obligation to de-gender and regender one’s identity does not fall exclusively to women politicians. Where discourse and leadership styles are regendered after the order of traditionally feminine prototypes this feminine brand is not credited as such in the way that traditionally masculine leadership styles and discursive practices have been credited. Moreover, where the manipulation of gender identity is incumbent upon women in male-dominated political arenas, it is quite commonly feminine, and not masculine characteristics that are expedient for women leaders to exhibit.

The present investigation traces the origins of the success that CFK, MBJ and EJS have experienced in exploiting their feminine identities back to the value traditionally female forms of communication (Brown 1980; Goodwin 1980; Maltz and Borker 1982) hold in private spheres of discourse (cf. Coates and Cameron 1989; Troemel-Plotz 1991) throughout society, and demonstrates how these three presidents strategically navigate these many and diverse private domains in their public political discourse.

A pragmatic analysis of discourse produced by political leaders necessitates a study of the linguistic markets (Bourdieu and Boltansky 1975) that emerge from complex intersections of underlying social sectors. The discourse of CFK, MBJ and EJS is not only evaluated by their constituency in linguistic markets construed from private sectors of society, but is also evaluated publically and collectively by the country as a whole and on the international stage. Within these hugely public national and international linguistic markets, the three presidents are shown to adopt strategies that are similar in some respects and very different in others as they use gendered features in their discourse to establish successful brands across multiple linguistic markets.

On a macro-level, gender itself forms a social sector, and the discourse of an entire gender may be generalised: “One of the most popular generalizations about male and female speech is the common claim that women’s speech is more conservative than men’s” (Eckert 2011, p. 59). “The structures and strategies in women’s conversation show a marked continuity with the talk of girls” (Maltz and Borker 1982, p. 209). There exist also micro-sectors, where gender may still be in play, but in which the discourse of a more narrow niche of society is characterised

according to intersectionality, or other social traits such as age, geographical location or discursive style. Such micro-sectors of society may include legal communities, supporters of a sports club, patrons of a local bar, factory workers, or an individual family (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992a, b).

The plethora of intersecting micro-sectors within any given society that are delineated according not just to gender identities, but also to a large number of underlying social factors and identity attributes gives rise to different linguistic markets. In these markets different discursive styles hold varying amounts of linguistic capital. Understanding the complexity of the interwoven micro-sectors of society from which linguistic markets emerge is a prerequisite for the success of a political leader who is required to produce public discourse that effectively addresses and appeals to members of these various private sectors at once. Effective public discourse therefore cannot be limited to a simplistic black-and-white strategy of either appealing to women, or speaking in a language that appeals to men.

Along with the variety of linguistic markets prevalent throughout various sectors of society, the political arena is a key linguistic market within itself, and comprises both public and private discursive forums. As CFK, MBJ and EJS strategized in their political discourse, they had to be fully cognizant that traditions of gendered identities in Latin American and Liberian societies have always been crucially influential in defining the public and private spheres that forged their constituency and political arena.

9.2 Theoretical Frame of Analysis

The analysis of the discourse of the three presidents through their inaugural addresses, oaths, political speeches and media discourse regarding their identities as women and as politicians is analysed from a pragmatic and Critical Discourse Analysis, or CDA (Van Dijk 1993; Wodak 1989), perspective with the intent of distinguishing between perceived and actual power dynamics in regional and global politics. The analysis reveals where political candidates and political leaders themselves may hold inaccurate perceptions of the value of masculine stereotypes, when the reality is that feminine identities are often equally if not more valuable in developing a successful political brand.

Weatherall (2000) asserts that gender is a pervasive social category and that the identification of a person belonging to one of two gender groups is a fundamental guide to how they are perceived, how their behaviour is perceived and how they are responded to in life. Weatherall claims that linguistic indexes of gender may occur at every level of language such that gender is an omnipresent feature of all interactions. A pragmatic perspective is thus applied to analyse the sociolinguistic contexts, or micro-sectors of society, in which voters and constituents either value or devalue the discourse of the politicians. This integrated pragmatic and CDA approach is thus used to parse the gendered identities performed by the presidents through their discourse and semiotic representations within the context of society's

stereotypical perceptions of political leaders. The assessment of the efficiency of the discursive strategies the presidents employ in appealing to members of various 'linguistic markets' (Bourdieu and Boltansky 1975) challenges commonly held gender stereotypes of what a competent and powerful political leader must be. Hopper and LeBaron (1998) posit that linguistic markets of gender provide a structural resource for increasing the ease with which gender can be occasioned, and its relevance extended, in social interaction.

Relevant background information on the role of gender in Liberian and Latin American politics is first presented to provide historical and social context for the campaign and leadership strategies adopted by all three presidents. An explanation of how the three presidents discursively manoeuvre political environments in which masculine identity traits are (mis)perceived as dominant and ideal is then provided. Next, the significance of gender perceptions in the presidents' discursive and semiotic development of their political brand is analysed, and finally the ways in which the presidents' gendered identities translate across public and private spheres of society is examined.

9.3 Traditions of Gender in Liberian and Latin American Politics

Grass roots women's movements have been instrumental both in the transition to democracy in Latin America and in the transition from what can be characterised as violent dictatorships to a peaceful and more stable era of democracy in the small western African nation of Liberia. Feminist movements in Latin America date back to the late nineteenth century, prior to which traditional gender roles in Latin American society relegated women to private (cf. Coates and Cameron 1989), or domestic domains. Likewise, in Liberia, where consecutive civil wars brewed from 1989 to 2003, women were also confined, albeit brutally so, through violent tactics to marginalised spheres of society. Liberian women and girls were the most frequent victims of sexual violence and brutal assault (AWP 2004). In both Liberia and Latin America, confining women to private sectors of society primed them to unify around common experiences such as being a wife or mother, but it precluded them from developing public forums necessary for mobilising feminine capital toward a common agenda. This imbalance of masculine power in public sectors of society sustained the patriarchal systems in which women found themselves dominated by men on an institutional level. Women in both Liberia and Latin America were therefore compelled to become self-sufficient in promoting their causes and expanding their presence from private to public domains of society.

Latin American women participated in wars of independence and social activism and fought for their status as full citizens. They joined collectively in their political activism during the 1960s and 1970s, employing what is known as a politics of 'difference' or the exploitation of special feminine attributes to gain a public voice

and presence in political life (Cortés-Conde and Boxer 2015). Favouring social rights over individual rights, the strength of Latin American feminist movements, especially in Argentina, was found in its numbers and the unified pursuit for emancipation from social repression. Solidarity was forged amongst Latin American women through the promotion of images of mothers and women around which the female populace could rally.

From their past institutionalised confinement to private domestic sectors of society, women came to be perceived and to perceive themselves as dispensers of love and protectors of life. Women's movements relied on traditional respect for the symbolic role of women as mothers as a basis for their political action, as was the case in Argentina's *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* (Feijoó and Nari 1994). The notion of motherhood was politicised to unify and mobilise the women of Latin America in their fight for social equity.

In Liberia, women also organised into groups of symbolic significance, where their coalitions symbolised peace and unity so desperately sought during the civil wars and in the aftermath thereof. As compared to those in Latin America, the women in Liberia pursued a direct approach to gaining public and political power in which they explicitly verbalised their demands for an end to violent and repressive acts toward women and girls, and for increased access to public and political spheres of influence in society. Organizations like the Liberian Women's Initiative (LWI), Women in Peace Building Network (WIPNET), the Association of Female lawyers in Liberia (AFELL) and the Mano River Union Women Peace Network (MARWOPNET) played important roles during the civil wars in Liberia (AWP 2004) by raising awareness about the conflict and its effects on civilians, providing support for those displaced and fighting and pressuring ruling factions to join peace talks and to include women in peace negotiations (Adams 2008).

These movements sponsored by the women of Liberia were not initiated in order to topple the political structure as established by men, but rather to usher a vocal and influential feminine presence into the sociopolitical matrix such that women could be heard, protected and equally involved in their government and society. Similar to this ethos adopted by Liberian women activists, rather than working to deconstruct the established patriarchal hierarchy, Latin American women instead sought to create a sphere for themselves. They sought to be seen, heard and influential in public and particularly in political spaces in society.

Practical gender interests, or the notion of sociopolitical objectives broader in scope than gender alone, while relevant to gender, were flexible in addressing issues pertinent across socioeconomic classes. These were implemented to fortify women's movements against fractures between members from different socioeconomic levels. Women in Latin America therefore strategically subordinated their gender interests in order to achieve unity in defense of class interests (Molyneux 2003), thereby using gender strategies as tools with which to incorporate themselves into the public sphere. Using this tactic of class struggle along with the access they were gaining to the public arena, Latin American women spawned a phenomenon known as 'symbolic femininity', which equated womanhood with ideals of self-sacrifice and the sacredness of life and love.

They capitalised from the institutionalised gendered images of women as loving wives and protective mothers in order to accomplish substantial political feats, such as making visible those known as the *disappeared* in both Argentina and Chile: In political movements such as the *Madres de Plaza de Mayo* and *Abuelas de Plaza de Mayo*, during a political conflict between the right and left known as the ‘Dirty War’, women in Argentina used this symbolic power to seek family members who had ‘disappeared’ after being labelled as ‘enemies of the state’, during a decade of right wing authoritarian rule. The women positioned themselves as actors responding to a basic feminine drive to rescue and reconnect their families, rather than as political actors directly threatening or opposing the government. Where other opposition movements were disbanded, these women’s collective movements were able to remain intact, as the only ‘political act’ the dictatorships were unable to dismember.

Ironically, the women of Latin America were able to execute such gender-based power plays because their activities perceptually echoed the familiar images of women as guardians of the domestic, institutionalised from their traditional roles when confined to private spheres of society. In particular, during Argentina’s *Madres and Abuelas*, where the imagery of women in white shawls weekly pacing a central site of political movements in front of the house of government became iconic, women through their strategic semiotic exploitation established the basis for political presence and power in Latin American society, such that they were even welcomed into the public sphere (Cortés-Conde and Boxer 2015).

It has, however, been argued that this symbolic power has served to trap women in a system that will not allow them to promote their own needs and interests unless they are presented under the guise of selfless or sacrificial acts. This ‘Catch 22’, so to speak, was not a snare for women in Liberia. This is precisely because the political activism amongst Liberian women did not develop in a seamless transition from preserving traditionally pacifist feminine roles and images. Rather, women activists in Liberia were obligated to fight against maintaining a pacifist stance. The following sections provide examples of how this discrepancy between political activism amongst the women in Latin America as compared to those in Liberia carries over into the political strategies adopted by the women who came to lead countries in these two regions—particularly CFK as compared to EJS. CFK will be shown to have adopted a relatively pacifist discursive style with respect to gender parity and gender issues in general, while EJS is seen to be far more vocal in speaking out on gender equality and leading with her feminine gendered identity in much of her public discourse, challenging the stereotype that there is only a narrow formula for successful women leaders to apply.

Despite the pacifist v. confrontational discrepancy between the styles of political activism exhibited by women in Latin America v. women in Liberia respectively, in both regions, women maintained and incorporated traditionally feminine roles in their struggle to attain a public voice and political power. In the same vein as the symbolic feminism embraced and expediently manipulated by women in Latin

America, Liberian women exploited gender perceptions of women as peacemakers, caretakers and cooperative negotiators in order to garner public support for their campaigns and causes. Over time, in their shift from private to public spheres of society, women in both Latin America and Africa have established a foothold in the public realm of politics, and the women who serve as presidents in these regions have proven that the prototypical masculine stereotypes are no longer the most valuable commodities in political leadership and branding.

Since the 1990s women have made substantial gains in occupying executive seats in government throughout the continent of Africa (Adams 2008). From 1997 to 2007, 23 women ran in 19 different presidential campaigns in 14 different countries in Africa (Adams 2008). Table 9.1 displays the numbers of Liberian women in select positions of government as compared to men in 2011.

There is, however, still progress to be made. In 2005, when EJS came to power as president, Liberian women exhibited a literacy rate of 38%, were 14% of the cabinet and had 5% representation in the legislature (Doe-Anderson 2005). Cole (2011) states that traditional norms, cultural practices, limited education of women and institutional frameworks have hindered gender equality in Liberian politics. In recent years, regional and national women's movements in Africa have worked towards attaining higher levels of political representation by women through 50–50 campaigns that promote gender equity and setting gender quotas of a minimum threshold of political seats that must be held by women (Adams 2008).

Cole argues that Liberia should follow such examples set in other African countries like South Africa and Rwanda: “One of the reasons that the National Elections Commission of Liberia (NEC) has not been able to adequately address gender inequality is because there is no legal instrument that sets a quota for the number of seats that must be allocated to women in parliament, although suggested by civic leaders” (2011, p. 3). But as discussed in the following section, it is not necessarily the quantitative but the qualitative, or perceived, representation of women that will ultimately put a crack in the concrete and gendered institution of politics. The work is to bring the currently veiled, or underappreciated and uncredited feminine framework to the forefront alongside the visible masculine identity of global politics. It is this work that EJS, MJB and CFK execute in their own unique ways, and it is their leadership that challenges the stereotype that politicians must adopt masculine characteristics (cf. Campbell 1998; Hall and Donaghue 2012) in order to establish a successful political brand.

Table 9.1 Women political leaders in Liberia

Political office	Total #	# of women	Percentage of women
Senator	30	5	16.7
Lower House Representative	64	8	12.5
Liberian National Legislature	94	13	13.8

Source Cole (2011). http://www.ifes.org/~media/Files/Publications/White%20PaperReport/2011/2011_Humphrey_Fellowship_Cole.pdf

The Visible Institution of Masculine v. the Veiled Institution of Feminine Politics

Stiamo per assistere a importanti cambiamenti nella leadership in Africa

'We are about to witness major changes in leadership in Africa

nei prossimi cinque anni – aveva preannunciato Johnson-Sirleaf in un'intervista

over the next five years – Johnson-Sirleaf announced in an interview

ad allAfrica.com – sono convinta che una donna stia per andare al potere

- with allAfrica.com – I am convinced that a woman is about to come to power

in uno dei nostril Paesi e penso che l'Unione Africana

in one of our countries and I think that the African Union

e tutte le istituzioni africane stiano per avere un grande risveglio,

and all the African institutions are about to have a great awakening

perche una donna in gamba dotata di sensibilita e impegno diventera

because a highly capable woman with awareness and commitment will become

la voce forte della quale l'Africa ha bisogno.

the strong voice that Africa needs' (Amato 2005).

The quote above was given by EJS in an interview with an Italian newspaper during her 2005 campaign. She soon after became the first female democratically elected president of Liberia and on the African continent. Her statement referencing a great awakening of "all the African institutions" is particularly interesting because she does not explicitly verbalise the implied masculine identity these institutions possess. Nevertheless, her remarks that the awakening will occur due to a highly capable woman coming to power suggests that her election as president will mark an introduction of a feminine presence into these institutions previously dominated by or exclusively belonging to men. While her election to office would tangibly alter the gender landscape of the Liberian government, it remained to be seen what significant change would occur on an institutional level

Gender stereotypes and normative expectations about appropriate behavior are particularly evident when we examine the pressures on women in workplace leadership positions, and the range of strategies they develop to manage the pervasive double-bind that potentially undermines their institutional effectiveness (Holmes 2007, p. 57).

Upon being asked by Sirleaf if he had a problem with a female president, President John Kufuor of Ghana replied, "I don't consider you a woman", a statement intended as a compliment to the Liberian leader (Hartill 2005). Both Kufuor's response and the fact that the remark was meant to be perceived as a compliment are strong testaments to the very visibly institutionalised masculine character of politics, not only in Africa, but around the world.

During her campaign and after being elected to office, EJS was labelled by the international media as the ‘Iron Lady’ of West Africa. This was clearly a nod to Margaret Thatcher of the U.K., but a superficially gendered reference allocated to many women in positions of political leadership around the world

...la signora Johnson-Sirleaf, che naturalmente la stampa internazionale

‘...Mrs. Johnson Sirleaf, who the international press

ha definito “la lady di ferro,” appellativo a quanto pare inevitabile

has of course labeled “the Iron Lady,” a name it appears is inevitable

per ogni donna alla guida di un Paese...”

for every woman who heads a country...’ (Amato 2005).

A prevalent trend in international media publications was to analogize women political leaders to Margaret Thatcher and regurgitate the label ‘the Iron Lady’. These comparisons, however, often seemed thinly based on little more than a commonality with respect to gender. The reduction of the women politicians to their gender in such comparisons illuminates discrepancies in superficial perceptions of female politicians, who are noted for their gender v. more politically substantive characteristics. Where male politicians are compared and contrasted based on their unique personalities, merits and accomplishments, while their female counterparts are recognised only for the novice of their gender, women in politics are continually perceived as an anomaly of sorts despite the increased quantity in which they may be accessing the political field. In spite of the Iron Lady moniker bestowed upon EJS (a nickname which she shrewdly took full advantage of in her own campaign strategies), it can be shown that EJS of Liberia and MBJ of Chile exhibit several more significant parallels than have been found between EJS and Margaret Thatcher (cf. Thomas and Adams 2010; Cortés-Conde and Boxer 2015).

