

DYNAMIC FIELDS OF LEADERSHIP
A study of underlying social, cultural and
collective influences

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DECLARATION

This work has not been submitted in substance for any other degree or award at this or any other university or place of learning, nor is being submitted concurrently in candidature for any degree or other award.

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SUMMARY

This thesis investigates deeper influences that contribute to the way organisational leadership is practiced, taking a social, cultural and collective point of view. Three different theoretical perspectives are drawn on: the work of Kurt Lewin and field theory shows *that* underlying forces exist, describing organising principles that are not under the control of human intention; the work of Carl Jung and the collective unconscious explains leadership at a deep archetypal level; the ideas of Pierre Bourdieu help to explain how leadership is established and maintained through social interaction and social fields—symbolic power, habitus and doxa.

A narrative methodology provided the framework for interviewing participants on their leadership experiences. Two research groups consisted of (A) 17 corporate leaders, comprising 3 men and 14 women, (B) 6 organisational consultants, comprising 5 men and 1 woman. A set of questions based on the three theoretical perspectives, was used to analyse the data. A difference between leadership thinking and leadership in practice was found. Descriptions of leadership were individualistic and direction-giving, compared to narratives of leadership experiences which revealed relational, inclusive and collaborative leadership practices. A predominance of role model learning was also found.

The concept of *eclipsing* is used to describe how relational, inclusive and collaborative practices are overshadowed by conventional leadership thinking. Field theory shows how dynamic fields influence eclipsing behaviour beneath the surface of intentional action. A Jungian perspective explains eclipsing as a hidden compensatory process within the dyadic relationship of the masculine and the feminine. Bourdieuan ideas explain how conventional leadership thinking is in the habitus of social interaction, and how symbolic power of leaders is a dynamic force in organisational systems. This thesis adds to the debate on ‘where leadership is situated’, offering new insight to conventional leadership theory, and advances thinking in relational and distributed leadership.

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Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Organisations, and the leadership practices that they adopt, are always part of a cultural milieu. The specific manner in which leadership is practiced is partially or significantly determined by the canon of values and collective attitudes of the time, yet leadership is largely studied within a frame of structures and control. To consider leadership in depth and as a social action means studying aspects of leadership that are not directly observable and not directly controllable, shifting away from individualistic theories towards social, cultural and collective perspectives. An original feature of this thesis is that it studies the deeper layers of leadership that are beneath the control of intentional action. Addressing the question of underlying social, cultural and collective influences that contribute to the way people engage in organisational leadership, it draws on three different theoretical points of view in which collective perspective precedes individuality: from the works of Kurt Lewin and field theory, Carl Jung on the collective unconscious, and Émile Durkheim and Pierre Bourdieu on the relationship between the one and the many and Bourdieu's concept of social fields.

Through these complementary and at times contrasting theories, this thesis argues that social, cultural and collective influences converge into dynamic fields, which are largely out of awareness but shape the way that leadership is practiced. The term *collective* refers to the collective unconscious, while the term *field* refers to organisational systems and social systems where underlying forces are generative, influencing the way in which people relate and act. These terms will be more fully explained in Chapter 3. Embarking on this study was driven by a concern that leadership development programmes fall short of delivering learning that takes into consideration the deeper layers of influence in social interaction. It is therefore expected that the findings will be of benefit to leadership pedagogy, as well as contribute to leadership theory in general and a growing body of knowledge in distributed and relational leadership thinking.

Why is this important now? A number of insurmountable problems in the business world today highlight the need for change in the way that leadership is practiced, whilst at the same time illuminating the difficulty in bringing change about. Widespread concerns since the global financial crisis in 2008 regarding the effectiveness of corporations and businesses alike have put the spotlight on leadership, whilst critical issues such as the ongoing drive to increase the number of women in top positions continue to fail in their challenge to make a difference. At the heart of corporate functioning is the dominant leader-follower paradigm, which appears to be entrenched in the minds and actions of people at work. Professionals who design and teach leadership development have continued to be driven by this frame of thinking (Iles and Preece, 2006). Radical shifts that can address these concerns are needed, which means changing the way that practitioners and researchers alike think about leadership. This thesis assumes that social, cultural and collective influences that underlie leadership are not well understood in leadership thinking. A study of these influences could provide some insight into deeper layers of leadership, contributing to a better understanding of how leadership is currently practiced and what changes are taking place.

To begin to address this problem, the question of 'What is leadership?' is raised in Chapter 2. A review of the concepts and literature in the field of leadership studies is undertaken to define a language of leadership relevant to this thesis, along with a critical view of new emerging perspectives on leadership: *the phenomenon of leadership, distributed and shared leadership and relational leadership*.

Chapter 3 draws on an eclectic mix of theoretical concepts that provide three different lenses through which to look at underlying dynamics of leadership. It starts with Lewinian field theory and the dynamic field, offering insight into the way social fields become organised around forces that are out of awareness. This is followed by a discussion on specific ideas developed by Carl Jung on the collective unconscious and the relationship between archetypal patterns and culture. Finally, it draws on the social and cultural lenses of Émile Durkheim and Pierre Bourdieu to appreciate the collective within the individual, and symbolism, habitus, doxa and social fields through which leadership exists. It is believed that this diverse range can provide a richer understanding of the complex array of underlying dynamics of organisational leadership than one school of thought alone.

Chapters 4, 5, 6 are the research chapters. Chapter 4 argues the case for a narrative research approach for addressing the research questions. Chapter 5 describes the design of the method used for interviewing and gathering data on stories of people's leadership experiences. It defines eight topics, based on three theoretical lenses, through which to identify underlying influences and forces. Chapter 6 describes the results around the eight topics. The findings of the research include a gap between the way leadership is described and leadership experiences. This gap is linked to shifts taking place in leadership and dominant masculinised practices that 'eclipse' relational, inclusive and collaborative acts of leadership. Other core themes found are associated with role model learning, values and differences between male and female understanding of leadership terminology.

With an emphasis on the research as a study of leadership as it exists today in traditional, hierarchical organisational systems, Chapter 7 discusses in greater depth the meaning of the gap between leadership discourse and leadership practice. It explores the implications of role model learning, taking a Jungian approach to consider a different perspective from that of social learning theory. The Jungian perspective raises the significance of role model learning in leadership and the difficulties associated with learning when important leadership practices become eclipsed. Finally, two illustrations from the research data are used to show how different perspectives can give meaning to underlying influences in different ways.

Chapter 8 takes the topic of eclipsed leadership, looking at this phenomenon through the lens of dominant masculinised leadership and emerging feminine practices. It explores the meaning of masculine and feminine through both archetypes and stereotypes, and the implications for both men and women in leadership. It discusses the role that women could play in promoting the value of feminine leadership practices.

Chapter 9 draws conclusions from this research, linking new understanding gained concerning underlying dynamics of leadership and future implications for leadership development.

Chapter 2

WHAT IS LEADERSHIP?

A review of the concepts and literature defining this research

Much of leadership thinking has failed to recognize that leadership is not merely the influential act of an individual or individuals but rather is embedded in a complex interplay of numerous interacting forces (Uhl-Bien et al., 2007, p. 302).