The political approaches of MBJ and EJS with respect to gender were similar, as both women pursued electoral strategies that combined attempts to confront gendered disadvantages and to take advantage of specific gendered opportunities present within their political contexts. In addition to confronting doubts about a woman’s ability to be president, both EJS and MBJ also promoted specific arguments about why their identity and experiences as women provided them with the specific leadership qualities and skills needed to address the most salient and important issues currently faced by their respective countries.

The campaigns of both MBJ and EJS were marked by the explicit attention that candidates paid to both the opportunities and constraints associated with their gendered identities as women (Thomas and Adams 2010): MBJ, for example, attributed her ability to deepen Chile’s democracy through the greater incorporation of groups previously excluded from political power to her gendered identity as a member of a gender traditionally marginalised from the public sphere. She also asserted that by being a woman, she would be more capable of bringing in a new style of more cooperative political leadership, cooperation being a trait commonly affiliated with feminine discursive styles and patterns of behaviour (Goodwin

1988). EJS used her gender to strengthen her claims about her abilities to challenge a culture of corruption and to promote peace and development.

Significantly, where qualities of women other than gender are taken into account, they are frequently qualities external to their political repertoire or those that are far less often discussed with respect to their male counterparts. Several articles published in some of the highest circulating newspapers in different countries around the world have referenced EJS as ‘widowed’ or ‘divorced’. Likewise, MBJ’s divorce received significant media attention. Two traits frequently mentioned about EJS in international media reports were her age and the fact that she was the first woman to be democratically elected head of state in Africa (Jones 2015).

In addition to the master status of gender (West 1984) often taking precedence over other substantive traits in the case of women political leaders, several other factors lead to the institutionalisation of masculinity in politics, including challenges faced by women with respect to finances, networking and social support. The WIP reports that women and men have systematically different levels and types of networks and political support and states that female politicians receive fewer private donations (Rosenbluth 2015).

Yet further visible evidence of the dominant masculine character of politics, and perhaps fodder for the perpetuation thereof, is the tendency for some women political leaders to assert, involve or even defer to a male ‘validator’, as though their feminine gender precludes them from standing on their own brand as a leader.

According to the analysis of Cortés-Conde and Boxer (2015), both CFK’s first and second inaugural speeches reference the past era of Nestor Kirchner’s presidencies in Argentina. In a photograph taken during CFK’s first inaugural ceremony, Nestor Kirchner, her husband, is seen in the frame with his wife holding the *baston de mando* ‘baton of office’, and in the speech she delivers to Congress during the same ceremony, CFK (Fernández de Kirchner 2007) mentions her husband twelve times, referring to him as the “*El Presidente que esta sentado a mi izquierda*” “The President who is to my left”, despite the fact that she now holds the office, not him (p. 1), an indication of the value CFK perceives to be attached to the masculine in her political experience. She dedicates a large part of this speech to Nestor Kirchner’s success after the 2001 political debacle.

In her second inaugural address given in December 2011, CFK also references to her then deceased husband Nestor Kirchner eleven times. Dressed in black, she swears

I swear to God, the country and the blessed saints to carry out the office of the president and to honor...the Argentine constitution. If I don’t, then let God, the country and *him* take me to task for it,

shaping her brand of political leader as being subordinated to his will even after death.

CFK ventures outside of this subordinated pacifist role, in her second inaugural speech and challenges the patriarchal system by elevating the woman as a symbol of endurance, hard work and daring. She is, however, met with being characterised as “authoritarian, aloof, vain and self-centered...a female dominator of male

politicians". Her team was therefore compelled to solicit image consultants to 'soften' her image, making her warmer, friendlier and more approachable (Htun and Piscopo 2010), evidence that while the feminine may be shown to hold value in politics, the 'double bind' (Jamieson 1995) faced by so many women in positions of political leadership remains a reality.

In discursive examples from EJS, we again find that tapping into the political value of the feminine will not mean abandoning all traits traditionally masculine. A leader known for very openly producing discourse in support of women and women's rights, EJS is seen to take the traditionally masculine assertive and aggressive tone in 'convincing' the audience during her first inaugural speech of her strength and capacity as a leader

Throughout the campaign, I assured our people that, if elected, we would **wage war** against **corruption** regardless of where it exists, or by whom it is practiced. Today, I renew this pledge. Corruption, under my Administration, will be the major public enemy. We will confront it. We will **fight** it. Any member of my Administration who sees this affirmation as mere posturing, or yet another attempt by yet another Liberian leader to play to the gallery on this grave issue should think twice. Anyone who desires to **challenge** us in this regard will do so at his or her personal disadvantage (Sirleaf 2006).

Direct references to waging war carry substantial value in various linguistic markets of Liberian society, where the population, weary from decades of civil war, desired a leader who would maintain peace. Throughout various sectors of Liberian society, the people were thirsty for a leader strong enough to prevent war from ensuing yet again. To drive home the war allusion, EJS appeals to a distinctively masculine discursive style of invoking confrontation and competition (Goodwin 1988), aggression, and implied threats to anyone who challenges her administration. This strategic discursive style reaffirms the value of and deepens the institutionalisation of masculinity in politics.

Nevertheless, politics also shares an institutionalised femininity which does not receive as much publicity or attention from researchers and analysts of gender and politics. In the same inaugural address, EJS makes the following statement:

To those children and to all other Liberian children across this nation, I say to you, I love you very, very much. I shall work, beginning today, to give you hope and a better future (Sirleaf 2006).

Reminiscent of the Latin American notion of symbolic femininity, where women are characterised as dispensers of love and protectors of life, EJS brings the feminine to the forefront in producing discourse on what is arguably the most public of political stages (an inaugural address). This validates her femininity as a valuable political asset, and as an asset she expects an audience comprised of several linguistic markets to perceive as being valuable in a political leader as well.

While feminine attributes in politics are not as often explicitly credited as being valuable, evidence shows that they in fact are. There are often occasions where 'softer', more 'cooperative', approaches which foster 'relational practices' stereotypically characterised as feminine (Fletcher 1999) are employed by male politicians, but are veiled or coded under labels such as 'diplomacy', or strategic tactics

of appeasement or negotiation. Beneath the veil that serves to obscure rather than expose these institutionalised feminine aspects and discursive styles in politics, male leaders do in fact regularly portray or exercise stereotypically feminine gendered identities. It is this notion of ‘doing femininity’ (Holmes and Schnurr 2006), which has in some cases become as equally valuable in political strategies as performing masculine identities. This is particularly salient when politicians display traditionally feminine characteristics (cf. Baxter 2010), such as patterns of conversational reinforcement that women have been shown to exhibit in building solidarity amongst one another (Coates and Cameron 1989): In her 2006 inaugural speech, EJS remarked: “I am particularly touched by the presence of the African Union Women Parliamentarians and others of my sisters, who are participating here with us today in solidarity”.

While the pressure placed on CFK to ‘soften’ or ‘feminize’ her political brand is evidence of the visible masculine institution of politics, the far less analysed feminine institution of politics exists as well, and male politicians are, beneath this veil, also under a certain degree of pressure to de-gender traditionally masculine personas and regender them to more feminine styles when producing discourse publically as well.

EJS, MBJ and CFK have shown that ‘doing femininity’ and taking a strong public approach to speaking on women’s issues and highlighting their feminine gender have contributed to their prowess as successful political leaders. All three have helped to pave the way for women leaders around the world to have a choice in branding themselves according to both masculine and feminine gender identities—a manner more strategically compatible with rather than subordinate to the patriarchal system.

As the all-important image or brand of a political leader is established through the discursive and semiotic features she produces and how these features are perceived by her audience, the perception of a politician’s discourse within each relevant linguistic market is a crucial factor for her to know and understand. The following analysis reveals how all three leaders manipulate discursive and semiotic resources in order to produce discourse of the highest value within various public and private linguistic markets.

9.4 Gender Perceptions and Political Brands

In 2005, the country of Liberia was fresh out of an era of civil war, and its citizens were desperate for peace and healing from the ravaging effects of political coups, economic collapse, violence and massacres. The voice of a soft, nurturing motherly figure without the assertive, strong speech of one who could assure a nation of its security would not do. Both the feminine nurturer and the masculine protector needed to be embodied in a single political persona. EJS needed to brand herself with the traditionally masculine assertiveness of a strong political leader, and display herself as a maternal, nurturing figure, as seen in the following quote Sirleaf gives to an Italian newspaper

La mia presidenza è stata un grande successo...

'My presidency was a great success...

Per il fatto di essere donna ho portato una quota di sensibilità in più.

As a woman, I brought increased sensitivity.

Grazie al mio istinto materno, siamo stati in grado di rispondere

Thanks to my maternal instincts, we are in a position to respond

a donne e giovani. Non a caso mi chiamano "Mama Ellen."

to women and youth. It is not by chance that they call me "Mama Ellen."

Nel mio Paese mi considerano la madre della nazione.

In my country, they consider me the mother of the nation' (Muglia 2011).

Both EJS and MBJ had occasion, albeit against the backdrop of relatively distinct sociocultural contexts, to exploit the need to unify various social sectors within their respective populations. Both used their feminine gendered identities to their advantage in doing so. There exists, in fact, statistical evidence that shows women tend to win executive offices in countries that are politically unstable and lack political institutionalisation (Jalalzai 2008). These statistics correctly predict what might otherwise seem an irony—that the infamously war-ravaged nation of Rwanda has the highest percentage of women participating in political office. (In Rwanda 64% of the member of the Chamber of Deputies are women.)

In both Latin America and Liberia, there were a multitude of social sectors, public and private, in which the discourse produced by these three presidents would be scrutinised and evaluated. Social sectors defined on the basis of ethnic, religious, political and economic identities, just to name of few, intersected and overlapped in Chile, Argentina and Liberia, forging a complex array of linguistic markets in which the three presidents were tasked to brand themselves, their image in large part based on how their discourse was perceived in these linguistic markets.

An understanding of these linguistic markets in all three regions requires first an understanding of the corresponding and underlying social contexts. The values and ideology that informed democracy in Chile were based on strong institutions with division of power, in spite of the years of totalitarian regimes from the late 1970s to the early 1990s. Since its return to democracy, Chile has had an orderly transition between the two main parties: *La Concertación para la Democracia* and the right wing coalition. Lagos's presidency had a high approval rating, and this had a positive impact on MJB's campaign (Quiroga 2008). She represented a change that did not diverge very much from the previous government, but that resulted in a significant change for the women that gave her the presidency.

In Argentina, in 1947, the Peronist Party sanctioned a law allowing women to vote, and Eva Perón was elected to a position of leadership. "Peronism absorbed elements of feminist discourse (and some of its demands), but reworked these within a politics which explicitly identified itself as anti-feminist" (Molyneux 2003, p. 173).

The Peronist party has been the political machine that allowed the emergence of CFK's husband and presidential predecessor, Nestor Kirchner, in 2001. When elected to office, CFK subordinated her ambitions to continue advancing those of her husband, expressing anti-feminism and subordinating strategic gender interests to address the more 'pressing' issues as perceived by the party.

Similar to the sociopolitical movements of Latin America, wherein women prioritised practical collective interests over strategic gender interests, movements initiated by women in Liberia set objectives in collective social causes advantageous for all members of society, such as political stability, peace and economic growth. Just as the fight of women in Latin America for class-based interests, such as food and supplies shortage issues, allowed them to form alliances and garner political acumen, the fight of women in Liberia for universal issues such as peace and improved educational opportunities allowed them to form a unified front as a vehicle for political power. As EJS built her political platform on these collective interests as well as women's rights, she branded herself successfully in several different sectors of society at once. Liberia was fractured and divided not just on gender lines but amongst different ethnic groups, and economic classes. There were also political and generational divides, such that the president's discourse was perceived very differently within different sectors of society depending upon the age and or political affiliation of the citizens. In the aftermath of the Liberian civil wars, for example, there were factions of young male ex-child soldiers, a large social sector which intersected with youth male sports fanatics who were heavily in support of the presidential candidacy of EJS's political opponent, world famous soccer star George Weah. Within such all- or predominately male linguistic markets, EJS's discourse about women's rights was perceived as far less valuable than amongst markets comprised of her female supporters. Hence, she also needed to produce discourse that branded her a strong competent leader capable of assuring these young men that the country would not revert back to war where they would again be forced to commit violence against their countrymen.

While EJS navigated a wide range of linguistic markets and placed collective issues such as revitalising the economy and rebuilding the infrastructure at the forefront of her political platform, they were side by side with her campaign for women's rights. Her discourse addressed those preoccupied with issues of past war and violence, while she contextualised crucial sociopolitical issues such as education within a feminine domain

...need to defend the rights of women is not limited to the battlefield, and the threats to those rights do not emanate only from armed violence. Girls' education, seen far too often as an unnecessary indulgence rather than the key investment it is, is still under-funded and under-staffed. Too often girls are discouraged from pursuing an academic training, no matter how promising they may be (Sirleaf 2011).

CFK, on the other hand, took the approach of subordinating the rights of women to the needs of their men, as is clearly heard in both her inaugural speeches

Creemos profundamente en la transformacion, en el hacer y en el trabajar y hemos fructificado uniendonos a hombres y mujeres de distintata pertencencia partidaria con un solo objetivo: cumplir con el mandato popular.

We strongly believe in transformation, in doing and working and we have borne fruit by joining men and women of different party affiliation with one goal: to comply with the popular mandate.—para. 39.

However, at the same time, that subordination of women's needs to collective goals is a source of her power—she stands by her man and, thus, is a legitimate 'voice' of the people. Therefore, like EJS and MBJ, she manipulated gender in a discursive political strategy that worked in her favour.

Semiotic political strategies were key to CFK's successful branding as well. The Kirchner political machine perfected the art of communicating visually symbolic stances, a testament to the effectiveness of skilfully merging discursive and semiotic tactics when molding a political brand with collective appeal in the face of both gender- and non-gender-based social constructions. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992a, b) assert that "language interacts with other symbolic systems—dress, body, adornment, ways of moving, gaze, touch...Language is never encountered without other symbol systems, and gender is always joined with real people's complex forms of participation in the communities to which they belong" (p. 92). In a particular photograph taken of CFK where her husband, Nestor Kirchner, stands in the back and in another photograph of her with a vision of Evita Peron in the background, made certain that CFK is seen as a part of the collective and as very much a member of the Peronist movement and its continuation of Kirchnerismo.

Her first inaugural address centred on showing her command of the data and her firm commitment to continue her husband's *proyecto politico* 'political path'. It is reported that she worked better with men than with women (Levitsky and Murillo 2008, p. 78), and this is perceived in her unwillingness to take on a 'feminist' leadership role. Her inaugural address focuses not on advocacy for women's rights, but on what part must 'we' all have in the 'collective project'

Yo ne me engano, nunca he creido en los triunfos personales

'I don't fool myself, I have never believed in personal

e individuales, descreo profundamente de ellos,

and individual triumphs, I profoundly disbelieve them,

porque creo en las construcciones colectivas y la sociedad.

because I believe in the collective construction of society.'—para. 10.

In this collective project, CFK presents herself and her husband's rise to power as a manifestation of popular will, and because she must become the voice of the collective, women's interests have no place in her speech. The vocal assertion of women's interests, however, is not the only manner in which a leader can bring the value of the feminine in politics to the forefront. In her second inaugural address, CFK uses her femininity as a symbol of her subordination to the collective will and her willingness to become the voice of that will. This subordinate posture, also

drawn from the arsenal of the feminine, proves to be a valuable political strategy in its own right.

In both her speeches, there is no acknowledgment of gender interests of any sort, and there is very little mention of her status as the first voted female president. Both CFK's and EJS's manipulation of their feminine gender, although executed in profoundly different manners, served the purpose of highlighting the value and standard of the feminine in politics. Where CFK often took a more tacit approach, EJS was frequently a very vocal promoter's of women's rights, as seen from the public stance she took against violence toward women when accepting her Nobel Peace Prize in 2011

There is no doubt that the madness that wrought untold destruction in recent years in the Democratic Republic of Congo, in Rwanda, in Sierra Leone, in Sudan, in Somalia, in the former Yugoslavia, and in my own Liberia, found its expression in unprecedented levels of cruelty directed against women...Although international tribunals have correctly declared that rape, used as a weapon of war, is a crime against humanity, rapes in times of lawlessness continue unabated.

But despite CFK's repression of gender in relegating women's issues to the background in contrast to EJS's emphasising gender by bringing such issues to the forefront, both women successfully executed gendered discursive strategies in such a way as to be perceived most favourably within the linguistic markets in which they were being evaluated. For CFK to stray from the expected political trend of subordinated gender issues to collective issues, she would have been, in the linguistic markets relevant to her discourse, perceived as 'unipersonal', that is, an individual that does not respond to the needs of the collective. Since gender cuts across class, cultural and political sectors, it was seen as a danger to the collective unity of the 'national' project, and any mention of advancements for women as a group would have evoked the stigma of the label 'feminist'. Such a label would devalue her discourse in certain social sectors, where she would be branded as a member of the bourgeoisie seeking personal and individual advancement. Nevertheless, CFK was strategic in performing feminine identity as she negotiated the gender perceptions stacked against her. For CFK, being a woman made her marginal and a victim of the system, and that is what gave her power.