Uhl-Bien highlights a concern that is at the heart of this thesis and a need for understanding leadership through 'a complex interplay of interacting forces'. In this chapter, current concepts and literature are examined, particularly those that have an ontological affinity with this investigation. Starting with definitions and explanations of recent approaches to the question 'What is leadership?', the concept of 'leadership as a phenomenon' is chosen to guide the research into areas of leadership understanding that have not previously been considered. Recent thinking on relational leadership is explored.

2.1 Context

The context for leadership in this research is its role in defining action for leadership development. A review of the literature shows the extent to which leadership development has largely focused on the individual as leader. With continually expanding views on what leaders do or should do, or what leadership is, leadership development has become decidedly problematic. On the one hand a leader role is usually held up as a prestigious position. On the other hand, for many organisations in both public and private sectors, leadership is not delivering. Bolden

(2005; 2004) argues strongly that conventional approaches to leadership development do not make a significant difference to business performance. Turnbull James and Ladkin (2008) also explain how leadership development has become a process of fixing personal deficits, missing important learning such as unconscious organisational dynamics and taking into account the organisation's contextual position in its industry. Furthermore, leadership development programmes are often designed and run without a clear understanding of what leadership comprises (Carroll and Levy, 2008; Barker, 1997). There is a gap between what is being delivered in organisations and emerging theories in leadership research (Turnbull James and Collins, 2008; Bolden, 2005; Day, 2001; Fiedler, 1996). In 1996 Fiedler discussed how:

The past 40 years have seen considerable strides in our understanding of leadership, which until recently focused on inherited traits and abilities. Although we now see leadership as a complex interaction between the leader and the social and organizational environment, this lesson is frequently ignored in personnel selection and leadership training. At this time, most leader selection and leadership training approaches have not been adequately validated. Further progress in these areas requires that we focus research on methods that integrate situational components into personnel selection and leadership training. (p. 241)

Twelve years on, Turnbull James and Collins (ibid.) highlighted a similar problem: 'development programmes are often rooted in individual leader development separate from organisation context' (p. 5). Whilst some leadership development programmes are beginning to consider wider issues, such as the social factors of organisations and the relationship between the leader and the system (Huffington et al., 2004), the idea that acts of leadership might be organisation-wide continues to be limited by the way that leadership is perceived. Where attempts have been made to progress leadership learning, development and practice, the 'man at the top' - the superhero attitude to leadership - has continued to dominate.

2.2 Moving on from the current position

At an academic level, the development of new leadership concepts is breaking through traditional thinking, offering progressive perspectives to consider. The superhero mentality is, in theory, breaking down, compared to traditional practices that are deeply embedded in organisational life.

2.2.1 Epistemology and ontology

A major facet of the traditional ontology and epistemology is the concept of leader-follower, the logic being that if there is a leader, then there must be followers. Yet, the objectification of these terms means that ways of understanding leadership focus strongly on the individual, and are not so useful for understanding leadership in contexts that are more collaborative or relational (Drath et al., 2008). Where a systemic perspective has been studied, it has tended to centre on group processes (Bion, 1991; Miller, 1990; Lewin, 1947) and systems theory (Campbell, 2000; Campbell et al., 1994; Griffin, 2002; Katz and Kahn, 1966), providing insight into the interdependence between leader and followers in small and large systems. Portrayed as a static positional structure (Vanderslice, 1988), the leader-follower dyad positions people in roles but does not convey the more complex nature of what makes leadership happen. As Vanderslice illustrates, 'it is possible to fulfil leadership functions without creating static leader roles' (p. 679). Furthermore, Marturano (2010) points out that if followers no longer believe in an individual's leadership, then that 'leadership will melt away' (p. 26). The leader-follower paradigm may not be as stable as its ideology implies. Furthermore, leader-follower is one perspective, albeit a powerful perspective, in which people position themselves, acting into an ideology—'as if' (Pedlar 2004, see below). This behaviour maintains a stance that leadership only exists in the interaction between leaders and followers (Collinson, 2006, 2005), and then often as a one-way, cause and effect event.

A further question arising from leader-follower thinking is: what is a follower? Is there an inherent role inequality in the leader-follower distinction that is unhelpful? Does the notion of *follower* position people in unhelpful deferential positions, creating dependence and diminishing the leadership potential that otherwise might be available to an organisation? Studies have indicated that when leaders exert high control over followers, the effect is to limit rather than generate motivation in followers (Collinson, 2006; Vanderslice, 1988). Vanderslice explained the effects of

leader control, where followers spend unnecessary time 'resisting being controlled' (p. 683), maintaining that leaders may unwittingly 'encourage followers to feel less responsible and to act accordingly, rather than to learn to take on more responsibility' (ibid.).

Ciulla and Bowie (2002) strongly advocate that the question regarding what leadership is be answered. Through studying a list of 221 definitions, they state that all definitions say basically the same thing: 'leadership is about one person getting other people to do something' (p. 340). Pedler (2004) considers this kind of adherence to a leader-follower dyad as problematic, arguing that the possibility of a model of leadership in which many people participate continues to exist as potential rather than reality. What Pedler alludes to are behaviours where people act 'as if' rather than attend to 'what is'. On describing leadership as a collaborative process, Pedler comments that:

Organisations rarely lack talented individuals, but they do frequently fail to bring those talents together to create a powerful collective force. In part, this is due to the old fashioned thinking that progress is only made when we have 'a leader with vision' who can show us the way. This persistent image damages the collective capacity to do better things. (p. 5)

Organisational structures today are better understood for their complex hierarchies and practices. As already mentioned, followers can be leaders and leaders can be followers. Yet Pedlar aired important concerns that continue to persist in practice. Even though the past decade has seen an increasing number of challenges to the traditional ontology and epistemology of leader-follower and leader as hero, the extent to which new thinking is put into practice remains questionable.

2.2.2 Challenges to the dominant paradigm of leadership

Taking a philosophical approach to leader-follower thinking, Ladkin (2010) asks 'what happens in the space between leaders and followers?' This view brings to leadership research a radically different approach, looking into leadership spaces that are yet unnoticed. New perspectives such as Ladkin's begin to appreciate leadership as having many forms, taking into account dynamic processes that exist in the flux

and flow of everyday social activities (Popper, 2004; Taylor and Ladkin, 2008) and can be taken beyond leader-follower thinking. Moving away from cause-effect studies (Barker, 1997) and the powerful cohesion to leader-centredness, such an expansion of leadership thinking is urgently needed for the future learning of leadership.

A challenge presented by Schein (2006) concerns why leadership cannot be dissociated from the broader social context of the organisation. Schein describes this in terms of the interplay between the individual and the system:

The never-ending dilemma of the individual vs. the group, organization or society, whether leaders create organizations and cultures or whether culture and social forces create leaders, how organizations influence their members and, at the same time, how members change the organization cannot be understood without seeing the interplay between the system and the individual. (p. 287)

This view of the individual versus the system was of interest in a study by Binney et al. (2005), who shadowed leaders over a three-year period. What they observed was that 'Leading happens *between* people. It is not the property of the leader or of the followers' (p. xi). They noted that traditional ways of thinking about leadership result in under-utilising the full leadership potential of the organisation (the system). Although their study maintained a focus on the individual leader, they successfully demonstrated how leaders can shift their position from super-hero to 'ordinary hero' through building on the strengths of the system in which they operate.

Another challenge concerns the relevance of leadership competencies. Bolden and Gosling (2006) showed that the competency approach only identifies selected features of leadership, not the whole picture, revealing a gap between 'popular leadership competency frameworks' and leadership in practice (p.158). They explained how leadership, as conveyed in many competency frameworks, created an image of leaders in 'splendid isolation' with 'no need for meaningful relationships' where people carry 'an idealized concept of what leadership should be as opposed to what it actually is' (ibid.). Bolden & Gosling do not expand this point, but for this

research, the extent to which people act 'as if' something exists, instead of acknowledging *what* exists, is likely to have implications on leadership in practice—an invisible dynamic of the field.

As already mentioned, the ideology of leader-follower is psychologically strong, whilst at the same time being unsound in practice (Marturano 2010). Marturano stresses that without the followers' belief in a leader, there is no leader. However, the situation is not straightforward: many people in leader roles, especially in larger organisational structures, are also being led. To add to this, recently developed theories on distributed and shared leadership describe the devolution of decision making and responsibilities (Gosling et al., 2009; Spillane, 2006; Fitzsimons et al., 2011; Bolden, 2011), whilst Bolden (2004) expands our understanding of leadership as occurring *in situ*, arguing that it cannot be distilled into constituent parts. The leader-follower paradigm is under question in research, but that might not be the case in the minds of people in the workplace.

Finally, new perspectives in leadership are beginning to develop more systemic, relational and emergent views of leadership. Taking a broad relational approach involving the social processes of the organisation (Uhl-Bien and Ospina, 2012; Crevani et al., 2010; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Fletcher, 1999, 2004, 2011), 'entity' based thinking and 'relational' based thinking are differentiated (Fitzsimons et al., 2011; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Hay and Hodgkinson, 2006), highlighting the difference between the dominant paradigm of entity-based relational thinking and the notion of leadership as a relational activity. For instance, Fitzsimons et al. (ibid.) describe a 'relational-processual approach' as reflecting a 'commitment to leadership as a distributed practice embedded within ongoing social processes' (p. 322). Hay and Hodgkinson (ibid.) earlier described a 'process-relational' perspective as 'ongoing patterns of meaning making and activity' (p.146) of which leadership is part, recognising the 'emergent nature of organisational activity' (ibid.). Arguing against the promotion of the superhero leader, they made a case for people in leader roles to be recognised as 'ordinary individuals, imperfect and subject to similar existential struggles to us all' (p. 154), with leadership existing as a series of activities involving many people within the social system. They suggest that:

...adopting a process-relational leadership perspective offers a more grounded and realistic conceptualisation which accepts the plurality of organisational life, focuses on leadership as an emergent process which includes the contributions of others and sees leadership as integral to the organising and managing of work. (p. 148)

This view strongly suggests that building relationships is core to the occurrence of emergent leadership. Furthermore, emergent leadership can be defined as a process, neither determined nor controlled, which can occur in both formal and informal settings. What defines an emergent act as 'leadership' is that something occurs out of an interaction that is direction-giving or 'direction-finding' (Collier and Esteban, 2000, p. 208). Such acts may or may not involve people in leader roles. Similarly, Gronn (2002a, cited in Ladkin, 2010) noticed how people with shared purpose get things done through networks of interactions. He raised questions about what might be missed in leadership when acts of leadership are in moments, and therefore not noticed or obvious.

In an examination of leadership development Day and Harrison (2007) consider a multidimensional approach to leadership explaining that:

...the complexity and multidimensionality of the very nature of leadership mitigate the possibility of a simple or unitary definition. Leadership cannot mean only one thing because it can and does take on multiple meanings and appearances, which have evolved over time. (p. 360)

Taking a multilevel perspective they argue that leadership must take into account both individual leaders and the broader contextual influences that shape leadership—the social system of the organisation—stating, 'A leader without a social context simply cannot be a leader' (p. 363). In a different way Wood (2005) talks of the emergence of leadership as, 'Leadership is neither found in one person or another, nor can it simply be located between several people', but it is 'the point of difference' at which each turns round the other (p. 1105). In this sense leadership is already a complete relation where the relation is the thing itself, it is the leadership.

It is timely to examine alternatives to the superhero frame-of-reference, but with a disconnect between leadership pedagogy and leadership research, this shift may be slow. The elusive nature of leadership means that leadership is not one thing or one person, but many things, and is a much broader phenomenon than the dominant discourse of man-at-the-top. It can be formal or informal, hierarchical or democratic, explicit or hidden (Binney et al., 2005), strategic and pioneering (Elliot and Stead 2008). Leadership can be found in many places: the debate as to where it is situated, the individual, organisational system, or a process, depends as much on where you look for it as on where it is being enacted (Western, 2008, p. 5). Furthermore, being in a constant state of flux makes it difficult to define in any static timeframe (Wood, 2005). Focusing on leadership rather than the individual leader, Wood argues that 'current leadership research and development activities must rise to the ontological challenge of processes rather than things' (p. 1101).

The common thread in these alternative views is to envisage ontologies and epistemologies that can offer ways of understanding leaders and leadership through a relational, social and collective lens. This perspective will be discussed in more depth in Section: 2.3

2.2.3 The language of leadership

The terms *leader* and *leadership* are frequently used as if there is common understanding, but when questioned, many contradictions and discrepancies are revealed. Day (2001) noted:

Interest in leadership development is strong, especially among practitioners. Nonetheless, there is conceptual confusion regarding distinctions between leader and leadership development, as well as disconnection between the practice of leadership development and its scientific foundation. (p. 581)

Barker (1997) found widespread ambiguity about what leadership is and what people understand leadership to be. Pursuing a similar line, Grint (2004, cited in Bolden, 2005) identified four problems. First, there is the 'process' problem, a lack of agreement on whether leadership is derived from the personal qualities (i.e. traits) of the leader or whether a leader induces followership through what s/he does (i.e. a

social process). Second, there is the 'position' problem—is the leader in charge (i.e. with formally allocated authority) or in front (i.e. with informal influence)? A third problem is one of 'philosophy': does the leader exert an intentional, causal influence on the behaviour of followers or are their apparent actions determined by the context and situation or even attributed retrospectively? Fourth, is leadership embodied in individuals or can it be embodied in groups? It may be that all these points and questions, and the many that are not cited here, can be answered positively because leadership is all of this and more. The paradoxical nature of leadership shows that what is presented as leadership can at times have the opposite effect, or what is not seen as leadership can provide important direction-giving contributions.