In the case of EJS's delivery of her Nobel Peace speech in 2011, the linguistic markets in which her discourse was being evaluated were international, intersecting simultaneously across various cultures and geopolitical regions. She was the President of Liberia, speaking in Oslo, Norway to societies that spanned across the entire world. And her discourse, though highly gendered, strategically took into account the international scope of her audience. She opened her speech with

On behalf of all the women of Liberia, the women of Africa, and women everywhere in the world who have struggled for peace, justice and equality. I accept with great humility the 2011 Nobel Prize for Peace,

and later in the speech made the following remarks:

In its selection this year, the Nobel Committee has brought here three women linked by their commitment to change, and by their efforts to promote the rule of law and democracy in societies driven by conflict. The fact that we – two women from Liberia – are here today to share the stage with a sister from Yemen speaks to the universality of our struggle...The enduring spirit of the great women whose work transcended gender and geographical boundaries is in this room with us...

Like the openly vocal advocacy of gender rights exhibited in the public discourse of EJS, MJB of Chile spoke on issues of gender parity during an address to the Congress 100 days into her tenure as president. Neither EJS nor MJB forsake the political objective of addressing the ‘collective’ that CFK prioritises above all else in her discourse. This is seen where MJB also focuses in her address to Congress on issues of social reform and integrating excluded groups. But a significant difference between MJB and CFK is the way they manifest their female identity as leaders of their respective countries and in the political and institutional context of their countries. MJB’s brand, similar to EJS’s, became that of a successful female president who promoted herself as an independent candidate ready to fight for full citizenship for women and other marginalised groups. Both MJB and EJS were uncompromisingly feminist in their stance and had the female vote, which viewed them as a welcome change from ‘politics as usual’. CFK, on the other hand, while acknowledging women’s difficulty in obtaining parity in the public sphere and accusing the media of gender bias, seldom addressed women’s issues or promoted women’s political strength and autonomy. Rather, she is seen obtaining the presidential candidacy by “grasping her husband’s tailcoat” (Cortés-Conde and Boxer 2015, p. 64).

Evidence of the lasting stereotype that the masculine in politics holds dominant value, most if not all women leaders have appealed to some form of masculine validation as they climbed their way to and successfully sustained their position at the top of the political hierarchy. Although not with her husband, MJB was also backed by the previous president of her party, a man named Ricardo Lagos. And EJS, in the opening paragraphs of her inaugural address, uses the plural second person ‘we’, including Vice President Joseph N. Boakai when referencing who would be leading the country

Vice President Joseph N. Boakai and I have just participated in the time-honored constitutional ritual of oath-taking as we embark on our responsibilities to lead this Republic...

As her discourse continues she does however shift into the use of the first person, positioning herself more autonomously as the sole ultimate authority in the political hierarchy: “The Liberian people did me the great honour of re-electing me as their President to serve for another six-year term, allowing me to build on the foundations we started in 2006”.

The discourse of both MJB and EJS simultaneously exhibits entrenched stereotypes of the dominant masculine in politics and brings to light the value of the feminine. CFK took a slightly different approach, tapping into the veiled feminine institution of politics in instances where she emphasised her ‘femininity’, but branded herself more on the side of the masculine institution of politics where she

distanced herself from feminism. Through their discourse, however, all three leaders proved competent in addressing collective sociopolitical issues that impacted their respective constituencies as a whole. It is in fact their discourse that held value throughout the many intersecting linguistic markets within their respective societies.

9.5 Translating Gender Across Public and Private Domains

A key discursive strategy exhibited by all three presidents is their ability to speak to the individual voter and groups of people operating within private spheres of society, such as a home, workplace or specific community of practice (Lave and Wenger 1991) with language that is also perceived as relevant and valuable in public spheres of society such as amongst larger social or political groups. This strategy is demonstrated in MBJ's 2006 State of the Nation where she reaches into the private domains of the voters' 'home', extends out to the 'streets' and relates those experiences to women in the political arena in the 'cabinet'

Pese a que a que a veces se habla

Although it is sometimes said

de que hay que privilegiar a los grupos minoritarios

that minority groups must be privileged

y se habla de las mujeres, es una paradoja porque las mujeres son la mitad

and women are considered to be a minority, this is a paradox given that half

de los que nos miran desde las casas. Son la mitad

of those who listening us from home right now are women. They are half

de los que, ahora mismo, nos acaban de saludar alegremente en las calles.

of those happily waving at us in the streets.

Son la mitad de los que estan en las graderias, seguramente.

They are half of those in the stands, certainly.

Son mas de la mitad de los que votan.

More than half of those voting.

Son la mitad del gabinete aqui presente y la Presidenta de la Republica

Half the cabinet present here are women, and the President of the Republic

es mujer.

is a woman (para. 206.).'

Her direct address to women in this statement makes her translation of gender from the private to the public domain all the more challenging, as many women in politics risk being discredited by male constituents as a “candidate for women”.

In a remark made to a British newspaper in 2005, when running for president of Liberia, EJS demonstrated a similar tactic of extending her discourse directly to a more private sphere of society, namely women in the Liberian marketplace, and translating the significance to the public sphere of her political campaign

My own personal passion is that I am going to do something for market women, who I met travelling around the country on my campaign...My being at the top seat is the first big hope for them, because now there is a woman who understands their issues (*The Guardian*, November 23, 2005).

She also displays the skill required to tackle women’s concerns head-on in her political discourse, published in this case on the international stage, arguably the most public of discursive domains.

CFK is also shown to have mastered an art of translating private styles of discourse to the public political domain. In her second inaugural speech, she at times takes a conversational and intimate tone, branding herself as more personable and relatable. During her second inaugural speech she addresses political colleagues in casual terms, uses the familiar second person singular, references some of her ministers by their first names. She shows her familiarity and takes a more colloquial tone in her discourse, with frequent asides and sentences that self-correct as is the pattern of conversational speech, as she directly addresses her critics.

Although she waits until the end of her speech to raise womanhood as a symbol of endurance, hard work, and daring, CFK does not completely abandon exploiting feminine identity as a political strategy in her discourse. She evokes the emotional leader of the party, Evita, the self-sacrificing and sentimental wife of Juan Peron (Cortés-Conde and Boxer 2015, p. 60), and in Eva, the iconic figure of Peronism

Pero creo tener la fuerza para poder hacerlo y ademas el ejemplo,

‘But I have the strength to do it and also the example,

el ejemplo no solamente de Eva que no pudo,

the example of not only Eva, who could not do it,

no pudo, tal vez ella lo merecia mas que yo,

and maybe she deserved it more than me,

el ejemplo de unas mujeres que con pañuelo blanco

the example of women with white handkerchief

se atrevieron donde nadie se atrevia y lo hicieron.

who dared what no one dared, and they did it.

Ese era el ejemplo de ellas, de las Madres y de las Abuelas,
That was the example of them, of the Mothers and Grandmothers,

de las Madres y del las Abuelas de la Patria.

Mothers and Grandmothers of our homeland' (para. 53, 2007).

It will also be noted that CFK skilfully translates gender imagery from the private sphere of the "women with the white handkerchief who dared what no one dared" to the public sphere of her political image as a national leader who is proud of her nation, in referencing the mothers and grandmothers of 'our homeland'.

In her 2006 inaugural address, EJS employed references to the personal, domestic sphere of the individual Liberian home and family, just as MBJ referenced the women listening to her discourse from home. Although she addresses the ladies and gentlemen of her entire nation, EJS personalises her speech to the private audience of the individual listening to the radio or watching on their television at home, and expands the significance of this private dialogue to the entire citizenry of the public sphere:

My Fellow Liberians, Ladies and Gentlemen:

...our citizens at this very moment are listening to my voice by radio – and some are watching by television. I want to speak directly to you. As you know, in our various communities and towns, our children have a way of greeting their fathers when they come home after a long, tiring day of trying to find the means to feed the family that night and send the children to school the next day. They say, "Papa na come." Well, too many times, for too many families, Papa comes home with nothing, having failed to find a job or to get the help to feed the hungry children. Imagine then the disappointment and the hurt in the mother and children; the frustration and the loss of self-confidence in the father...Through the message of this story, I want you to know that I understand what you, our ordinary citizens, go through each day to make ends meet for yourselves and for your families.

In her remarks, which are predominantly centred upon the image of the father who works to support his family, she incorporates women as well, describing the mother as stereotypically feminine in her emotions even though it is the father who has undergone the failure. EJS also incorporates direct addresses to other private sectors of society in her public discourse, such as her words to specific youth groups of her nation during the same inaugural address

Now, I would like to speak in particular to our youth. You can believe my word that my Administration will do its utmost to respond to your needs. We will build your capacity and empower you to enable you meaningfully participate in the reconstruction of our country. We shall actively pursue the Kakata Declaration resulting from the National Youth Conference held in 2005 and the implementation of a National Youth Policy and Program.

In speaking to the youth it is significant that she employs a genderless strategy, which may be due to the fact that young men in particular are depending upon her to represent herself as a leader for them and not just as an advocate for girls and women. But EJS skilfully compartmentalises her inaugural speech into sectors corresponding with various private sectors of Liberian society, and to intersecting sectors that form a variety of linguistic markets. Very early in the address, for

example, EJS begins by referencing her grandmother, in a statement that holds value for segments of society concerned with issues such as literacy and education: “I reflect on the memory of my two rural illiterate grandmothers and my mother and father who taught me to be what I am today, and the families who took them in and gave them the opportunity of a better life”. She draws private rural communities into her public discourse, lending it value in both rural and urban linguistic markets.

Both EJS and MBJ speak to their desire to have different parties come together that vied for office during the presidential campaigns, each segregated into their own private political spheres. In this, EJS is eager for political unification in order to stabilise conflict both military and political, and MBJ seeks to address those of her constituency who felt excluded, as well as the deeper rifts in Chilean society. This objective is pursued in fact by all three presidents as they produce discourse addressing the collective that is translatable from the private to the public spheres of society, exhibiting a key trait of feminine identity in discourse, namely that of fostering group cooperation (Goodwin 1988).

The presidents analysed in this chapter did not err on the side of safety by limiting their discourse to only those entities or images that were easily translatable through varying linguistic markets and across private and public domains. They were vocal on issues of gender, and successfully employed strategies of de-gendering and regendering their discourse when expedient to do so. They emphasised their gender when prudent, and they exploited feminine and masculine gendered identities effectively within the public and private linguistic markets comprising their constituencies both locally and internationally.

9.6 Conclusion

In their successful manipulation of intersecting linguistic markets, CFK, MBJ and EJS proved that the feminine is often just as powerful a weapon for a political leader to hold in her arsenal as is the masculine, challenging the stereotype that the masculine stands as the absolute model for a successful political brand.

Leymah, you are a peacemaker. You had the courage to mobilize the women of Liberia to take back their country. You redefined the ‘front line’ of a brutal civil conflict – women dressed in white, demonstrating in the streets – a barrier no warlord was brave enough to cross.

The above statement was addressed to Leymah Gbowee, a fellow Liberian peace activist and women’s rights champion. It was issued by EJS during her Nobel Prize acceptance speech in 2011. In the same utterance, EJS references women dressed in white, mirroring the iconic image of the Argentinian women in white shawls. Though the two groups of women—Liberian and Latin American—lived and struggled in different parts of the world, their geographical distance is minimised by the sociopolitical commonalities that connected them as advocates for a visible rather than a veiled feminine presence in the globally masculine institution of politics.

All three leaders analysed in this paper present examples of women who successfully exploited gender in their discourse, whether deferring to masculinity when it was shrewd to do so, or leading with feminine rhetoric in order to effectively navigate a multitude of linguistic markets through various sectors of society, both private and public.

The glass ceiling is an analogy depicting a hierarchical barrier through which women can see the upper strata of politics to which they aspire. The masculine standards in politics are visible and are often assumed by politicians seeking to establish a successful brand. The concrete ceiling, however, represents a barrier through which women cannot see what or who lies on the other side. It is this opacity of the concrete ceiling that prevents many politicians and political analysts from seeing that the feminine has already been institutionalised in global politics and need now only be acknowledged as such publically. MBJ, EJS and CFK, each in their own way, have served to highlight the establishment of the feminine in global politics, thereby putting a crack in a concrete, rather than a glass ceiling.

Women politicians are not 'othered' because they are 'others', (i.e. because the feminine is a foreign presence in the midst of the 'good old boys' club). Rather, they are 'othered' because long-standing gender perceptions have obscured the public recognition of the institutional place the feminine has already established in global politics. Despite the ocean that separates CFK and MBJ from EJS geographically, the three presidents are shown to face common obstacles and challenges with respect to managing and manipulating globalised gender perceptions—obstacles and challenges that women in positions of political power all over the world are tasked to overcome. Unlike their male predecessors, who were and will be viewed as national leaders whose gender is a default trait unworthy of explicit recognition, CFK, MBJ and EJS will all three go down in history not as president, but as women who were president.

The traditional perception of women as 'others' in politics clings to and haunts women politicians to this day, not, as the present analysis demonstrates, because the feminine in politics is actually inferior or anomalous, but simply because perceiving the masculine as the dominant political model has become habit. This vestigial branding of women leaders and of the feminine as being an anomaly or something other than the traditional default gender in politics, is conveniently represented by gender markers in the morphology of the native language of MBJ's Chile and CFK's Argentina. The reality experienced by female politicians whose gender-neutral competence, achievements and accolades are always accompanied by a statement or indication of their gender, is aptly captured in the gender-marked title of *presidenta*, 'president'. Even in Liberia, where the official language, English, is grammatically genderless, media coverage and traditional social constructs sustain the awareness that EJS is not just the president, but the woman who is president—*la presidenta*. The *presidenta* remains a global phenomenon, whose spectacle will become obsolete hand in hand with the cracking of the concrete ceiling—when the veiled feminine becomes acknowledged as an established institution in politics and thereby not only challenges but defeats the antiquated perception of masculine stereotypes as dominant in political settings around the world.

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Chapter 10

Exploring Leadership Communication in the United Arab Emirates: Issues of Culture and Gender

Catherine Nickerson and Valerie Priscilla Goby

10.1 Introduction

The past decade has seen a rapid increase in the numbers of Emirati women completing tertiary education and entering the workforce. As a result, many more Emirati women are now achieving leadership positions in a variety of different sectors including business, industry and government (Women in the United Arab Emirates 2009). Despite the significance of this societal shift, however, limited research (e.g. Kemp et al. 2013; Mostafa 2005; Tlaiss 2013), has been done on how female leaders are viewed in the United Arab Emirates (UAE) and, to our knowledge, none on the style of discourse that is expected of them. Giving women the communication tools that they need to influence the way in which they are perceived as leaders will contribute to their empowerment and potential for success in the future. This study aims to identify what makes a successful leader in the UAE within the paradigms of leadership styles and leadership communication. In order to do this, it will seek to explore, and potentially challenge, a number of the existing leadership stereotypes that are germane to the region, along with the stereotypical discourse strategies that have been associated with the ways in which men and women enact leadership. We will show that a Western understanding of leadership may be too strictly delineated to account for leadership styles in the Gulf, and also that leaders in the region may effectively draw on a combined set of communication strategies that have been attributed elsewhere to male and female leaders.

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In this chapter, we aim to explore current expectations of Emirati discursive leadership within the national community in the UAE. We will present the results of a survey of Emirati nationals and investigate, (i) the cultural construct of leadership and how the leadership styles that have been stereotypically associated with men and women are viewed within this paradigm, and (ii) the communication style that is preferred if Emirati leaders are to be perceived as successful. Our data includes information gathered from both male and female Emirati respondents. The chapter is multidisciplinary in nature and will draw on the scholarship of both leadership and of leadership communication.

The chapter begins with an overview of the scholarly literature on leadership styles and the discourse strategies that have been associated with these styles. It then goes on to discuss our development of a survey instrument to investigate whether young Emirati nationals show a preference for the leadership styles that have been identified as most prevalent in the Gulf Region; the instrument also gauged respondents' preferences for the styles of communication that have been considered to be stereotypical of how men and women, respectively, 'do' leadership. We conclude with a discussion on the findings of our survey, together with the implications of these findings for contemporary leadership communication training in the Gulf.

10.2 Literature Survey

As with most of the Gulf, there are large numbers of expatriate employees in the UAE workforce; as many as 99.5% in the private sector and 40% in the public sector (Salem and Dajani 2013). Female participation stands at only 12% (Abdalla 2015). At the same time, however, the UAE government is now actively encouraging local female participation in the workforce and has declared its objective of establishing "a new benchmark for female empowerment in the region." (Women in the United Arab Emirates 2009). This chapter aims to contribute to this discussion on female empowerment in the UAE, with particular reference to the ways of 'doing' leadership that are likely to be successful for Emirati women in their progression to senior management positions.

Doing leadership can be viewed as a discursive practice, comprised of different discourse activities and communicative actions on the part of the leader that contribute to that practice. Schnurr (2013) observes that in order to understand how people 'do' leadership, it is necessary to take a discursive leadership approach in identifying which activities and actions are involved. "Discursive leadership draws on tools and methods developed by discourse analytic approaches in order to analyse leadership discourse. Discourse in this context is conceptualised as taking two different forms: discourse (or 'little d' discourse) and Discourse (or 'big D' discourse)" (Schnurr 2013, p. 169). Discursive leadership can be understood as a combination of the philosophy or system of leadership that people choose to follow within a given socio-cultural context, together with the communication strategies

that leaders can select in both speaking and writing in order to enact a given leadership style. In the account that follows, we will discuss the stereotypes that have come to be associated with the leadership styles that are followed in the Gulf region, with particular reference to the United Arab Emirates, including how leadership has been discussed in the literature and the forms of leadership that have been identified as being most prevalent. We will then go on to discuss the discourse strategies that are available to people when they communicate as leaders, including how these have been stereotypically associated with female and male leaders in other, mostly Western, contexts.

In their seminal publication on leadership, Lewin et al. (1939) introduced the idea of authoritarian, democratic and laissez-faire leadership styles through a study of the US military in the 1930s. Later studies have identified a number of alternative styles that have more recently become a part of contemporary leadership, such as transformational, transactional, and paternalistic styles of leadership (e.g., Bass and Bass 2008). As we will show in our discussion below, the choice a leader makes for a particular style of leadership will determine the relationship they construct with their subordinates and the ways in which they choose to communicate with them. In addition, the particular socio-cultural context will also determine the range of possible leadership styles that individual leaders believe are available to them. In the Gulf region, for instance, Kasseem and Habib (1998) observe that, until recently, a paternalistic and authoritarian style of leadership has endured as the prevalent way in which leadership has been done. Indeed, the high levels of power distance and collectivism that are characteristic of the region (Hofstede 2003) have undoubtedly contributed to the success of paternalism as a leadership style that many organisations have chosen to follow, as paternalism is both hierarchical and tribal in nature. As a result, paternalistic leadership has also become the stereotypical style of leadership that many people, both inside and outside the region, expect to be the norm. What this means is that people in general are likely to have a strong association between the concept of a leader from the Gulf and the expectation that this will also be a male leader, combined with the additional expectation that such a person will lead not only with authority, but also with a commitment to the people working for him. In other words, the stereotypical view of an Arab leader in the Gulf, is that this will be a man who leads as if he is the head of a tribe. At the same time, however, recent research has suggested that this traditional way of doing leadership may no longer be the only model that is used, in that male leaders in the region may now also opt for transactional or laissez-faire styles of leadership (Bass and Bass 2008; Yaseen 2010). This means that they view the relationship between the person in authority and those working for them either as a transaction (transactional leadership) or as secondary to the actions that need to be carried out as long as they are completed (laissez-faire leadership) (Yaseen 2010; DWE 2009). In pursuing such leadership styles, the authoritarian and hierarchical aspect of paternalism is retained, but not the mandate to show a commitment to the welfare of those in junior positions. Finally, other research suggests that the small number of female leaders in the region who have recently started to achieve senior management positions, have chosen not to pursue a hierarchical or authoritarian style of

leadership, but have instead opted for transformational leadership as their preferred way of doing leadership, a style of leadership that is characterised by consensus-seeking, subordinate autonomy and collaboration (Abdalla and Al-Homoud 2001). In doing transformational leadership, for instance a manager works collaboratively with his or her employees, but also allows them to carry out their tasks autonomously. Transformational leadership therefore, shares some of the pastoral elements that are inherent in paternalistic leadership, but it is neither authoritarian nor hierarchical in its execution. A recent report based on interviews with 96 Arab women leaders, for instance, reveals their preference for transformational leadership, as well as an awareness that they felt that this style of leadership was also best suited to their communication skills (DWE 2009).

When considering how people communicate their leadership role, numerous studies have postulated that men and women use different communication strategies in general conversation (e.g. Tannen 1990) and, more specifically, several have shown that men and women may use different strategies when they are enacting leadership (e.g. Holmes 2005; Baxter 2010, 2011). At the same time, however, many others have refuted the claim that men and women have different communication styles, and they have provided evidence that there are many similarities not only in how men and women talk in general, but also in how men and women use talk to do leadership (e.g. Holmes 2006; Holmes et al. 2012; Mullany 2007, 2011; Schnurr 2009). For the purposes of our study, we will draw on the literature that has made a distinction between a set of communication strategies that have been associated with men, and a set of strategies that have been associated with women, but we will consider this paradigm as involving stereotypical distinctions that may not reflect the way in which real people communicate.

The majority of Arab women leaders who participated in the DWE survey (2009) reported that they felt that they had better communication skills than their male Arab counterparts, and that this had contributed to their success. They specifically mentioned that they considered themselves to be good mediators, and that they purposefully pursued inclusive strategies with their subordinates. Strategies such as these, alongside others such as being indirect and making suggestions, have been stereotypically associated with women and referred to as feminine discourse strategies. These are in contrast with strategies such as being direct and giving orders, that have been stereotypically associated with men and referred to as masculine discourse strategies (see Table 10.1 for the categorization of masculine and feminine communication styles as proposed by Tannen 1990). Feminine strategies, such as being a mediator as well as being collaborative and inclusive, can also be viewed as an inherent part of doing transformational leadership, which, as we have discussed above, is a type of leadership that has become popular in the UAE (DWE 2009, p. 15). Strategies like being collaborative and inclusive have been identified by scholars like Baxter (2010, 2011, 2012) as the communication strategies that are often used by successful women leaders in Western contexts such as the United Kingdom. Moreover, Holmes (2005, 2006) has also shown how successful women leaders in New Zealand use feminine discourse strategies, such as including supportive language in their utterances and the negotiation of consensus, as part of a

Table 10.1 The distinction between masculine and feminine communication styles (proposed by Tannen 1990)

Masculine communication style	Feminine communication style
• Direct	• Indirect
• Aggressive	• Conciliatory
• Competitive	• Facilitative
• Autonomous	• Collaborative
• Dominates talking time	• Talks less than men
• Interrupts aggressively	• Has difficulty getting a turn
• Task-oriented	• Person-oriented
• Referentially oriented	• Affectively oriented

mentoring strategy within their leadership style. Our study will refer to the communication strategies that have been stereotypically associated with men and women to explore which of these strategies the Emirati community associates with successful leaders. As we have noted, the division between a masculine communication style and a feminine communication style will of course be less clear-cut in practice than it appears in Table 10.1. However, the identification of those communication strategies that are seen as successful, regardless of whether these have been stereotypically associated with male leaders or female leaders, would provide useful input into the development of appropriate management and leadership communication training for UAE nationals in the future.

10.3 Aims and Methodology

The motivation for our study was to identify the leadership styles and leadership communication strategies that are viewed most positively by Emirati nationals. More specifically, we wanted to find out if Emiratis prefer the type of discursive leadership that Arab women leaders reported as characteristic of their preferred style, that is, transformational leadership and collaborative communication (DWE 2009), or if they would prefer the discursive leadership that has been stereotypically associated with men in equivalent positions, that is, laissez-faire, transactional or paternalistic leadership styles, together with the use of a direct and competitive style of communication. In other words, the study will explore whether or not leaders who use a transformational style of leadership, characterised by communication strategies such as collaboration, consensus building and mentoring, are likely to be viewed in a positive way by Emiratis. If this is the case, it would pose an interesting challenge to the traditional ways of doing leadership in the region that have been stereotypically associated with men. Our research question was therefore as follows:

What are the preferences of the Emirati community for leadership styles and communication strategies?

In order to investigate this, we developed a questionnaire for online dissemination to Emirati nationals. The questionnaire consisted of three parts. Part one included 20 statements, the first eight being statements on the different types of leadership styles that have been identified in the literature as being used in the Gulf Region (e.g. Bass and Bass 2008; Yaseen 2010; Abdalla and Al-Homoud 2001), and a further 12 reflecting the discourse strategies that have been associated with either a masculine or feminine way of communicating or communicating leadership, including those that were identified by successful Arab women leaders in the DWE report (e.g. Tannen 1990; Holmes 2006; Baxter 2011; DWE 2009). For each statement, respondents were asked to complete a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 = complete agreement with the statement to 5 = complete disagreement with the statement. The statements included in part one are shown in Tables 10.2 and 10.3; they are labelled here to indicate what each statement referred to and grouped according to specific leadership styles and communication strategies, but in the online questionnaire they appeared in a random order and without the identifying labels.

In part two of the questionnaire, respondents were presented with 12 keywords that were again related to leadership styles and communication strategies which incorporated the contrast between the leadership styles that have been associated with male and female leaders, and the contrast between masculine and feminine ways of communicating leadership that have been identified in some previous studies (e.g. see Table 10.1, together with our discussion in the Literature Review). To avoid influencing the respondents' selection, all the keywords were presented with a positive connotation rather than in direct contrast to each other. For example, 'competitive' and 'consensus-seeking' were included rather than 'competitive' and

Table 10.2 Statements related to leadership styles

Statements related to leadership styles
I prefer a leader who gives me strong direction and is interested in my development (<i>paternalistic leadership</i>)
I prefer a leader who expects me to obey, but who also takes care of my own needs (<i>paternalistic leadership</i>)
I prefer a leader who expects me to obey at all times (<i>transactional leadership</i>)
I am happy to follow my boss's directions at all time without questioning them directly (<i>transactional leadership</i>)
I prefer a leader who leaves it up to me to make my own decisions and does not involve themselves in my actions (<i>laissez-faire leadership</i>)
I am happy to work for a boss who does not take responsibility for me or my actions (<i>laissez-faire leadership</i>)
I prefer a leader who accepts that I am capable and allows me to take control of how I do my work in my own style (<i>transformational leadership</i>)
I prefer a leader who collaborates with me and encourages me to work in an independent way (<i>transformational leadership</i>)

Table 10.3 Statements related to different communication strategies

Statements related to communication styles
I prefer a leader who is most focused on the tasks that need to be completed and less focused on the people who work for them (masculine communication style)
I prefer a leader who is most focused on the people who work for them and less focused on the tasks that need to be completed (feminine communication style)
I prefer a leader to be direct when they are dealing with the people who work for them (masculine communication style)
I prefer a leader to be indirect when they are dealing with the people who work for them (feminine communication style)
I prefer it if my boss issues me with orders rather than making suggestions and discussing things with me (masculine communication style)
I prefer it if my boss discusses things with me and makes suggestions rather than giving me orders (feminine communication style)
I prefer a leader to act in an autonomous, independent, way (masculine style)
I prefer a leader to act in a collaborative way (feminine style)
I prefer a leader who is able to use confrontation if he or she feels it is necessary to get something done (masculine style)
I prefer a leader who avoids confrontation at all times (feminine style)
I prefer a leader who is willing to compete with those around them in order to achieve their goals (masculine style)
I prefer a leader who always tries to preserve alliances with those around them (feminine style)

Table 10.4 Keywords associated with stereotypical male and female leadership styles and masculine and feminine ways of communicating

Male leadership and masculine communication	Female leadership and feminine communication
Authority-figure	Participative
Paternal	Non-confrontational
Direct	Indirect
Task-oriented	People-oriented
Competitive	Consensus-seeking
Decisive	Collaborative

‘non-competitive’. Respondents were also asked to choose and rank which five keywords (out of the list of 12) they would use to describe their ideal leader. Table 10.4 shows the 12 keywords, organised here with keywords that have been associated with a male leadership style and masculine communication strategies in the left column and the keywords that have been associated with a female leadership style and feminine communication strategies in the right column. In the actual questionnaire, these were presented in a randomly organised list and they were not labelled.

Part three of the questionnaire elicited respondents’ demographic information, specifically, age, gender, educational level, and employment status. This data was

needed to explore whether these factors influence people's ideas on leadership styles and their attitudes toward the communication strategies that leaders use.

10.3.1 Procedure and Population

The questionnaire was administered in English online using the SelectSurvey software program. We asked some of our senior business students on the Dubai campus of Zayed University, a federal university providing tertiary education for Emirati citizens, to encourage completion of the survey among their personal connections. We chose to do this since, given that the UAE represents a high context culture, Emiratis attach great importance to personal relationships and the trust implicit in these. This makes it more difficult for non-Emiratis to gather authentic data from local respondents. An initial set of data was collected in April and May of 2015, and we were later given permission to circulate our survey among all of the remaining business students on the university's two campuses in Dubai and Abu Dhabi.

We then used SelectSurvey to analyse responses. We looked at the preferences that respondents expressed in relation to the statements in part one that described various types of leadership styles and communication strategies, as well as the most frequently selected keywords in part two of the survey. We also explored possible correlations between demographic factors and the preferences that were given regarding leadership and leadership communication styles.

10.4 Findings

Complete responses were collected from 153 respondents, 111 females, and 42 males. All were Emirati citizens, and 89% of them were pursuing, or had completed, tertiary education; 65% of the respondents were students, 20% were employed in the public sector, and 4% in the private sector. While the number of respondents in the private sector may appear to be very small, with a total of only six respondents, this is actually a consequence of the make-up of the UAE's workforce participating in the private sector that consists of less than 0.5% of Emirati citizens. Most of our respondents (93%) were in the age range of 20–30. This was partly a reflection of the fact that many of the respondents were students, but also because of the fact that the UAE has a very young population. The median age is 30 (25 for females and 32 for males) as compared to 40 in the UK and 39 in the USA. In the sub-sections that follow, we will discuss the findings that were generated by part one (statements) and part two (keywords) in our survey and we will then go on to outline the correlations observed between these and the demographic variables.

10.4.1 Part One: Leadership Styles

Part one of our survey asked respondents to give their opinions on four different styles of leadership that have been reported as being used in the Gulf Region and in the UAE in particular. These are paternalistic leadership, laissez-faire leadership, transactional leadership, and transformational leadership. Respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with two statements relating to each of these leadership styles. For paternalistic leadership, in response to the statements, *I prefer a leader who gives me strong direction and is interested in my development* and *I prefer a leader who expects me to obey but who also takes care of my own needs*, 92% ($n = 140$) completely or partly agreed with the first statement, and 88% ($n = 136$) completely or partly agreed with the second statement. This is a strong indication that the respondents consider a paternalistic style to be an appropriate way of doing leadership. For laissez-faire leadership, the respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with the statements, *I prefer a leader who leaves it up to me to make my own decisions and does not involve themselves in my actions* and *I am happy to work for a boss who does not take responsibility for me or my actions*. Over half (57%; $n = 87$) of the respondents partly or completely agreed with the first statement, suggesting that they had some appreciation for the autonomy that is inherent in laissez-faire leadership. There was greater variation across their preferences for the second statement: completely agree = 9%, partly agree = 22%, neither agree nor disagree = 25%, partly disagree = 22%, completely disagree = 22%. These results indicate that respondents also appreciate some accountability on the part of a leader. For transactional leadership, in response to the statements, *I prefer a leader who expects me to obey at all times* and *I am happy to follow my boss's directions at all time without questioning them directly*, respondents were divided across their preferences for the first statement. Their responses were: completely agree = 10%, partly agree = 21%, neither agree nor disagree = 25%, partly disagree = 21%, completely disagree = 24%. They displayed some agreement with the second statement with 40% ($n = 61$) of the respondents indicating partial or complete agreement with the statement and 28% ($n = 43$) indicating a neutral stance. A further 33% did not agree. This suggests that, while some aspects of transactional leadership may be problematic for Emirati employees, most are unwilling to threaten an established hierarchy. Finally, for transformational leadership, the respondents were asked to what extent they agreed with the statements, *I prefer a leader who accepts that I am capable and allows me to take control of how I do my work in my own style* and *I prefer a leader who collaborates with me and encourages me to work in an independent way*. In both cases, 91% ($n = 140$) of respondents either completely or partly agreed with these statements, with only 2 and 1% of respondents, respectively, expressing any disagreement at all. As was the case for paternalistic leadership, transformational leadership was also considered to be an appropriate way of doing leadership.

The findings for paternalistic leadership and transformational leadership were very clear in our survey, with most respondents, around 90% in each case,

expressing a positive opinion about these styles of leadership. The findings for laissez-faire and transactional leadership were much less conclusive, with only some indication that the respondents would be happy to work in an autonomous way within an established hierarchy.