One final concern here regarding the terms *leader* and *leadership*, is that they are frequently treated synonymously (Bolden and Kirk, 2006; Iles and Preece, 2006). Are they the same or different? Why does it matter? Barker (1997) teases leader and leadership apart making the point that it is not the leader who creates leadership, it is leadership that creates the leader. In that respect a leader is part of leadership but not all of it. Whereas Day and Harrison (2007) advance this idea by bringing a multi-layered, multidimensional perspective to leadership—as leaders progress upwards they become more integrated into the complex social networks of the system. They argue that both individual and collective identity need to be considered in leadership development.

2.3 The Living System of Leadership

A need to formulate alternative models of leadership is driven by increasing complexity of organisational functioning, as well as the wider complexity of economic and political systems. New leadership theories are looking beyond the dominant orthodoxy of heroic leaders and the leader-follower paradigm, towards the notion of a more systemic perspective of leadership. This section clarifies the language, defining terms to be used in this thesis, and investigates theories that are emerging from this new leadership landscape.

Organisational leadership can be understood as a social process within the organisational system. Describing organisations as 'living systems', Fletcher and Käufer (2003, p. 21) explain leadership as 'practices embedded in a system of interdependence at different levels within the organization'. In this way, leadership

becomes a quality of the system, through the interactions and interdependent activities of people within the system, in which the role of leaders and the model of leadership practiced are an aspect of the system but not all of it. In this thesis, the term *organisational* or *community* will be used to refer to the interactive, interdependent and relational practices of people throughout an organisation. Section 2.3.2 compares this perspective with a similar concept identified by Fitzsimons et al. (2011) as *relational-systemic*.

Designating this way of looking at leadership as 'postheroic' (Fletcher, 1999), Fletcher (2004) explains how embedding leadership within a whole system is difficult to achieve because of gender and power dynamics. From a feministic standpoint, she associates characteristics of postheroic leadership with feminine ways of working, whilst she associates traditional, heroic leadership practices with masculine ways of working. What she means by this are social ascriptions that are generally understood as either masculine or feminine, practices that both men and women can display, and are not 'essential aspects of masculinity and femininity' (ibid. p. 650). Fletcher does not differentiate between leadership intent and leadership acts—that is, the difference between intended leadership practices of the organisation, and acts that influence leadership but are not conventionally associated with leadership. Neither does she oppose the leader-follower paradigm, but in terms of leadership skills, she argues that those in positional authority must have skills in inquiry, whilst people with less positional authority 'must have skills in advocating their ideas' (ibid.). Leadership in this way becomes two-directional, where competitiveness of the traditional heroic paradigm is less evident.

2.3.1 What is the phenomenon of leadership?

Instead of the more commonly asked question, 'What is leadership?', Ladkin (2010) posed a different question 'What kind of phenomenon is leadership?' (p. 3), inviting a more open and fluid response. She reasons that the question 'What is leadership?' implies that leadership can be objectively determined in a clear-cut, straightforward way when, as she explains, this is not the case. Ladkin's philosophical standpoint might be considered tangential but it offers greater freedom to consider what is going on, and the wider unknowns that may be contributing to the

manifestation of leadership that go unnoticed. It is not the intention of this research to study the philosophical roots of leadership but to draw on and be informed by the phenomenon of lived experience.

To talk about a phenomenon means to understand the manifestation of occurrences of something, in this case a patterning of behaviour that we call leadership. This may be between two people, one person and many, or within the social interactions of many. In addition, philosopher Joanne Ciulla (2008) offers a view on leadership from the humanities that leadership is ‘embedded in culture, which includes art, literature, religion, philosophy, language, history, and generally all those things that constitute what it means to be alive and live as a human being’ (p. 393). Alongside the traditional social and psychological viewpoints, she brings a perspective to leadership which includes the relational, the holistic nature of leadership and a wide range of cultural influences, looking beyond the leader-follower paradigm, and exploring what may be invisible and yet influential to the way that leadership is lived. As will be explained in Chapter 3, this view takes into account the wide range of influences in the field that contribute to the way that leadership is enacted.

The separation of leadership from the role of leader, but with the leader role as an integral part, means that leadership can be understood as a property of ongoing processes, interactions, episodes and activities within the system. As a characteristic of relational perspectives of leadership already discussed, leadership thinking is carving out a new landscape that potentially takes into account a much wider range of influences, processes and practices. One leadership theory that is built on a more collaborative orientation of leadership has come into focus in the last decade—that is, distributed and shared leadership (Fitzsimons et al., 2011; Bolden, 2011; Gosling et al., 2009; Avolio et al., 2009; Bolden, 2007; Spillane, 2006; Pearce and Conger, 2003; Bennett et al., 2003; Gronn, 2002)

2.3.2 Distributed and shared leadership

Proponents of this concept consider leadership to be an activity that is spread across an organisation rather than located in specific roles. Situated mainly in the educational sector, distributed leadership shifts the focus away from traits and competencies of a leader, towards the functions and processes of leadership. It would appear that the idea of distributed leadership has created a blend of leader and

leadership, where *leadership* represents wider processes and practices in the system that contribute to the leadership of that system. Avolio et al. (2009) use the terms 'distributed', 'shared' and 'collective' leadership synonymously, whilst, Fitzsimons et al. (2011) distinguish between distributed and shared leadership, pointing out that shared leadership sits largely within team-based thinking, a view supported by Pearce and Conger (2003) and contributors to their publication. By contrast, Drath (2001), in laying out some key principles of leadership, proposes that all leadership is shared. His argument for this is based on relational meaning-making within the social community of the organisation.

A closer look at distributed leadership reveals a number of shifts in the way that leadership is understood and acted out. First, leadership is not limited to figureheads at the top or structural leader roles, even though these roles exist, but recognises acts of leadership in both formal and informal situations throughout the organisation (Drath, 2001; Fletcher, 2004). As such, leadership is dispersed rather than concentrated in levels of hierarchy (Gronn, 2002). Second, there is a recognition of latent leadership potential within and beyond the employees of the organisation. An example of this in education is through drawing on the potential of staff, governors, parents and the local community in the leadership of a school (Bolden, 2007). Although the concept of 'distributed leadership' suggests an adherence to the leader-follower paradigm in a more dispersed way than conventional hierarchies, the picture that is building shows a growing sophistication of new ideas and leadership language, albeit that this language is largely contained within the educational sector. Fitzsimons et al. (2011) gather together a wide range of terminology used to describe distributed leadership and different kinds of institutionalised practices. What is striking about these definitions is a move towards relational and inclusive practices, discussed in the following section.

Outside the educational sector, very few businesses have taken up the challenge of operating a distributed leadership framework. Isolated cases have been successful, such as Semco, which has run a distributed leadership system since the 1950s (Semler, 1993). Employee ownership naturally establishes a form of distributed leadership, such as Ernest Bader, who famously gifted his chemical company Scott Bader to the employees in 1951, '[H]is intention was to create a company whose well-being is entrusted to those who work in it' (Scott Bader Company, 2012). The UK Deputy Prime Minister, quoting Scott Bader,

Arup, John Lewis and others, intends to significantly extend employee ownership as a way of improving governance (leadership) in UK companies. He recently commissioned a report outlining ways to support this (Nuttall, 2012).