10.4.2 Part One: Communication Strategies

Part one of our survey also asked respondents to give their opinions on the two different sets of communication strategies that have been reported in some scholarly work as being characteristic of the way in which men and women communicate. Our intention in this part of our study was to challenge these gender-based stereotypes, and to investigate them with particular reference to leadership communication in the UAE. There were twelve statements included in the survey: six reflecting what have been referred to as male strategies, namely, task-orientation, directness, gives orders, autonomous action, confrontation and competition; and six reflecting what have been referred to as female strategies, namely, people-orientation, indirectness, voicing suggestions rather than orders, collaboration, avoidance of confrontation, and preserving alliances. The statement *I prefer a leader who is most focused on the people who work for them and less focused on the tasks that need to be completed* and its opposite queried the relative preference for task-orientation (masculine discourse) versus people-orientation (feminine discourse). Respondents were divided more or less equally across both options as almost all of the responses were neutral in that they fell around the middle of the agree/disagree scale. For directness (masculine discourse) versus indirectness (feminine discourse) however, respondents displayed a clear preference for directness in that 91% ($n = 141$) either completely or partly agreed with the statement *I prefer a leader to be direct when they are dealing with the people who work for them*, whereas only 24% ($n = 37$) opted completely or partially for an indirect communication strategy. Even with an adjustment for respondents who gave opposing responses to these two statements, the preference for directness remains clear. The responses to orders (masculine discourse) versus suggestions (feminine discourse) were interesting, in that although there was a clear preference for suggestions in response to the statement, *I prefer it if my boss discusses things with me and makes suggestions rather than giving me orders*, with 92% ($n = 140$) expressing complete or partial agreement with this, respondents were more divided on the statement *I prefer it if my boss issues me with orders rather than making suggestions and discussing things with me*. Although 56% ($n = 87$) completely or partially disagreed with this statement, 28% ($n = 43$) were in partial or complete agreement. We will return to this apparent contradiction in our discussion, but it seems possible that our respondents were caught between a preference for transformational leadership, which would involve making suggestions to employees, and their familiarity with paternalistic leadership, which would be much more likely to involve following orders.

When respondents were asked about their preference for a leader who acted in an autonomous way (masculine discourse) versus a leader who used collaborative behaviour (feminine discourse), they showed a preference for collaboration, but also appreciated a leader who could act in an autonomous, independent, way. In response to the statement, *I prefer a leader to act in a collaborative way*, 91% ($n = 140$) expressed their partial or complete agreement, and in response to the statement, *I prefer a leader to act in an autonomous, independent, way*, 60% ($n = 90$) expressed their partial or complete agreement. While autonomy versus collaboration have been identified as opposing strategies in the literature on masculine and feminine discourse, it seems clear that our respondents did not view these as being mutually exclusive. We will return to this point in our discussion.

In answer to the statements, *I prefer a leader who is able to use confrontation if he or she feels it is necessary to get something done* (masculine discourse) and *I prefer a leader who avoids confrontation at all times* (feminine style), the respondents showed a preference for the first statement. That is, 82% ($n = 126$) were in complete or partial agreement with this, and they were more or less equally divided across the second statement with a very slight tendency towards disagreement, (29%; $n = 44$). We will look at this finding in more detail in our discussion, but it is possible that this was a reflection of the national culture in the UAE that allows for confrontation in order to achieve, given its moderate score on what Hofstede has referred to as the masculinity/femininity dimension that differentiates between the attitudes of a society towards ambition and success (Hofstede 2003). At the same time, however, as a high context culture with a predilection for preserving relationships (Hall 1976), our respondents were also likely to opt for non-confrontational communication strategies. It is possible that similar aspects of culture also came into play in the final set of communication options when respondents were asked about their preference on competition (masculine discourse) and the preservation of alliances (feminine discourse). In response to the statement, *I prefer a leader who is willing to compete with those around them in order to achieve their goals*, 86% ($n = 132$) either completely or partially agreed. However, in response to the statement, *I prefer a leader who always tries to preserve alliances with those around them*, 93% ($n = 143$) were either in complete or partial agreement. The preference for competitive leaders could again reflect the moderately ambitious nature of Emirati society according to Hofstede (2003), while the preference for preserving existing alliances is characteristic of a high context society (Hall 1976).

In summary, our respondents selected a range of strategies that have been associated with the stereotypical ways in which men and women communicate, and in some cases they selected two strategies that could be viewed as being opposed to each other. There was no preference for a task-orientation versus a people-orientation for instance, but there was a relatively strong preference for directness, which has often been associated with a masculine style rather than indirectness, which has often been associated with a feminine style. At the same time, although the respondents showed a strong preference for leaders who were able to make suggestions and discuss things with employees, they were also willing

to deal with a superior who issued orders. Likewise, while the respondents appreciated a collaborative leader and a leader who would work towards preserving alliances, both of which are strategies that have been associated with female leaders, they were also comfortable with a leader who could be competitive and autonomous, and use confrontation if necessary, all of which are strategies that have often been associated with male leaders.

10.4.3 Part Two: Leadership Styles and Communication Rankings

In part two of the questionnaire, respondents were asked to select the top five terms that they would use to describe a leader, based on a list of keywords representing different styles of leadership and ways of communicating leadership. Table 10.5 shows the numbers of respondents, and the percentage of the population who ranked each keyword among their five most preferred leadership or communication styles.

The preferred styles of leadership and communication as selected by respondents, are therefore (1) participative, (2) collaborative, (3) people-oriented, (4) competitive, (5) direct, (6) authority-figure, (7) task-oriented, (8) decisive, (9) consensus-seeking, (10) paternal, (11) indirect, (12) non-confrontational. Within this list, the top three were all styles that have been stereotypically associated with female leaders, as were the bottom three, with the exception of being paternal ranked in tenth place, which has been associated with a stereotypical form of male leadership. This would suggest that our respondents were divided on whether or not they associated those characteristics that have often been stereotypically associated with female leaders with being a good leader. At the same time, over half of the respondents selected all of the characteristics that have been stereotypically associated with male leaders within their top five keywords, again with the exception of being paternal, suggesting that at least part of the population associated a good leader with those characteristics that have been identified in the leadership and leadership communication literature as associated with males. In addition, an equal number of respondents ranked authority-figure ($n = 42$) and participative ($n = 43$)

Table 10.5 The ranking of keywords associated with male and female leadership

Keywords associated with male leadership	Keywords associated with female leadership
Authority-figure (66%, $n = 100$)	Participative (79%, $n = 120$)
Paternal (38%, $n = 58$)	Non-confrontational (37%, $n = 57$)
Direct (70%, $n = 107$)	Indirect (38%, $n = 58$)
Task-oriented (64%, $n = 97$)	People-oriented (74%, $n = 112$)
Competitive (70%, $n = 107$)	Consensus-seeking (39%, $n = 59$)
Decisive (56%, $n = 86$)	Collaborative (76%, $n = 116$)

in their selection of keywords, suggesting that both paternalistic leadership and transformational leadership could be successful in the context of the UAE. Similarly, the communication styles that were selected for rank 1 by the greatest number of respondents, that is collaborative ($n = 52$), people-oriented ($n = 43$), direct ($n = 38$) and competitive ($n = 38$), also include a combination of communication styles that have been stereotypically associated with male and female ways of doing leadership. We will return to this in more detail in our discussion and suggest what this may mean for leadership communication training for Emirati nationals in the future.

10.4.4 Part Three: Demographics and Leadership

Part three of our questionnaire asked respondents to provide details of their gender, type of employment, educational level and age, to explore if any of these variables influence their preference for a particular leadership or communication style. As we did not have sufficient responses in each category to consider any variations that might exist between the respondents' preferences and their employment, education or age, we were not able to consider these variables. For gender, however, we had enough responses to be able to consider possible differences between the genders. We used SPSS 19.0, and looked at cross-tabulations between gender and a number of the leadership and communication styles that we had identified as relevant in the findings for parts 1 and 2 of our survey. We also conducted a comparison of the genders using a Chi-square statistical test. More specifically, we looked to see if there would be a difference in the proportions of each gender who would opt for a given leadership style or communication strategy.

In part 1 of our survey, for instance, respondents showed a positive attitude both to paternalistic leadership, a type of leadership that has been associated with men, and to transformational leadership, a type of leadership that has been associated with women. We therefore looked to see if male respondents were more likely to rate paternalistic leadership in a positive way, and female respondents to rate transformational leadership in a positive way. Our analysis showed that there was no difference between the genders for either of the statements in part 1 that referred to paternalistic leadership. That is, women were just as likely as men to completely or partly agree that they would be comfortable with this type of leadership. For, transformational leadership, however, while there was no difference between the genders in response to the statement *I prefer a leader who accepts that I am capable and allows me to take control of how I do my work in my own style*, there was a correlation (i.e. $p < 0.05$, at a 95% acceptable level of confidence) between gender (female) and agreement with the statement *I prefer a leader who collaborates with me and encourages me to work in an independent way*. This means that while all our respondents were likely to agree or partly agree with this statement, women were more likely to agree. Similarly, in part 1 of our survey, our respondents expressed a preference for a communication style characterised by directness, the

ability to make suggestions, collaboration, a willingness to be confrontational and competitive if required, and by the preservation of alliances. Further analysis showed that there were no differences between the genders on any of these communication strategies, with the exception of the strategy associated with preserving alliances. For this there was a correlation of $p < 0.01$, at a 99% a level of confidence between gender (female) and agreement with the statement relating to this strategy. In other words, all our respondents were likely to agree or partly agree with the statement, *I prefer a leader who always tries to preserve alliances with those around them*, but female respondents were much more likely to agree. Finally, for part 2 of our survey, we attempted to identify if there were any differences between genders in the selection of a given keyword among the top five keywords they would associate with a leader. We found no differences between the genders in their ranking of the different keywords. Moreover, we found no differences between the genders when we compared a number of the contrasting keywords, such as direct versus indirect, people-orientation versus task-orientation, authority versus participation.

In summary, our analysis showed little evidence of differences according to gender for our Emirati population. The exceptions to this were that women showed more preference than men for a transformational leadership style based on collaboration, and they also expressed a stronger preference for a communication style based on the strategy of preserving alliances that has often been stereotypically associated with female leaders.

10.5 Discussion

Traditional Gulf leadership has been described as consensus seeking and motivated by the engagement of employees in collective decision-making (Kasseem and Habib 1998), and this preferred style is also reflected in our findings. The majority of our respondents valued these ways of doing leadership. Alongside this, however, Gulf cultures are often viewed as cultures that stereotypically display a keen adherence to authority and hierarchy, which means that the leader retains absolute control of final decisions. This was also reflected in the preferences that our respondents expressed. Scholars have explained this respect for authority as a consequence of the obligation of strict obedience that characterised the Ottoman and British administrations (Scott-Jackson 2010). The duality inherent in this approach to leadership in which both the need for consensus and a tolerance of authority are viewed as acceptable would account for the apparent contradiction in our respondents' stated preferences that they are happy for their boss to discuss things with them, but also that they would accept a boss who communicates with them through giving them orders. The leadership style that emerges from this would suggest a very different model from the strictly delineated approaches to leadership

that have been identified in Western scholarship, in that it indicates a tolerance of certain aspects of both paternalistic and transformational leadership. In other words, a stereotypical division between traditional, e.g. paternalistic, and contemporary, e.g. transformational, leadership did not obtain for our respondents. In addition, the preference for a participative approach, that has been associated most often with transformational leadership, can perhaps best be explained in different terms from how a similar finding might be interpreted in a Western context. That is, the popularity of this strategy among our respondents may not be due to the recent preference for flatter organisations and an attempt to engage employees at all levels that accounts for its emergence in Western organisations (Leninger 1997). It can perhaps best be explained as the continuance of the historical leadership style of consensus seeking and a cultural preference for this decision-making mechanism that happens to be inherent in transformational leadership. The preference for a people-oriented approach may also reflect both the UAE's collectivist culture as well as the duty of care that is a strong feature of how leadership is viewed in the region (Kasseem and Habib 1998). Similarly, the frequent choice of a competitive style and a willingness to tolerate confrontation, may, as we have noted, be attributable to the moderately competitive nature of UAE culture. It may also be partly explained by the tradition of bargaining in the region that prioritises victory in a transaction (Jones 2007). In other words, the preference for a particular style of communication may in fact depend more on the nature of the broader culture in the Gulf Region, than it does to the adherence to any one particular stereotyped approach to leadership.

The fact that our study did not show a major difference between the views expressed by our female and male respondents, may be a result of their relatively young age, as generational differences have been shown to have a marked impact on how female leaders are viewed. For Western contexts at least, Chua and Murray (2014) argue that female Generation Y leaders will be more likely to assume a transformational style than Generation X females, whereas female Generation X leaders will be more inclined to adopt a transactional style than their female Generation Y counterparts. Since 93% of our respondents belonged to Generation Y (born between 1984 and 1994), it is possible that they would be more likely to view transformational leadership, and the communication styles associated with it, in a positive light regardless of their gender. In other words, the lack of difference that we found between the genders in our study may have been because we were dealing with a young population that is likely to be comfortable with the participative style of communicating associated with transformational leadership regardless of gender. Mostafa's (2005) study of the effect of patriarchy, age, and gender differences on attitudes to female managers in the UAE would support this, as it indicates a gradual shift away from traditional views.

10.6 Conclusions and Suggestions for Further Research

Our preliminary exploration would suggest that the development of leadership style and leadership communication strategies in the UAE cannot properly be analysed by the frameworks that have been developed within Western contexts. That is, the leadership models that have validity within evolving Western corporate landscapes may be inappropriate and inadequate for the analysis of this markedly distinct cultural setting. Our findings on an acceptance of both paternalistic and transformational leadership approaches, together with the preference for a range of different communication strategies that enact these different approaches, would appear to illustrate this. The strong role of care present in the local conceptualization of leadership is stereotypically associated both with paternalism and with transformational leadership, which may be why both approaches are considered acceptable. While in a Western context this might simply represent a divergence from the traditional conceptualization of leadership, in the UAE context it reflects both a tolerance of the historical model and the assimilation of an appropriate modern approach. Our study also shows that communication strategies such as being participative and collaborative were viewed as equally acceptable as being competitive, direct, an authority-figure, and taking a task-oriented approach (Helgesen 1990). For our respondents, these were not dichotomous, as has been postulated in some Western accounts of leadership communication, but they were seen as equally effective. It seems plausible therefore, that a hybrid form of leadership model will in fact become the norm in rapidly developing nations like those in the Gulf, the majority of which have a young population, as there is a concern to embrace contemporary thinking on organizational communication through the influence of the large number of multinational corporations operating there, while at the same time retaining traditional value systems.

Our study drew on a number of leadership stereotypes, and the communication that has been associated with them, in order to construct a survey instrument for use with our Emirati respondents. While these are artificial distinctions that are considerably less clear-cut in real life situations, they did, however, allow us to identify a number of different aspects of what we believe to be characteristic of current thinking on modern Emirati leadership. An important finding in our study was the lack of evidence that Emirati men and women believe different things about leadership or how it should be enacted. Future research needs to investigate this further and to work towards the construction of a model for contemporary leadership in the Gulf region, that could help to determine the content that is appropriate for leadership communication training in general. In addition, while we did take gender variation into account, our study was not able to differentiate the responses we received according to educational level, age or employment status. It would be useful to investigate this further to establish if the views expressed by the relatively young educated population who participated in our study, are shared across the national population as a whole.

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Chapter 11

Between Performed Persona and Assigned Identity Categories: Stereotype as Identity Resource for Japanese Business Women in Leadership Positions

Momoko Nakamura

11.1 Introduction

The post-structural conceptualization of identity as performativity, while highlighting the agency of the speaker to enact multiple personae utilising a variety of semiotic resources in interaction, also puts emphasis on the importance of the “highly rigid regulatory frame” that defines and polices the normative construction of identity (Butler 1990, p. 32). The regulatory frame has been analysed as a wide range of social discourse (Foucault 1981[1972]), including stereotypes, social categories, beliefs, norms, conventions, language ideologies (Schieffelin et al. 1998) and gendered discourses (Sunderland 2004). Among the variety of regulatory apparatuses, this chapter focuses on the stereotypes assigned to a group of people, which I define as an identity category comprised of a set of social discourses that specifies particular representation of people including their attributes, behaviours and dispositions. An identity category becomes a *stereotyped identity category* in the process of being repeatedly enacted in a wide range of semiotic practices and disseminates among members of a community (Bucholtz 2009). Recognition of the crucial role the regulatory frame plays in identity construction has highlighted the importance of studying the “fluid connection between personae and identity categories” (Eckert 2002, p. 105)—i.e., exploring the diverse relationships between the persona the social subject performs in a specific practice and the identity category normatively assigned to the subject or, in other words, between the performed persona and the assigned identity categories.

This chapter investigates the relationship between the persona and the identity categories of Japanese business women in leadership positions, focusing on the

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stereotype of *leader*, the person who leads or commands a group, organisation, or country, rather than that of *leadership*, the action of leading a group of people or an organisation (OED). By “business women in leadership positions”, I mean women in what the Japanese refer to as *kanrishoku* (managerial posts) indicating women in leadership positions of business organisations at both the executive and management levels (henceforth ‘managerial women’). I argue that, while the stereotype constrains identity work in orienting interlocutors to a hegemonic interpretation, the identity categories the participants make relevant in interaction fuel identity work as resource or reference point, from which the social subject takes a variety of positions and makes the enactment of a persona intelligible to the recipient. I suggest understanding the agency of the social subject not as resisting, contesting or subverting an identity category ascribed in interaction, but rather as accomplishing the enactment of a particular persona by blending, mixing and hybridising a variety of identity categories made relevant in the interaction (Bhabha 1994; Blommaert 2010). The argument further implies: (1) social discourses including identity categories drawn to a specific practice *simultaneously enable and restrict* linguistic interaction; every practice thus simultaneously instantiates and transforms particular social discourses, rather than either subverting or reproducing them (Nakamura 2004), and (2) restrictions imposed by identity categories, as well as by other political, institutional and local discursive processes, enable the social subject to enact the agency to negotiate identity work (Nakamura 2007). I will verify my argument and the two implications by analysing two sets of newspaper and magazine articles with two aims: (1) to examine a stereotyped identity category of managerial women discursively constructed in the articles and how the identity category is related to other identity categories, and (2) to reveal the way the media writers utilise the stereotyped identity category to construct positive representations of managerial women.

The incongruence between the performed persona and the assigned identity category has been discussed in studies of a wide range of interactions, from transgender identities (Barrett 1999; Maree 2013; Hall 1997) and ethnic and national boundary crossing (Rampton 1995) to the discrepancy between the identity claimed by the complainant in a sexual assault trial and the identity assigned to her by the judge (Ehrlich 2006). Stereotypes have been considered as having a force that renders certain identity performances normal, making others inappropriate or unintelligible (Cameron 2014), and at times “subject to repercussions and sanctions” (McElhinny 2014, p. 51). As the post-structural notion of identity as performativity has made it possible to imagine the transformation of the hegemonic social order by subversive practices (Butler 1990), a major approach to exploring the relationship between persona and identity categories has been to examine how the social subject resists, contests and subverts the assigned identity category. Nevertheless, some researchers ask why subversive performances often remain ephemeral, leaving the prevailing power order largely untouched (Kotloff and Wodak 1997, p. xi). Philips (2003, p. 263) has contended that “[t]he kinds of resistance described did not lead to any transformation of women’s situations”. In accordance with these claims, recent empirical studies demonstrate that the social

subject is fluctuating between complete freedom and total restriction (Motschenbacher 2011), both resisting and reproducing the assigned identity category in ongoing interactions. These studies have revealed that, while the subject succeeds in challenging the assigned identity category in ongoing interaction, its normative force always finds ways for the interlocutors to orient to the hegemonic identity category. Fukuda (2014) analyses the conversation between a Japanese L1 speaker, Kumiko, and a Mexican L2 speaker of Japanese, José, and found that Kumiko repeatedly instantiates a language ideology that an L2 speaker does not use vernacular varieties, assigning José the identity of such an L2 speaker. Although José attempts to resist the identity utilising a series of discursive strategies, “*Only after her confirmation question and José’s affirmative answer, does she finally admit José’s expertise in vernacular varieties*” (Fukuda 2014, p. 49, emphasis added). Bailey (2000) examines the ways Dominican American high school students in Rhode Island negotiate their racial self-identification as Dominican against the American black/white racial phenotype-based dichotomy. While the students resist such phenotype-racial categorization by speaking Spanish, the ethnolinguistic index of Dominicans at school, they themselves display and reproduce assumptions based on the American dichotomy. “Even as Dominican-Americans ... achieve congruent self- and other-ascription of themselves as ‘not Black’—they remain subject to phenotype-based racial thinking in a variety of contexts” (Bailey 2000, p. 566).

Empirical studies have further illuminated the question of stereotypes as central to the processes of interpretation and representation (Queen 2014, p. 205), highlighting the inherently co-constructive nature of identity work (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). For instance, one major finding of studies concerning how business women and men enact leadership in organisational interactions (Baxter 2010; Holmes 2005, 2006; Marra et al. 2006; Mullany 2007; Saito 2012; Takano 2005) is that effective managers and executives, both female and male, “draw from a very wide and varied discursive repertoire” to achieve their transactional and relational goals (Holmes 2014, p. 446). Another finding tells us, however, that gender becomes relevant when it comes to perceiving the speech styles of female and male leaders. Ladegaard (2011, p. 16) analyses the interactions in a Danish company and claims that “a normatively female management style may work well for a male leader but, paradoxically, when used by a female leader, their authority and competence are more likely to be challenged, and their professional integrity jeopardised, by their male staff”. In contrast, Olsson and Walker (2004, p. 248) examine interview data of senior women executives in New Zealand and reveal that “there was a clear rejection of women who took on stereotypical male styles and behaviours in management”. Thus the stereotypes of gendered styles put female leaders in a *double bind*; women’s use of female style is criticised as not persuasive and confident, but their use of male style is also rejected as unfeminine and bossy (Lakoff 1975). Stereotypes of gendered styles mostly affect the processes of perceiving and evaluating someone’s speech, showing that “[n]orms for gendered language use are, therefore, *constraints as well as resources*” (Kendall and Tannen 1997, p. 82; emphasis added).

The assertion that the social subject utilises identity categories to fuel identity work as resource, rendering the enactment of a persona intelligible to the recipient, among many other areas of studies, owes to two arguments about discursive identity work. First, explorations into discursive identity work have shed light on the different levels of identities (Zimmerman 1998). Bucholtz and Hall (2005, pp. 591–592) point out that performed personae encompass: (a) macro-level demographic categories (e.g. woman); (b) local, ethnographically specific cultural positions (e.g. women executives in a specific Japanese company); and (c) temporary and interactionally specific roles and orientations assumed by participants (e.g. evaluator, joke teller or engaged listener). The kind of identity the social subject deploys in a particular interaction is rarely identical to a specific identity category but is composed of multiple identity categories of both the same and different levels. I use the term *persona* rather than *identity* to refer to the performed identity one presents particular to the given context of interaction, aiming to highlight that it is composed of multiple levels of identity categories. Second, to make the inherently co-constructive identity work intelligible to the recipient, the interlocutors need to depend, among many other things, on the identity categories. In interaction, the identity category assumed to be shared with the recipient is one of the semiotic resources available to invite the recipient to perceive that it is an identity work, though there is no guarantee that the recipient understands the enactment of a particular persona as the social actor intends it to be. As Okamoto (2004, 2011) demonstrates with ample evidence, people's understanding of linguistic norms and stereotypes is diverse and multiple. Yet the interlocutors utilise identity categories as resource to make their identity negotiations functional and decodable, because the success of the presentation of a persona depends upon the ability "to call on categories to make that persona meaningful and recognizable" (Eckert 2002, p. 102).

In Japan, the incongruence between the identity category of managerial women and the personae they perform in interaction became socially salient particularly in mass media as a response to the governmental policy to increase the ratio of women in managerial posts. In 2003, motivated by the statistics that women compose only 12% of managerial positions in Japan, the lowest number in the 'developed' countries in the world, the Japanese government set the goal of having women occupy 30% of managerial positions in business and governmental organisations by 2020. Though the number has remained almost the same after a decade (11.9% in 2013), the official goal setting rendered the low ratio of managerial women a socially salient issue, producing numerous media reports on the statistics about them and what institutional supports the companies should provide to raise the ratio. One finding of these statistics is that a majority of women workers do not aspire to get promoted. According to a 2014 online survey distributed to 1,600 non-managerial women working for large corporations, for instance, only 18.7% answered that they wanted to become managers in the future, while 49.0% explicitly denied any interest in being assigned to managerial posts. The finding indicates that non-managerial women reject managerial women as their role models,

moving us to examine what stereotypes are attributed to managerial women.¹ The rejection also posits a particular task for journalists interviewing and reporting on currently active women executives and managers. With government policy giving rise to a growing public consensus that having women in managerial posts is an index of a good company and with the government awarding the Woman-active Company Prize to those organisations hiring or promoting more women to senior positions, those companies have agreed to let their managerial women be interviewed by a media expecting its articles and reports would cast both the companies and the women in a positive light, like an advertisement. To do so objectively is, at best, a daunting task, because the media is constrained to construct positive representations of the managerial women against the backdrop of the very stereotypes many women have rejected as role models. The task makes the media articles about managerial women particularly appropriate data to examine whether the writers render in their articles and reports stereotypes of managerial women and whether they make use of the stereotypes as identity resource to represent managerial women likable to their readers.

11.2 Data and Methodology

I analyse how a stereotype of managerial women is discursively constructed in the first set of data consisting of two online group-talk articles. The first (henceforth GT1), entitled *Joshikatsuyō ga susumanai hontō no riyū: Jinji no honne fukumen zadankai* (The real reasons why the best use of women employees cannot be realised: Genuine opinions of human resources [manager and executive], Anonymous roundtable), by the magazine *Keizaikai* [The Business World] on 26 June 2014, reports the discussion among two male managers and one male executive in charge of human resources (age unknown) in three different companies (Table 11.1). The second group-talk article (henceforth GT2), *Josei katsuyaku kigyō: Hontō ni hataraki yasui? Fukumen zadankai* (Woman-active companies: Are they really better places for women to work? Anonymous roundtable), by *Nikkei* newspaper [Japan Economic Times] on June 29, 2013, presents the discussion of five non-managerial women working in five different business organizations (Table 11.2). For three reasons, these two group-talks constitute appropriate data to examine the discursive construction of stereotypes of Japanese managerial women.

¹A 2014 survey by Creia Consulting (<http://www.creia.jp/info/press/141105.html>). Half of the non-aspiring women (55%) do not want to sacrifice their time for household chores for promotion, showing that the difficulty to pursue work–life balance is one reason for declining promotion. Nonetheless, the recognition that their organizations have enforced the institutional policy to support pregnancy and child-rearing (aspire to promotion 23%; not aspire to promotion 49%) and to decrease long working hours (aspire to promotion 22.4%; not aspire to promotion 51.4%) only slightly changes the ratio, suggesting that other factors, including the negative stereotypes of managerial women, are contributing to women's lack of interest in acquiring supervisory positions.

Table 11.1 Participants of group-talk article 1 (GT1)

Name	Companies	Title
Y	Service industry	Human resources general manager
H	Human resource development	Human resources divisional general manager
K	IT	Executive in charge of human resources

Table 11.2 Participants of group-talk article 2 (GT2)

Name	Age	Company	Job category
A	37	IT	In-house system engineering
B	24	Education	Editorial work
C	46	Manufacture	Corporate social responsibility and environment
D	34	Life insurance	Sales and clerical work
E	24	Manufacture	Clerical work

First, the group-talks are covered by major media having nationwide circulation, in articles with bylines.² Second, both feature *anonymous* participants to encourage free and open assessments about women executives and managers in their respective organizations. (See Sect. 11.3.1. for a political reason why they had to be anonymous.) While the anonymity of the participants risks lowering the reliability of the contents, the two articles are exceptional in that their reliability is fortified by the social responsibility expected of the major news and magazine organizations to distribute trustworthy information. This does not mean, however, that the participants in the anonymous discussions disclose all their genuine feelings towards their women executives and managers, since the group discussions set up by the newspaper and magazine are deemed public situations. Rather it implies that the participants reveal the evaluations of their managerial women, which they assume to be socially acceptable, unveiling a habitually exercised way of evaluating managerial women, i.e., stereotype (Bourdieu 1977). Third, the multi-party co-constitution of these articles, involving reporters, writers, editors and, of course, the participant interviewees, and then the mass circulation of the media texts enable us to explore the socially acknowledged assessment of managerial women, which constitutes one of their stereotypes (Fairclough 1992; Foucault 1981[1972]). In the process of proofreading, the writers' edits are accepted by the participants and approved by the editorial sections and the editorial principles of the newspapers and magazines, suggesting that the articles showcase representative examples of the public opinions in Japan.

²*Keizaikai* is a long-established magazine targeting business entrepreneurs published by Keizaikai Com, Ltd. Article GT1 is edited by the magazine's Hiroaki Koga. *Nihon Keizai Shimbun*, a daily newspaper published by Nikkei Inc., one of the largest media corporations in Japan, specialises in financial, business and industry news. Article GT2 is led and edited by an editorial committee member of the newspaper, Yukio Ishizuka. GT1; <http://net.keizaikai.co.jp/archives/9139>. GT2; http://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXNASGU27012_Y3A620C100000/.

Table 11.3 Interviewees of the interview-narrative article 1 (IN1)

Name	Age	Company	Title
Tominaga, Yukari	55	Hitachi (IT and electronic system)	Executive committee member
Yoshida, Masako	52	Tokyo Marine Nichido (insurance)	Executive committee member
Nosaka, Chiaki	52	Ajinomoto (food and chemical)	Executive committee member

I analyse how the writers represent managerial women in the second set of data, consisting of two online interview-narrative articles (Ensink 2004). The first (henceforth IN1), *Josei yakuin tanjō no kiten wa 'shoki kyaria' ni ari: Koko ga chigatta! Josei ga katsuyaku suru kigyō, dame na kigyō* (The starting point to develop a female executive is in her 'early career': This is what makes a difference! A woman-active company and a hopeless company), by *Nikkei* on 22 July 22 2013, features the narratives by three female executives of three large corporations (Table 11.3). I refer to the women interviewed in IN1 as 'executives', because they are all *shikkō yakuin* (executive committee members) who are responsible for executing and implementing the operational directives set by the CEO and the board of directors. The second article (henceforth IN2), *Josei kanrishoku no hatarakigai wa jōshi de kimaru?: '2030' Senshin kigyō wa kō shiteiru* (The work motive of a managerial woman depends on her boss?: '2030' This is how advanced companies are faring), in the magazine, *Aera*, on July 1, 2014, features the interview-narratives of five female managers working in a wide range of companies (Table 11.4). While the women interviewed in IN2 bear different titles according to the size and structure of the organization as seen in Table 11.4, I refer to them as 'managers' because they are all in the positions to lead and command their subordinates, and therefore, are expected to play the role of leader in the group or section. They constitute particularly suitable data to analyse how the writers construct positive personae of senior women, for three reasons. First, the articles are bylined and appear in major media outlets having nationwide circulation.³ Second, both feature the autobiographical stories of the managerial women, showing the way the writers construct the particular personae of these women. Third, as I stated in the Introduction, the articles are expected to function as corporate advertisements requiring the writers to present both the managerial women and their companies in a positive light.

As my main methodology, I adopt the critical discourse analysis formulated by Fairclough (1989, 1992), but I draw on the insights and perspectives of a range of

³Article IN1 in the *Nikkei* newspaper is edited by Sachiko Roku, head editor of *Nikkei Woman*, a monthly business magazine for women. *Aera* is a weekly magazine published by the Asahi Newspaper, with a circulation of 141,847 in 2011. Article IN2 is edited by the editorial section of *Aera*. IN1; http://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXNASFK1802X_Y3A710C1000000/. IN2; <http://toyokeizai.net/articles/-/41471>.

Table 11.4 Interviewees of the interview-narrative article 2 (IN2)

Name	Age	Company	Title
Nishimaki, Junko	42	Mizuho Bank (financial service)	Deputy department general manager of corporate sales
Niizeki, Shoko	46	Sekisui House (homebuilder)	Head of design department
Sasaki, Kazue	48	Sogo (department store)	Chief of food section
Iwamoto, Shiho	44	Mitsui Sumitomo Bank (financial service)	Financial consultant
Oguni, Kaoru	42	Janssen Pharmaceutical, Japan (pharmaceutical)	Head of marketing group of integration dysfunction syndrome

approaches to discourse analysis applied in gender and language studies (Baxter 2010; Brewis 2001; Holmes 2005, 2006; Mullany 2007; Sunderland 2004). Particularly, I pay attention to stance; “a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field” (Du Bois 2007, p. 163), examining the linguistic strategies the writers use to “‘invite’ the readers to take up these evaluations and collude in the co-construction of the particular stance” (Jaworski and Thurlow 2009, p. 201). Ultimately, I am not so much concerned with how the authors use linguistic forms to enact identities, but more concerned with what identity categories are realised, how they are related to each other, and how the authors utilise those categories.

11.3 Analysis

11.3.1 *Discursive Practice: Discourses of News Reports, Group-Talks, Interview-Narratives and Advertisements*

This section analyses the interdiscursivity of our data to demonstrate the validity of relating the group-talks and the interview-narratives as complementing each other in representing the managerial women. In analysing the discursive practice in which a text is produced, distributed and consumed, Fairclough (1992, p. 68) emphasises the importance of examining the interdiscursivity of a text, “the complex interdependent configuration of discursive formations”, because a modern text is often structured by multiple discourses such as ‘the advertising discourse’, ‘the news report discourse’, and ‘the discussion discourse’. In creating and consuming texts, authors and receivers draw on existing discourses and genres (Phillip and Jorgensen 2002, p. 69).