Elements of distributed leadership may exist all the time, in all organisations: Scott Bader, Semco and others spotted this as a route to organisational security and growth. But, as Spillane (2006) illustrates, distributed leadership is a practice where a wide range of people who do not carry formal leader roles become involved and contribute. In this way, it is an intentional leadership practice, whose strengths lie in an inclusive and relational ontology, whilst at the same time it is limited by contradictory practice. For example, if the goal is to reduce hierarchy and "hero CEO's" are recruited for their leadership, 'it is difficult to create less hierarchical systems by relying solely on better hierarchical leaders' (Fletcher and Käufer, 2003, p. 25). Advancing the ideas of shared and distributed leadership, Fitzsimons et al. (2011) propose a more comprehensive relational ontology on the basis that relationships are central to these leadership models.

2.3.3 Leadership as relational

As early as 1966, social psychologists Katz and Kahn (1966) proposed that 'when people are influenced to engage in organizationally relevant behavior, leadership has occurred' (p. 309), with leadership understood as an outcome of organisation-wide activities through a 'distribution of leadership acts' (p. 310). There are three elements to this idea: the relational quality between leaders and the workforce, the context in which relational dynamics exist and the distribution of leadership. The importance of these three elements has until recently remained relatively dormant, with the man at the top, the leader as hero, dominating leadership discourse. The trend towards more relational (Uhl-Bien and Ospina, 2012; Fitzsimons et al., 2011; Fletcher, 2011; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Popper, 2004; Russell, 2003) and distributed leadership (Gosling et al., 2009; Bolden, 2007; Spillane, 2006) suggests a greater appreciation is growing of leadership as a social process, where organisational leadership is greater than the leader role.

With four distinct models in mind, Fitzsimons et al. (ibid.) have expanded the way that we think about relational leadership. In line with Drath, they propose that the dominant paradigm can be understood as a 'relational-entity' approach. Entities being commonly understood aspects of leadership such as leaders, followers, traits,

competencies, and can be studied within the social context of the system. They particularly note that, in entity-based approaches, ontologically the language of relationships is not recognised: as Fletcher showed (Fletcher and Käufer, 2003; Fletcher, 1999), 'it disappears'.

Fitzsimons et al. called the second approach 'relational-structural'. Focusing on 'systems of relations', this approach recognises the contribution to leadership of social networks and social life within the organisation, whilst at the same time retaining some aspects of entities that exist within the organisation. It recognises that networks are both cognitive structures and actual structures, which shape leadership. The key difference here is that the social structure is not within the control of individual leaders, even though entity thinking is retained. This idea is consistent with Drath (ibid.), who particularly noted the importance of 'shared meaning-making' in leadership where 'all leadership is a shared process of relational sense- and meaning-making' (p. 149).

Referring to the work of Uhl-Bien (2006), the third approach, relational-processual, 'reflects a commitment to leadership as a distributed practice embedded within ongoing social processes in which what constitutes leadership practice is emerging and changing over time' (Fitzsimons et al., 2011, p. 322). The core principle of this idea lies in *process*, rather than *entity*. Fitzsimons et al. propose that this approach avoids the disappearing of relational qualities in entity-based thinking.

Finally, Fitzsimons et al propose the notion of a 'relational-systemic' approach, taking into account the psychological, social and contextual nature of leadership. They particularly draw on the idea of 'self-in-relation' (Fletcher and Käufer, 2003), integrating relational psychoanalytic concepts with what they describe as the 'systems thinking' of Kurt Lewin (see Section: 3.1 for a detailed discussion of Lewin's ideas on field theory) and von Bertalanffy's (1950) 'open systems theory'. Through this approach, they link the 'intra-psycho experience of individuals, to inter-personal, group, inter-group and organizational phenomena', in context (p. 323). Unlike early writing on shared leadership that explored the role of system psychodynamics through an entity-based approach, Fitzsimons et al. position the relational-systemic approach within an interdependent frame of thinking in which the unconscious, tacit and symbolic play a part. They explain how relational-systemic leadership is:

... a function of a collective and involves conscious and unconscious psycho-social processes that are systemic in nature and particular to a specific context. Thus leadership is always shared or distributed. (p. 320)

This recent work by Fitzsimons et al. advances an important level of detail and thinking of a relational leadership epistemology and ontology: one that takes *context* into consideration at a level of meaning-making.

What is yet to be investigated in more depth in relational leadership practices is at the heart of this thesis—that is, underlying and unconscious social and cultural forces that influence the way leadership is enacted. The intention is to develop a better understanding of such forces on the assumption that common patterns exist beneath the broad spectrum of perspectives, from conventional leader-follower practices to the range of relational leadership models within distributed leadership, defined above. The reason for holding this broad spectrum is in the first instance, that organisations by definition are social systems which, it is assumed, carry unconscious social and cultural forces. Second, a theory that relational behaviour is implicit in conventional leadership practices but is neither understood nor valued in the same way as it is in distributed leadership models of practice. Intention or concerted action is critical to understanding this difference, distinguishing between organisations that establish models of leadership practice that are relational, shared and/or distributed, compared to organisational practices where relational acts occur but 'disappear'—as discovered by Fletcher (1999). It is appreciated that there is not a pronounced line between these positions, but an expanding body of knowledge in which divergent perspectives exist. With that in mind, the notion of organisations being 'relational-systemic' carries a number of parallels with the term 'community' in this thesis, particularly that the body of people that make up an organisational system all participate in leadership through relational activities. Although the relational-systemic concept is positioned within a distributed leadership study of the literature, an *organisational community* in this thesis is not limited to distributed leadership practices, but includes leadership that is hierarchical, distributed, shared, collaborative, relational or a combination of all.

As in relational-systemic theory, this thesis takes into consideration the systems thinking of Kurt Lewin (field theory) and the idea that people are linked to one another through symbolic, tacit, and unconscious connections. The notion of 'self-in-relation' (Fletcher, 2004), defined as a quality in the relational-systemic approach, has commonalities with the one and the many, discussed below, where people are linked through, and live out, unconscious social and cultural practices. The intention of this thesis is to go further. It will seek to understand in greater depth how people become dynamically organised around constellating patterns of leadership in the system, and how social and cultural patterns from outside the system influence this process.

2.4 Underlying forces of leadership

This thesis advances leadership studies towards understanding some of deeper layers of influence within social interaction, that have until now been largely overlooked. Whilst some research has investigated underlying psychological processes of the leader (Kets de Vries, 1993, 1989; Kets de Vries and Florent-Treacy, 1999), community-oriented studies have tended to investigate leadership within group relations (Lewin, 1947) (discussed in Chapter 3) and the Group Relations tradition (Miller, 1990), developed by the Tavistock Institute and the University of Leicester. In its early development from 1957 onwards, the Tavistock Institute drew heavily on Lewin's group relations work, and was also influenced by psychoanalysis and the psychoanalytic approach of Bion (1991). Group relations have provided ongoing data from these studies, particularly concerning leadership and authority. A great deal has been learned about underlying dynamics of groups and individuals in those groups, particularly on the subject of projections (Miller, 1990). However, this learning is limited to large and small group processes, and not aimed at studying leadership within the context, structures and roles of organisational life.