One crucial political impact on the production and consumption of the four articles is the Japanese government's policy of raising the rate of women in managerial posts, described in the Introduction. The articles analysed in the present chapter are among numerous media responses to the announcement of the policy, which, to be sure, has played a vital, three-pronged role in invoking a particular social discourse in the articles and establishing the relationships between the articles in question. First, the policy gave rise to the consensus that having managerial women is an index of a good company, making it difficult for the employees to disclose in public the problems causing the low rate of women executives and managers in their workplaces. It is this social process that enhanced the emergence of the *anonymous* group-talks aiming to gain the participants' straightforward evaluations of their companies and the managerial women. In fact, two group-talks set the goal of finding the truth behind the low rate of managerial women. The GT1 headline, "The real reasons why the best use of women employees cannot be accomplished: Genuine opinions of human resources [manager and executive]", indicates that the article aims to discover 'real reasons' and 'genuine opinions', not easily revealed publicly. The introduction of the article defines the low rate of managerial women as "the issue so delicate that we cannot get genuine opinions (*derikēto na mondai dakeni, honne ga katararenai*)", discursively constructing the institutional causes of the low rate of managerial women as 'a delicate issue' (Miller 2013). The GT2 headline, "Are they really better places for women to work?" attempts to reveal the 'reality' of those companies awarded the Woman-active Company Prize by the government, not accessible in official approaches such as the interviews in the second set of data.

Second, the policy has steered the consensus that having managerial women is an index of a good company, which, in turn, has required writers to draw on "the corporate advertising discourse" in structuring the interview-narrative articles, as seen in the Introduction. Indeed, the titles of both IN1 and IN2, "A woman-active company and a hopeless company" and "This is how advanced companies are faring", by making the distinctions between "woman-active company/hopeless company" or "advanced company/not-advanced company", classify the companies featured in the articles as better ones. The names of the companies are explicitly mentioned followed by detailed descriptions of the institutional supports the companies provide for promoting the women employees to management positions. Article IN2 has five subsections with subtitles consisting of the company name and the major institutional support system it provides to help women pursue their careers, framing the whole article as corporate advertisement. The first subsection, for instance is titled, *Mizuho ginkō: Kankyō o tsukuru jōshi mo hyōshō* (Mizuho Bank: Award to a Boss Who Creates [Woman-active] Environment). Moreover, the managerial women in the articles position themselves as the spokespersons of their companies, typically by using the phrases, *tōsha* (this company) and *okyakusama* (honorific prefix *o* + client + polite address form *sama*), formal business terminologies used specifically in corporate advertisements. Using these terms position the speaker/writer making a public statement not as an individual but as the employee of a company, irrespective of gender, representing the company. In article

IN1 featuring Tominaga of Hitachi Co. Ltd., a female manager of the same company, Hisanaga, head of the Diversity Promotion Center, points out:⁴

Excerpt 1: Hisanaga

Kono jinji wa, tōsha no charenjingu ya senshinsei no shinboru da to omoi masu.

(“Promoting [Tominaga to an executive position] symbolizes this company’s [*tōsha*] challenging and advanced characteristics”).

Speaking on behalf of ‘this company’, Hisanaga positions herself as its spokesperson. In the same article, another executive, Nosaka, of Ajinomoto Co., Inc., makes statements as a company spokesperson, using *tōsha* (this company) twice.

Excerpt 2: Nosaka

- (a) *Tōsha niwa, kojīn no tayōsei o omonjiru bunka to, hitori hitori no nōryoku to tekisei o mite ikusei suru toiu seido ga arimasu.*

(“This company [*tōsha*] has the culture of valuing individual diversity and the system of educating the ability and aptitude of each person”).

- (b) *Tōsha no gurōbaruka wa hissu”.*

(“This company [*tōsha*] needs to be globalized”).

In article IN2, Nishimaki, deputy department general manager of corporate sales at Mizuho Bank, uses *okyakusama* (honorific *o* + client + the polite address form *sama*), positioning herself as a representative of the corporate sales section:

Excerpt 3: Nishimaki

Hōjin eigyō no kimo wa, ikani okyakusama eno teian no shitsu o takamerareruka toiu tokoro.

(“The essence of corporate sales depends on how much we can heighten the quality of our proposals we suggest to our clients [*okyakusama*]”).

The uses of the expressions, *tōsha* and *okyakusama*, function as a keying device that “redefines situations by introducing or laminating latent or potential frames and participant roles onto an interaction” (Jaffe 2009, p. 10). The writers of IN1 and IN2 simultaneously draw on the discourses of the news report and the interview-narrative laminated by the corporate-advertising discourse.

The third prong of the government policy of advocating more women in management positions has influenced discourse in this way: in dealing with such a delicate issue, the group-talks and the interview-narratives can be related as forming two sides of the same coin by Japanese cultural notions of *honne* (one’s genuine feelings) and *tatemae* (what one must say publicly) (Bachnik 1994; Hamabata 1990). Indeed, GT1 labels the discussion as *honne zadankai* (genuine talk). The

⁴I added all the emphases to the excerpts.

group-talks seek genuine feelings about managerial women, and the interview-narratives present what the writers must say about managerial women publicly in the articles framed as advertisements. The paired notions of *honnet tatemae* are expected to complement each other to present the complete picture of an entity or an event in question (Bachnik 1994, p. 5). The ‘genuine’ article is intended to compensate for the inherent shortcoming of the ‘official’ article framed in social obligations. Note that GT2 and IN1 are distributed by the same newspaper (*Nikkei*) about three weeks apart (29 June 2013 and 22 July 2013). The articles of anonymous discussions, in other words, were originally planned to sell information not easily accessible to readers and were structured to invite readers to utilise the articles to complement the shortage of information expected in official interviews of managerial women such as in the second set of data, warranting my approach to interrelate the first and second sets of data.

11.3.2 Text Analysis: Discursive Construction of a Stereotype of Managerial Women

11.3.2.1 The Group-Talk Article of Two Male Human Resources Managers and One Executive (GT1)

Among the four articles analysed in this chapter, the writer of GT1 uses a colloquial style most extensively utilising linguistic forms indexing the participants’ epistemic and affective stances (Du Bois 2007; Jaworski and Thurlow 2009). He structures the article with a series of seven questions asked by himself as interviewer, followed by the participants’ answers and discussions among them. To the writer’s first question, “[w]hile managerial women seem to have increased, there are still few. What is the reason?” participant H answers:

Excerpt 4

H: *Ippanteki na* “*bijon o katatte, senryaku o kumitatete, kanrisuru shikumi o tsukutte, seika o dasu*” *toiu yarikata* wa, *joshi manējā ga amari tokui janai to watashi wa omotte iru n desu yo*. *Gyaku ni, komakai tokoro made me o ikitodokaseru toka, minna no omoi o suiageru nado, shikumi yorimo minna no dōkizuke ga umai desu ne.*

(I think that women managers are not so good at the general method of “setting vision, planning strategy, structuring management, and producing results.” In contrast, [they are] good at [other methods], such as motivating everyone [their subordinates], keeping an eye on detailed points or collecting everybody’s ideas and feelings, more than actually structuring the management system.)

Participant H answers the question by distinguishing between ‘the general method’ of building the system at which managerial women are not so good and ‘other methods’ of motivating everyone at which they are good, with *n desu yo*. The functions of *n desu* are to show that there is some evidence for the claim made in

the utterance (Kuno 1973; Makino and Tsutsui 1986) and to index involvement (Clancy 1982; Iwasaki 1992) and friendly engagement (Iwai 2013). The particle *yo* indicates the speaker's strong conviction or assertion (Makino and Tsutsui 1986, p. 543). The writer, in other words, allows H to present the distinction with conviction inviting the readers to align with his utterance. The contrast between 'general' and 'other' methods reveals that the 'general' method is, in fact, the male method, suggesting that the writer positions H as a participant understanding the issue by drawing on "the gender differences discourse" that "positions men and women as possessing distinct characteristics, abilities and traits" (Brewis 2001, p. 287) and "is the overarching means by which other gendered discourses are reproduced" (Sunderland 2004, p. 52). The writer himself frequently draws on the gender-differences discourse into the article by asking questions such as, "Is there any other 'problem' peculiar to women employees?" and "Conversely, are there any advantages peculiar to women?" The contrastive traits H assigns to female and male workers are identical to those gender roles revealed in psychological research, such as "expressivity/femininity/communion and instrumentality/masculinity/agency" (Ayman and Korabik 2010, p. 159).⁵

Following H, Y asserts that women in managerial positions are often worn down from working in companies that ignore gender differences and concludes that only *otokomasari* (i.e. tough) women remain:

Excerpt 5

Y: *Kekkyoku, nokoruno wa, otokomasari no josei dake tteiu koto ni natterun janaika to omoimasu gane.*

(As a result, I think things turn out that only those tough [*otokomasari*] women remain.)

The term *otokomasari* refers to a woman who is as tough as man and is considered as a sexist term because "it presupposes that man is inherently tougher than woman" (Kitahara and Taishūkan 2011–2012). Using the sexist term, *otokomasari*, Y thus utters "only those tough women remain" with the long sequence of features, *tteiu koto ni natterun janaika to omoimasu gane*, indexing both his uncertainty about and distance from the utterance. After the quotative marker, *tteiu*, Y uses *koto*, a distal nominalizer "to make the content of the preceding clause an established fact and has a distancing effect" (Matsumoto 2008, pp. 222–223), an existential verb, *natteiru*, a negative question, *n ja nai ka*, indexing the speaker's uncertainty, then, a hedge, *omoi masu* (I think), adding uncertainty again.

⁵The difference between the ways women and men engage in their jobs in Japan asserted by H shows a close similarity to the differences many researchers acknowledged in the way people perceive that women and men approach leadership; "when rated by their peers, underlings, and bosses, women score higher than their male counterparts on motivating others, producing high quality work, listening to others, and fostering communication. They tie with males on strategic planning and analyzing issues" (Harris 2002, p. 387). "Women tend to be higher on people-oriented leadership skills, men on business-oriented leadership skills" (Appelbaum et al. 2003, p. 48).

Responding to Y's uncertain and distant stances toward his assertion, the next speaker K aligns with Y's statement by overtly agreeing with it:

Excerpt 6

K: *Daisansei desu ne! Kekkyoku, danseinami ni baribari shigoto o suru josei shika nokorenaku natteite, tokoroga, sōiu josei o ima no wakai sō wa hiteiteki ni miru n desu yo.*

(I completely agree with you! After all, only those women who work furiously equivalent to men can stay, but the young generation today evaluates them negatively).

Following the open agreement with Y, K makes an almost identical proposition, “only those women who work furiously equivalent to men can stay”. Y and K co-construct the proposition, first Y with uncertain and distant stances, followed by K's open agreement. The phrase *danseinami* (equivalent to men) is another sexist term in assuming that woman is usually not equivalent to man. The use of conventionalized phrases, *danseinami* and *otokomasari*, by activating the “ready-made (ideological) script”, effectively invites the readers to align with the participants' evaluation of managerial women (Jaffe 2009, p. 22). K then continues that young people evaluate those managerial women negatively, with *n desu yo*, with conviction, inciting the readers to align with his view (Kuno 1973; Makino and Tsutsui 1986; Clancy 1982; Iwasaki 1992). Then both K and Y say:

Excerpt 7

K and Y (simultaneously): “Aa wa naritaku nai. (warai).”

(“I do not want to be like them (laugh).”)

In Excerpt 7, the writer utilises two strategies to encourage the readers to align with the utterance. First, K and Y co-construct the fabricated voice of younger and non-managerial women (Bakhtin 1981). Direct quotation in reported speech contributes to “both the involvement of audience and the sense of the speaker's own involvement in the storytelling” (Tannen 1986, p. 324). Second, the writer's addition of (laugh) at the end of utterance not only highlights intimacy and affiliation between K and Y (Haakana 2002, p. 209), but also functions to mitigate the tension the negative assessment, “I do not want to be like them”, may bring to the discussion. Glenn and Holt (2013, p. 15) suggest that “there is a recurrent relationship between laughter and environments which are in some sense delicate, tricky, dispreferred, or in some other way problematic”. Murata (2009, p. 301) shows that, in business meetings, Japanese speakers use laughter “to mitigate tension and maintain good relationships among the meeting members”. These strategies solicit the readers to align with the distal positioning of young women from managerial women, constructed by the reference to managerial women with ‘Aa’, one of the three spatial deixis in Japanese, presenting the referent “far from both the speaker and the listener” (Tsujimura 2014, p. 320). Using the deictic *aa*, the writer invites the readers to align with their criticisms toward the distal “others”

(Deckert and Vickers 2011, pp. 122–123). In Excerpts 6 and 7, the writer constructs the identity category of managerial women contrasting with younger, non-managerial women. As Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 598) assert, “identities are never autonomous or independent but always acquire social meaning in relation to other available identity positions and other social actors”.

Although the above excerpts do not state why younger women reject managerial women as role models, Excerpt 8 suggests that the rejection is closely related to the assumed private lives of managerial women without marriage and children.

Excerpt 8

K: *Bokura ga mendan shiteite, josei kanrishoku ga watto nakidasu nowa, dansei to sabetsu sareta toki dewa naku, buka ni “anna josei ni naritaku nai” toka, kodomo ga inakute kyaria o appu sasete kita hito ga, “kosodate mo sezuni.....” mitaina, fureraretakunai basho ni te o tsukkomareta toki desu yo. Yō wa, josei no naka ni ue o mezasanai ikikata mo nezuyoi toiu koto desu.*

(At interviews that we in Human Resources have with managerial women, they burst into tears, not when they are discriminated against by men, but when their subordinates say, “I don’t want to be like the woman”, or when they criticize her who has accomplished her career without having a child, saying, “[she does not have to] bring up a child...”, that is when [people] thrust their hands into the places the women do not want others to touch. In short, among women, [the idea of] working without aiming for senior positions is tenacious.)

In Excerpt 8, K contrasts managerial women not with men but with younger, non-managerial women, minimising the conflict between female and male in the workplace (“not when they are discriminated against by men”) and foregrounding the discord between managerial and non-managerial women. The fabricated voice of female subordinates invites the readers to involve with their utterances, enabling the writer to construct the private life as a vulnerable issue for managerial women. To avoid such a life, K continues, many women choose “working without aiming for senior positions”, indexing the speaker’s authoritative stance by the quotative marker *toiu* (Maynard 1993) with the distal nominalizer *koto* making the content an established fact (Matsumoto 2008).

Then the participant H asserts that a woman has to give up her life as a wife and a mother to become a general manager using the conventional phrase *onna o suteru* (lit. to throw away her womanhood):

Excerpt 9

H: *Manējā kurasu wa, onna o sute nakutemo narerukedo, buchōshoku wa mada.....*

([A woman] can get manager status without throwing away her womanhood, but not general manager status yet...)

The phrase reproduces the hegemonic ideology that the value of a womanhood depends on her private fulfilment as a wife and a mother in a heterosexual marriage.

11.3.2.2 The Group-Talk Article of Five Non-managerial Women (GT2)

The GT2 writer constructs less interaction among participants, structuring the article with a series of five questions followed by the answer of each participant separately. The perspective to evaluate managerial women based on their marital status and children is more conspicuous in GT2 than in GT1. The participants B and E assess managerial women in their companies based on marital status and children:

Excerpt 10

B: *Tada, “Shiseikatsu o gisei ni shitekita ‘dekiru hito’ ga shusse suru,” “Kodomo ga iru jousei kanrishoku ga kyokutan ni sukunai” toiu imēji mo arimasu.*

(Yet, there are the images of [managerial women as] “‘able persons’ who have sacrificed their private life gaining promotion” and “Managerial women who have children are extremely rare.”)⁶

Excerpt 11

E: *Jissaini watashi no mawari no jouseikachō wa hitori wa kikon desuga kodomo wa orazu, mō hitori wa mikon desu.*

(Indeed, [of two] women section chiefs around me, one is married but without children and the other is unmarried).

Participant A represents managerial women not only as those ‘sacrificing their families’ for their work, but also as strong-willed, physically tough, and ‘scary’:

Excerpt 12

A: *Shusse shita toshiue no jousei wa katei o gisei ni shiteiru to kanjimasu.... Shokui ga takai joshi wa ki ga tsuyoi shi, tairyoku mo aru. “Kowai nā” to kanjiru kotomo.*

(I feel that older women of senior status sacrifice their families... Women of high positions are strong-willed and physically tough. I sometimes even feel “[they are] scary”).

The writer vividly presents ‘scary’ in A’s voice, provoking the readers to share A’s feeling. Such description of managerial women is congruent with the observation that “younger women may reject as role models the women at the top who do not have children”, considering them “as having given up an essential part of their emotional and social capital to achieve success on masculine terms” (Singh et al. 2006, p. 70). The writer represents younger women as explicitly refusing those managerial women as role models, drawing a boundary between the identity categories of managerial and non-managerial women.

⁶The double quotations in Excerpt 10 are not used to indicate direct quotations but to emphasise the phrases.

The next two excerpts by the participants C and D render a managerial woman with children an exception:

Excerpt 13

C: *Watashi yori toshiue no kanrishoku de kodomo ga iru josei wa hahaoya to dōkyo dattari jikka ga kinjo dattarito, nanraka no megumareta kankyō ni atta yōdesune.*

(A managerial woman who is older than me and has a child seems to have been in a fortunate environment, such as living with her mother or near her parents' home.)

Excerpt 14

D: *Kaisha ga shōrai o shokubō suru, iwayuru kaisha shōkai no panfuretto ni yoku detekuru yōna hito wa kodomo ga itemo moderu kēsu toshite shusse shite ikimasu.*

(The person the company expects to have a promising future, the kind of person who often appears in the company's guide brochure, gets promoted as a model case even if she has a child).