Gemmill and Oakley (1992) reported how the long-term effects of perceived power of leaders by followers can turn into the opposite. That is, when expectations from followers onto leaders begin to break down, the human limitations of the leaders and the induced learned helplessness of followers become exposed. The situation is no longer between one individual and another but sits within the whole system—the dynamic field of the organisation.

2.5 Women, men and the leadership agenda

The underlying dynamics of men and women working together must be a consideration when researching leadership, particularly when studying social and cultural unconscious forces. This is not to discount the wide range of interweaving layers of diversity in corporate life that bring a divergence of attitudes and beliefs to leadership, but gender diversity sits beneath them all, affecting everyone. Collinson (2005) states that 'Since leaders and followers are inherently gendered beings, the dialectic between men and women, masculinity and femininity is an inescapable feature of leadership dynamics' (p. 1431). This simple and relevant point is not taken seriously enough in leadership practice. Whilst Collinson raises a number of important issues for concern, he associates masculinity with being male and femininity with being female. *Male* and *female* are biological assignments, while *masculine* and *feminine* are social and cultural assignments. Yet Collinson does not acknowledge that women can and do demonstrate practices that are culturally attributed as masculine, and men can and do demonstrate characteristics that are culturally attributed as feminine. The result of this is a complex interplay of biological and cultural that has only recently come into focus in leadership studies (Koenig et al., 2011)

Gender diversity is generally studied as a side issue in leadership research: that is, as a concern for and about women rather than an integrated feature of leadership where both men and women are on the stage. An exception to this is the research carried out by Baxter (2010), who analysed linguistic data from senior management meetings. Her study included both men and women; nevertheless, the outcome of her study had greater implications for women's leadership than for men's. Baxter particularly showed how women use 'double-voiced discourse' (Bakhtin, 1994, cited in Baxter, 2011) as a strategy for either survival or success within a challenging male-dominated business environment, a practice that men generally do not engage in. Where gender is researched in the context of leadership, the focus is usually on women, not how men and women co-create leadership, nor how leadership is shaped by gender diversity, but how women struggle to climb the management ladder, and when they reach senior positions, how to stay there. Double-voiced discourse highlights one facet of how women are different from men with regard to how they unknowingly 'monitor and regulate their use of language' and 'adjust what they say

in the light of their colleagues' concerns and agendas' (Baxter, 2011, p. 231). Baxter showed that women, far more than men, manage and modify their language in this way. To add Ladkin's earlier question to this concern, 'What is the phenomenon of leadership?' brings a different perspective to the table when women engage in certain leadership activities such as double-voiced discourse. Even though women and men have their differences in leadership, gender studies are skewed towards women, not how men and women co-create leadership. Gendered attitudes, stereotypes and behaviour are deeply rooted, but are not commonly acknowledged in this way. The politics of equal opportunities has taken centre stage whilst masculinised and feminised practices sit quietly in the shadows, overshadowed by the equal opportunities agenda.

In a bid to address misplaced perceptions of performance by girls and women, Walkerdine (1994) illustrated how deep these roots go. Attending to both educational and workplace performance for girls and women, she explained how 'discursive production of femininity [is] antithetical to masculine rationality to such an extent that femininity is equated with poor performance, even when the girl or woman in question is performing well' (p. 58). Asserting that women's power is constantly threatening male academic superiority, she concludes that any engagement with these issues 'cannot rest upon a rationalistic base of choice or equal opportunities' (p. 68), calling for 'a politics that refuses to split the psychic from the social' (ibid.). In other words, the dominant politics of equal opportunities falls short of addressing male-female differences at a deep psychosocial level. In leadership, this concern has not yet been taken on board in any significant way, but it is likely to be deeply rooted in the underlying dynamics of leadership, showing up in a variety of ways. Research shows the extent to which women find themselves in precarious senior positions (Ryan and Haslam, 2005; Ryan et al., 2007), where many women are either set up, or set themselves up to fail. According to Ryan et al., women fall into this trap by believing they have to prove themselves, or are set up by men who provide less than adequate resources and decision-making power to do the job well. It seems that men and women fall short of understanding and valuing their differences in leadership.

One such difference was discovered in a study of women leaders (Huffington, 2004), which showed how women feel constrained by their perceptions of the leader role. Huffington argues that, 'It is as if the idea of a leadership role is deconstructed as too constraining of the creativity, individuality, and autonomy leaders need' (p. 61). In

an earlier study by Coffey et al. (1999), women reframed leadership for themselves as being more about containment that encourages creativity, freedom to explore, self discovery and lively interaction between people and the organisation. These studies raise questions about differences in the way men and women think about leadership. Do women intuitively think about leadership in a broader, more socially sensitive way, compared to men who think about the leader role more traditionally or mechanistically? What is in our cultural history that influences the way in which men and women think about leadership? Are women more aligned with collaborative ways of working in leadership than men, and can they therefore offer a contribution towards thinking about leadership from a relational perspective? These questions highlight the need in leadership studies for greater attention to be given to differences in how leadership is understood and practiced, by both men and women. A contribution to leadership theory, within the wider frame of this thesis, is to consider social, cultural and collective layers that unknowingly differentiate and influence the way in which men and women engage in leadership. Furthermore, to consider gender issues in leadership, not just as an issue for women, but for men and women together.

2.6 Concluding thoughts

Whilst leadership research can become positioned in a more integrated and meaningful way, the premise of this study is that leadership as it is practiced today needs to be more fully understood before any attempts can be made to develop a new leadership pedagogy. Recent trends suggest that leadership is becoming recognised as a complex concept, even though the focus on the leader-follower concept persists in many sectors. New perspectives on leadership, such as distributed and relational theories, bring with them a range of perspectives to which this thesis can contribute. Of particular interest here are the 'relational, contextual and systemic understandings' (Borgatti and Foster, 2003, p. 991, cited in Fitzsimons et al., 2011) of relational-systemic theory (Fitzsimons et al., 2011), where social phenomena are recognised as an integral part of the processes and practices of distributed leadership. Although it is not an aim of this research to investigate organisations that intentionally operate a distributed leadership model, it is assumed that social systems, relational practices (of many kinds) and networks are an inevitable characteristic of all organisational functioning. Furthermore, that these social systems carry hidden layers, influencing leadership behaviour in a way that is not in awareness. The phenomenon of

leadership from this point of view invites a research process that uses the (subjective) data of people in their day-to-day experience of leadership, whilst at the same time acknowledging that leadership activities emerge in a complex web of social interaction.