The exceptionalization of a managerial woman with a child works to verify the interviewees' representation of managerial women as those lacking any social lives without marriage and children.

The articles GT1 and GT2, in sum, discursively construct a negative stereotype of managerial women as those aspiring to managerial positions by working furiously like men but lacking decent social lives without marriage and children. Such practice produces, reproduces and disseminates the hegemonic ideology that the value of a woman's life depends on her fulfilment as a wife and a mother. Most importantly, the writers construct the identity category of managerial women in its contrast not with men but with younger, non-managerial women. The contrastive construction renders younger women as those who are "working without aiming for managerial positions".

11.3.3 *Text Analysis: Discursively Constructed Personae of Managerial Women*

11.3.3.1 *The Interview-Narrative Article of Three Female Executives (IN1)*

Article IN1 consists of three subsections, each telling the autobiographic story of one woman, using two styles: the writers' reporting style and direct quotations of the interviewees' speech. The quoted information and the order in which it is presented are keys to examine the ways the writers formulate the self-representations of the women interviewed. In analysing the article, therefore, I will pay special attention to the first direct quotation of each executive's narrative

that serves as a foundation narrative of her persona. The analysis will show that: (i) the first direct quotations of two executives, Tominaga and Yoshida, deny their interests in promotion, emphasising that when they started working they had no interest in getting promoted, and (ii) the narratives of two executives, Tominaga and Nosaka, highlight the support from their superiors as an important factor helping them pursue their careers.

Excerpt 15: Tominaga

Nagaku hataraki tsuzuketai towa omotte imashitaga, shōshin ishiki wa arimasen deshita. Shunin jidai ni kachō shōshin no dashin o uketa toki wa, tōsho jibun niwa murida to kotowatta hodo desu.

(“While I wanted to keep working for a long time, I was not interested in getting promoted. So when I was asked about being promoted from deputy section chief to section chief, I first declined saying that it was too much for me.”)

Excerpt 16: Yoshida

Nyūsha tōji wa kotobukitaisha ga futsū de, nagaku kinmu suru toiu imēji wa arimasen deshita node, watashi mo gonenkan kurai wa ganbarō to omotte imashita (warai). Soremade wa, shinrai sareru shigoto o shitai to. Tōzen, yakuin ni narutowa omottemo imasen deshita. Naiji o uketa toki wa, mattaku no seiten no hekireki deshita.

(“When I entered the company, [women] usually quit at marriage [so I could] not imagine myself working for a long time. I thought I would work for about five years (laugh). Until then, I wanted to do reliable work. Naturally, I did not expect myself to become an executive at all. When I received the pre-official appointment [of the promotion to executive], it was a total bolt from the blue.”)

Yoshida recalls that, when she started working in the company, women were expected to quit at marriage; she uses the cliché *kotobukitaisha* (a wedding-bell resignation). As the writer points out in the article, 60% of women in Japan leave their work before they have the first child. Thus using the cliché without any critical comment implies that Yoshida accepts the gender-biased corporate tradition, aligning her with those women. One function of ‘(laugh)’ after the utterance is to mitigate the tension possibly caused by her original plan to work only for about five years, which could be considered as face-threatening and embarrassing as a plan of the person who actually became an executive (Murata 2009). Yoshida further denies her interest in becoming an executive by expressing her surprise at receiving the appointment with another cliché, *seiten no hekireki* (a total bolt from the blue).

By highlighting Tominaga and Yoshida’s denials of any ambition to reach a higher position, the writer aligns their past identities at a younger age with similarly unambitious, present-day younger women, distinguishing them from ambitious women aspiring to climb the corporate ladder. The writer does not need to deny the third interviewee Nosaka’s aspiration for a managerial position because she started her career as a laboratory researcher. Having been a researcher already denies Nosaka’s interest in promotion because, in the two separate promotion tracks for

researchers and others in Japanese corporations, researchers usually do not get promoted to senior positions.

Concerning the descriptions about the support from their superiors, Tominaga and Nosaka mention it as an important factor enabling them to pursue their careers. In Excerpt 17, Tominaga states that, when she declined the section chief position, general manager questioned her:

Excerpt 17: Tominaga

Sonotoki tōji no honbuchō ni yobaremashitene, 'Anata wa sorede iikamo shirenaiga, anata no buka wa sorede iinoka' to satosare mashita.

(“The general manager then called me into his office and admonished me, ‘It may be fine with you. But do you think it will be OK for your subordinates?’”).

Fabricating the general manager’s voice, the writer engages the reader’s appreciation of his words with Tominaga (Tannen 1986). Tominaga then emphasises that she made the decision to become section chief for the sake of her subordinates, again suggesting that she herself had no interest in promotion:

Excerpt 18: Tominaga

Desukara, jibun no tame toiu yori jibun no buka tachi no tameni sono shōshin o uketa n desu.

(“So I accepted the promotion for the sake of my subordinates rather than for myself.”)

Accordingly, Nosaka, in the first direct quotation, describes that, having worked in the laboratory for a long time, she was frustrated about not knowing for whom she was working. But her superior helped her at this turning point in her career:

Excerpt 19: Nosaka

Sōiu jōtai o tōji no jōshi ga sasshite kurete, kenkyūjo kara watashi o dashite kure ta n desu.

(“My supervisor at the time sensed my state of mind and took me out of the laboratory.”)

In both Excerpts 18 and 19, the writer invites the readers to align with the interviewees’ utterances, by using the direct quotations with *n desu* indexing their certainty and involvement (Clancy 1982; Kuno 1973; Iwasaki 1992; Makino and Tsutsui 1986).

Highlighting the support of their superiors, the writer succeeds in framing the articles as corporate advertisements demonstrating that the companies provide appropriate systems to help women pursue their careers. In advertising the companies, however, the writer represents the women executives as those who have accomplished executive positions with the help of their superiors, assigning the agency to their superiors, while suppressing the agencies of women in reaching for executive positions. Such representations of women executives aligns them with younger women without aspirations for promotion to higher positions.

11.3.3.2 The Interview-Narrative Article of Five Female Managers (IN2)

Article IN2 is structured into five subsections, each featuring the autobiographic story of one female manager. Like IN1, the article consists of the reporting style and the direct quotations of the interviewees' speech. Analysis of IN2 will show that the narratives of five women: (i) deny their interests in promotion and (ii) highlight the support from their superiors, family and colleagues as an important factor helping them pursue their careers.

Nishimaki, the first manager featured in IN2, in her first direct quotation, states:

Excerpt 20: Nishimaki

“Kanrishoku o mezashite hataraitte kita wake dewa naku, me no mae ni aru shigoto o hitotsuzutsu yatteinara, ima tatte iru tokoro ni tadoritsuite imashita” to akumade shizentai no Nishimaki-san.

(“[I] have not been working aiming to get to a managerial position. Doing tasks in front of me one by one, I’ve somehow made it to where I stand now,” [said] Nishimaki in a genuinely natural manner.)

In denying her interest in a managerial position, Nishimaki describes her career trajectory as “doing tasks in front of me one by one”, her expression suggesting a narrow perspective and lack of strategic planning and organizational vision. The writer gives a positive appraisal to her statement as *shizentai* (natural manner), implying that Nishimaki does not hesitate to reveal her lack of interest in promotion and of a wide perspective on her work, points that male managers would be unlikely to disclose; neither does she try to evince masculine qualities against her “natural” femininity. The writer’s use of the phrase “natural manner” distinguishes Nishimaki from the stereotype of female managers who work furiously like men, against a woman’s ‘natural’ disposition.

The writer starts the autobiographical story of the second manager, Niizeki, again by denying her will to continue working for long:

Excerpt 21: Niizeki

Daga, sonna Niizeki-san mo isshō hataraku tsumori de shūshoku shita wake dewa nai. Kekkō shi, 03 nen ni ninshin ga wakatta tokiniwa “Yamemasu” to mōshi deta. Tōji, mijikani shussan shite fukki suru jōsei nado inakatta.

(But Niizeki then did not join the company planning to work throughout her life. When she got married and found herself pregnant in 2003, she said, “[I] will quit.” At that time, there was no woman around her who delivered a baby and came back [to work].)

The writer vividly delineates Niizeki’s determination to quit when she became pregnant by using the direct quotation, “[I] will quit”, aligning her with those women who quit work at pregnancy.

The fourth manager, Iwamoto, got married while she was at the Sendai office, a city in northeast Japan and changed to the R (retail professional) course to be stationed in Tokyo, where her husband worked.

Excerpt 22: Iwamoto

Kono R-kōsu ga nakereba, kekkon to dōji ni yameteita darō to Iwamoto-san wa furikaeru.

(If there had not been the R course, she would have quit the job at marriage, Iwamoto recalls).

Mentioning that “she would have quit the job” if she had not been able to work in Tokyo with her husband, the writer aligns Iwamoto with the women who quit jobs at marriage.

The last manager, Oguni, is different from others in being described as a person planning to stay on the job even after having a baby. At the same time, the writer uses direct quotation to highlight her gratitude to people around her and the joy of her work as follows:

Excerpt 23: Oguni

Shigoto to kosodate o ryōritsu dekiteiru nowa, mawari no sapōto ga arukara. Chīmu no purojekuto ga umaku ittari, menomae no koto o yaritogeta toki, hibi no chīsana yorokobi o kanji masu.

(“I am able to handle both a career and raising a child thanks to the support from people around me. I feel a daily small joy when the project of my team goes well or when I carry out a task in front of me.”)

Here the writer emphasises that the major motivation of continuing her career is not the promotion to a senior position, but the ‘daily small joy’ she experiences by carrying out “a task in front of me”. By using exactly the same expression applied to Nishimaki in Excerpt 20, “Doing tasks in front of me one by one”, the writer again distinguishes Oguni from a stereotypical managerial woman. Oguni’s reference to support from colleagues at work is also found in the representations of Nishimaki, Niizeki and Sasaki. With the help of her superior, Nishimaki returned to work after a year of maternity leave:

Excerpt 24: Nishimaki

I nenkan no ikukyūchū wa, 2, 3 kagetsu ni ichido, jōshi ga kontakuto o totte atte kureta... Okagede sumūzu ni fukki ga dekita

(During one year of maternity leave, her boss kept in touch and met her every two or three months... Thanks to the boss, she could return to work smoothly).

Niizeki’s determination to quit when she became pregnant (Excerpt 21) was overturned by the section chief:

Excerpt 25: Niizeki

Josei kachō kara, “Dōshite yameruno? Gokazoku niwa sōdan shitano?” to iwarete kazoku ni hanashite miruto, minna ga ōen suru to itte kureta.

(A female section chief asked her, “Why are you quitting? Did you talk to your family?” So she talked to her family and everybody said they would support her).

Fabricating the voice of the chief, the writer involves the readers in appreciating her supportive advice. Then, the writer, by showing that Niizeki decided to continue working for the sake of “the women coming after” her, assures that she had little interest in her own promotion:

Excerpt 26: Niizeki

Jishin wa arimasen deshitaga, charenji mo sezu ni kotowatte shimau nowa ato ni tsuzuku josei tachi ni totte yokunai to kangae, hikiuke mashita.

(“I had no confidence. But I thought that to decline [the promotion] without taking on the challenge would have a bad effect on the women coming after me so I accepted it.”)

Using the quote, “I had no confidence”, the kind of statement a confident, tough manager would hardly say, the writer distinguishes Niizeki from the stereotype of strong-willed, tough women managers.

In representing Sasaki, after the description of her hard work as chief of the entire food floor of a department store, the writer cites her metaphoric use of *senyū* (fellow soldiers), aligning Sasaki with the other non-managerial women working on the floor:

Excerpt 27: Sasaki

Soredemo 2 nenkan yatte koraretanowa Sasaki-san ga “senyū” to yobu, tempo no nakamatachi no okage da.

(In spite of the hard work, she could have continued working for the past two years, thanks to her colleagues, whom Sasaki calls “fellow soldiers”)

The representations of three executives in IN1 and five managers in IN2 show large similarities despite these women being engaged in a variety of occupations and the different authors writing their articles in different news media. In both IN1 and IN2, the writers represent managerial women as those who achieved senior positions with support from their superiors, family and colleagues, even if they had no interest in promotion. Minimising their agency in climbing the corporate ladder and highlighting the support from people around them, the writers align them with the newly hired, mostly unambitious, young women and, in turn, distinguish them from the tough, hard-working negative stereotype of managerial women.

11.4 Conclusions

The analyses in this chapter have demonstrated three major observations substantiating my argument that the social subject utilises the stereotyped identity categories to fuel identity work as resource, making the enactment of a persona intelligible to the recipient. First, the media writers make use of the contrastive stereotyped identity categories of managerial and non-managerial women revealed in the group-talks as resource to represent managerial women positively. The analysis of interview-narrative data shows that the writers highlight the similarities of the managerial women with non-managerial women, by denying any interest in promotion and emphasising the support from their superiors and colleagues. Such identity work brings the contrastive regimentation between managerial and non-managerial women into play, making the identity work intelligible to readers. At the same time, assimilating managerial women with non-managerial women necessarily invokes the negative stereotype of managerial women that stands in a contrastive relationship with that of younger women. This verifies the argument that social discourses including identity categories drawn to a specific practice simultaneously enable and restrict linguistic interaction. It is worth acknowledging that an alternative way of utilising stereotyped identity categories would be to directly dissociate managerial women from the negative stereotypes disclosed in the group-talks by, for instance, explicitly stating that they do not work furiously like men or that they have decent social lives with husbands and children. The authors are likely to have evaded such strategy to avoid the risk of being criticised as writing a sexist article by publicly reproducing the negative stereotype. In exploring the ways the social subject utilises stereotyped identity categories in linguistic interaction, this indicates, it is necessary to take into consideration not only the stereotype of a group of people in question but also its relationships with the stereotypes of other groups. The resultant persona of each managerial woman is diverse, composed of multiple identity categories including those of an unaspiring young woman, an efficient corporate executive and manager, and a cooperative interviewee. Although the present study does not include an analysis of how actual readers interpret the data, we found that the writers utilise a wide variety of linguistic strategies including using direct quotations, laughter, fabricated voices, conventionalized phrases and linguistic features expressing both epistemic and affective stances towards the topic, inviting the implied readers to align with the perspectives presented by the writers. Whether individual readers agree with the writers' appraisals or not, "they are subjected to it. They must respond by agreeing or disagreeing, by affirming or disaffirming, or merely acquiescing" (Jaworski and Thurlaw 2009, p. 220).

Second, the analysis of interview-narrative data demonstrates that the articles simultaneously reproduce and transform stereotypes about Japanese women in leadership positions, rather than either challenging or reinforcing them. The production and dissemination of media reports like the interview-narratives analysed in this chapter, while reproducing and accumulating the boundary between managerial and non-managerial women, also have the potential to blur the boundary in

constructing the past identities of managerial women as non-aspirational. In presenting the trajectory from the non-aspiring identity of past managerial women to their present identity as female business leaders, the personae of managerial women in the articles may serve as potential, new role models, bridging the gap between aspiring and non-aspiring women in the workplace. Any practice thus simultaneously instantiates and transforms stereotypes, potentially bringing changes to the stereotypes within the dialectic relationship between ideology and practice (Fairclough 1989).

Third, restrictions imposed by identity categories enable the social subject to deploy agency to accomplish identity work. The writers of the interview-narratives, because they are restricted to present managerial women positively without directly mentioning the negative stereotypes assigned to them, accomplish the task by highlighting their similarities with young women, i.e. by utilising the stereotyped distinction between managerial and non-managerial women. The notion of *agency* thus does not mean that the social subject has total freedom to create a new identity for self, the recipient, and others involved in the practice, but indicates that, within the restrictions imposed by social discourses, including the assigned identity categories made relevant in a particular practice, the subject has the choice to accomplish and interpret a social practice utilising social discourses as resource (Ahearn 2001; Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

Glossary

Ranks in a Japanese company can be divided into what the Japanese refer to as *torishimariyaku* or *yakuin* (executive) and general employee. The titles of executives in Japanese companies are usually rendered into English as follows:

<i>Kaichō</i>	chairman
<i>Fuku-kaichō</i>	Vice-chairman
<i>Shachō</i>	President
<i>Fuku-shachō</i>	Vice-president
<i>Senmu</i>	Executive director or executive managing director
<i>Jōmu</i>	Managing director
<i>Shikkō Yakuin</i>	Executive committee member
<i>Hon-buchō</i>	(Divisional) General manager
<i>Buchō</i>	(Department) General manager

(Some companies would not include *buchō* as executives.)

The notion of *kanrishoku* (managerial posts), the topic of this chapter, in contrast, includes not only the ranks of executives but also those of general employees expected to lead the members of a section or a group such as the following:

<i>Fukubuchō</i>	Deputy department general manager
<i>Jichō</i>	Deputy or assistant general manager
<i>Kachō</i>	Manager or section chief
<i>Shunin</i>	Deputy section chief

Note that the exact hierarchy and responsibility expected of the ranks used may vary from one company to another depending on the scope and objectives of the organization.

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