Chapter 3

DYNAMIC FIELDS, ARCHETYPAL FORCES AND CULTURAL INFLUENCES

There is an intimate link between cultural phenomena—belief systems, symbols and cultural values—and the functioning of organisations and societies through social interaction (Fariss, 2011). Leadership systems and organisational functioning are therefore greatly influenced by cultural norms. We cannot look within organisations, teams, groups and individuals to fully understand leadership without studying cultural practices that influence leadership, because leadership behaviour is rooted in belief systems and cultural values that underlie social interaction. Yet cultural phenomena have often been overlooked in organisational and leadership studies (Schein, 1996b). This chapter discusses three conceptual frameworks and literature, each offering a different window into understanding underlying dynamics of leadership—the generative forces that are not in the control of conscious intention. The first is field theory, developed by Kurt Lewin, which is a way of understanding underlying 'forces' that are unknown but present, and which contribute to the way leadership manifests situationally. The second discusses the ideas of Carl Jung and the collective unconscious. This may seem an unusual addition to leadership research, but having studied the ideas of Jung, the concept of the collective unconscious as a field dynamic of leadership offers an original and relevant perspective to consider. Where the work of Lewin is able to explain that underlying dynamics are at play, Jungian ideas are able to explain a collective perspective of what and why dynamics may be at play, linking the one and the many. The third theoretical contribution draws on the ideas of Emile Durkheim and Pierre Bourdieu, offering insight into the relationship between the one and the many from a sociological perspective.

3.1 Lewinian field theory

Until 1947, Kurt Lewin's ideas on field theory were met with much enthusiasm, but after he died, field theory lost its edge and fell out of favour. Lewin's concept of field theory became consumed by two different paths of interest. On the one hand, field theory established some roots in Gestalt therapy (Perls et al., 1951); on the other, it influenced the work and ideas of the Tavistock Institute and group relations. In Gestalt therapy, only recently has field theory re-emerged and grown, informing organisational thinking (Gaffney, 2010; O'Neill and Gaffney, 2008; Parlett, 1991). On the other path, field theory became infused with a wide variety of psychoanalytic disciplines and systems theory in the Tavistock Institute (Armstrong, 2005; Gould et al., 2004; Haslebo and Nielson, 2000). Organisation and leadership studies have been naturally disposed towards systems thinking, fitting the masculinised ethos of our time. As a consequence, the more abstract nature of field theory has had very little chance of gaining ground in corporate life. Yet, both systems theory and field theory have something to offer leadership in their difference. Systems theory creates structures and reference points, whilst field theory provides an understanding of dynamic processes between people. Systems theory clarifies boundaries, roles, hierarchies and transactions, whilst field theory helps to understand energy, dynamics and abstract influences. System is structure, whilst field is dynamic process.

Lewin developed the notion of 'field' by emulating physics in mathematical language. His well known formula of $B = f(P, E)$, meaning that behaviour is a function of the person in their environment, was at the centre of his work on field theory (Lewin, 1951). Unique to Lewin's sociological perspective was the impact on human interaction of the physical environment. As it stands, Lewin's mathematical way of describing field theory is not particularly helpful to this research. Rather than a strictly objective position, which suggests that there are clear lines of influence between the person and their environment, what is needed is a modification of the notion of dynamic field, one that gives prominence to underlying influences. A more useful definition for this study, derived from Lewin's topography, is:

A dynamic field occurs through social interaction in context, where an ongoing flow of exchanges and emergent outcomes are influenced by both known and unknown forces at the time.

Lewin described 'forces of a field' as positive and negative valences—energy forces that move people to behave in a particular way. Forces of this kind are not causal or mechanistic, but are properties that coexist and interact. This distinction is important to this thesis in determining influences that are neither predetermined nor causal. Lewin presented his topological psychology and sociology as a 'method' that explained how forces in a field are dynamic and those dynamics can be explained through a range of underlying principles. The relevance to leadership is that field theory is able to explain the emergence of leadership acts, organising dynamics that shape and reshape leadership, the inter-relational processes between the individual and the system, and the powerful impact of forces that are out of awareness but present to the situation.

In terms of leadership, the role, the individual and the situation are seen as interacting forces that influence. On the one hand, there are leaders who seem to imprint themselves on an organisation: Steve Jobs, co-founder of Apple Inc., was an example of this. On the other hand, the majority of organisations do not have such iconic leaders; instead, leaders become shaped by social forces and influences from within the organisation (Schein, 2006; 1992), as there is an interplay between the system and the individual. Field theory straddles this bifurcation, enabling a shift in the way that we think about leadership, from a focus on the individual and leader-follower to leadership as a function of the organisational community. What field theory offers is to invite thinking about both the individual and the system in a different way. For example, a systems (structural) view may describe leadership as socially constructed through relationships in the system (Griffin, 2002). Field theory would not rule this out, but would suggest that leadership is an outcome of the constellating field, becoming figural within the context of the system in relation to its needs. Whether this is about the individual or the system is defined by what is being observed.

Kurt Lewin's ideas on field theory have influenced organisational work at the Tavistock Institute, Ashridge Business School and Gestalt practice in organisational learning and development. Yet Lewin's ideas on field theory have, over time, become overshadowed by systems theory (Haslebo and Nielson, 2000; Campbell et al., 1994) and complexity theory (Stacey, 2001; Battram, 1999). Where field theory has maintained an influence is in Gestalt practice in organisational development (Gaffney, 2010; Critchley et al., 2007).

3.1.1 'Field' as an Ontology

The notion of 'dynamic field' begs the question of what is meant by 'field'? The concept was based on a straightforward idea—that a person and their environment are mutually dependent on each other, and 'have to be considered as one constellation of interdependent factors' (Lewin, 1946b, p. 240), also referred to by Lewin as 'life space'. He proposed a similar formula for groups and social systems, where the life space of a group 'consists of the group and its environment as it exists for the group' (Cartwright, 1951, p. xi). The totality of coexisting facts (or factors) which could be 'conceived of as mutually interdependent' (ibid.) is the basis of field. The full complexity of what that means lies in the multitude of influences within a field at any given time.

Lewin used the terms 'field' and 'life space' synonymously (Staemmler, 2006), but post-Lewinians (Gaffney, 2010; O'Neill and Gaffney, 2008) have differentiated between them, arguing that 'field' is an epistemological point of view which can be understood as a way of perceiving the world: a unified field that can be understood through a set of underlying principles (Parlett, 1991). Meanwhile, 'life-space', an ontological term, is a way of describing the emerging moment of the individual in their environment, through their subjective experience. O'Neill and Gaffney (ibid.) clarify how 'a person has a life space at the same time as the person is of the person/environment field' (p. 230). In other words, when you are observing an event you are part of it, not separate from it, and therefore cannot see the whole field, only that which you are part of from the standpoint that you take. To use leadership as an example of this, a person might experience a different sense of leadership (agency) 'in respect to her own life space than in respect to the field of which she is a

contributing force' (ibid., p. 231). When leadership is understood as a property *of the field* rather than *in the field*—it occurs as a consequence of a multitude of interconnecting factors.

An example of this is the *leaderful moment* (Ladkin, 2010), a moment of change, a shift taking place that has occurred through social interaction that is either direction-giving or direction-finding. This occurs not because a person is in a leader role, but through a meeting of a multitude of interdependent influences, which in today's language could include role authority along with personal authority, generative dialogue between people, perceptions, assumptions, values, cultural beliefs, social pressure, knowledge or experience, to name a few. The leaderful moment is of the field (emergent): an outcome of the interaction as a result of a wide range of interdependent factors. The act of a leaderful moment may then be followed by further leaderful acts, by the same or different people, constellating into what could be described as leadership in a unified way—like film frames, when put together, they tell a story. How the emergent moment was described at the time is ontological, and filtered through the observations and perceptions of the researcher—the researcher's life-space. This is particularly important to appreciate in research, where reflexive journaling can provide important data about the researcher: in the Ladkin example, why she sees what she sees in that way. (The subject of reflexivity in research is further discussed in Section 3.3, and this research in Section 5.2.3). It is then recognised that the researcher is not separate from the research, but an influence in the field, especially in qualitative studies.

The terms 'emergence' and 'emergent' are rooted in both complexity theory (Griffin, 2002; Stacey, 2002) and field theory (Lewin, 1938). Emergence is both simple and complicated. In its simple form, it does not exist in the past or the future, but arises in the moment of the flow of social interaction (Griffin, 2002), in context, just like the 'leaderful moment' described above. As such, emergent outcomes cannot be predetermined; neither can they be recreated from past experience: they are not controlled, predicted or managed (Seel, 2006). A complicated side arises because what emerges in the moment is shaped by what is known, as well as what is not known but present and an influencing force at that time. What is out of awareness can be both personal and cultural. Leadership can be understood in this way, not in the conventional terms, but influenced by underlying patterns that are constantly emerging and shaping the leadership in any given moment. Changing patterns make

leadership complicated to understand. For example, leaders may have influence in their absence. One such case was Greg Dyke, Director General of the BBC from 2000 to 2004, who affected employees throughout the whole organisation when he was there, and whose influence continued after he left. His attitude towards valuing employees and building a culture strong on relationships and connectedness permeated throughout the organisation (conversation with a senior manager in the BBC prior to interviewing him for this research, 14/10/2008). The learning from his approach continued after he had gone, with people inspired by the results that he was able to achieve.

There is an argument that life space (an ontology) and field theory (an epistemology) can both be considered at the same time. As a general principle of social science research, Crotty (2003) proposes that:

... ontological issues and epistemological issues tend to emerge together ... each theoretical perspective embodies a certain way of understanding what is (ontology) as well as a certain way of understanding what it means to know (epistemology). (p. 10)

This point can be illustrated through narrative in conversation, where talking about a past experience (telling a story) is ontological, and making meaning from that story is epistemological - where both can happen at the same time. The particular value to this research will be in meeting people who are involved in leadership, as the study of leadership experiences will provide insight at three levels of understanding: past experiences and how these became organised (i.e. did they become organised around a theme that was not apparent to the person at the time); the perspective taken of that experience in the present moment; hints and suggestions of hidden forces that influence their current experience of leadership.

3.1.2 Principles of Field Theory

There are two core principles of field theory, conceptualised by Lewin (1938) and more clearly defined by Parlett (1991), that are relevant to this thesis: the Principle of Organisation and the Principle of Contemporaneity. The Principle of Organisation can be thought about in terms of layers, where surface needs are what people are addressing and know, but underneath are valences, or energy forces, that

influence what happens on the surface. These layers are likely to be well-established patterns, personal, social and cultural. For example, the ways in which we engage in gendered interactions emerge from a complex interplay of cultural forces and personal attitudes that converge in social experience. These forces are largely out of awareness at the time.

The Principle of Organisation is based on dynamic patterns of behaviour. A study by Streatfield (2001) in which he explored the ordinary experiences of employees in a large pharmaceutical company asked 'who, or what is in "control" of an organization?' (p. 3). He was interested in a number of themes, one of which was 'dynamic pattern formation' (ibid.), being patterns of meaning that emerge through conversation. He concluded that without attention to the present, where emergence exists, organisational activity is driven by the past (analysis of patterns from the past) and the future (prediction based on patterns from the past). The point that Streatfield makes is that as long as attention is on the past and the future, the present is ignored, because it cannot be controlled in the same way. However, the present exists, not as a 'point through which an organization passes on its way from the past to the future, but a living process of communication' (p. 130). In the present moment managers, leaders and employees are endlessly creating the movements of an organisation into its future through moments of interaction, through conversation, gesture, and interconnected actions. The moment is continuously becoming organised and reorganised through social interaction.

The complexity of the organising field becomes more apparent when forces that are out of awareness are taken into account. In leadership, people are generally aware of authority, power, roles and gender diversity, but are less likely to be aware of the ideologies, cultural beliefs about leadership, social attitudes and historical blueprints that also influence everyday interaction. Furthermore, Lewin included the physical environment as an influence. He made it clear, however, that there are many objects in the immediate locality that have no influence at all on the outcome of interactions. Yet, Lewin insisted that only conditions in the present can explain experience. He defined this through the Principle of Contemporaneity (Lewin, 1938, p. xiii), which takes into account past events and future expectations. Post-Lewinian Gold (1990) explains how past events are more than the past brought into the present as explanation, but how 'the precipitate of that event into the contemporaneous situation is the effective causal factor' (p. 72). He further explains that the 'precipitate

has likely been affected by intervening events' (ibid.) and therefore is not a replica of the original event. Field theory is less interested in the past event than in how that event is represented in the current situation.

What is out of awareness in Lewin's field view, yet has an impact on life space, is not easy to grasp when seeking to understand leadership. The question is how to discern forces that are affecting outcomes when the nature of field appears boundaryless, as distinct from systems, which tend to have much clearer boundaries. Lewin argued that to talk of field as having boundaries misses the point of what field is, and yet a field does not include everything. To overcome this problem, he used the term 'boundary zone' of the life space, 'where certain parts of the physical and social world do affect the state of the life space at that time' (1951, p. 57). Lewin was referring to processes such as perception and action, which interact with physical and social boundaries. He went on to explain that there is a grey area on what is an influence and what is not, which cannot easily be defined. Rather than breaking down observations of an event into parts, Lewin was more interested in studying the whole situation:

Whether or not a certain type of behaviour occurs depends not on the presence or absence of one fact or of a number of facts viewed in isolation, but upon the constellation (the structure and forces) of the specific field as a whole. The 'meaning' of the single fact depends upon its position in the field; or to say the same in more dynamic terms, the different parts of the field are mutually interdependent (ibid., p. 130)

Shifts and changes that occur depend on the constellation of forces at the time of an event, rather than single forces separated out. To understand any situation therefore means to understand the different forces that are in play. In leadership, this might include the extent to which people have freedom to act, along with personal confidence to act, how that person believes they are valued by their peers and the situation that is pulling people together. In a research interview on leadership, this may include deference by a participant towards the researcher, self confidence in a role as a leader, trust between the participant and the researcher, experiences that the

participant might have had with researchers in the past, as well as experiences of the researcher with leaders. Although it is not possible to take everything into account, it is possible to consider significant influences that are affecting a situation.

Early in the development of field theory, Lewin (1944, 1943) exemplified only a few influences that exist in a psychological environment, such as needs, motivation, mood, goals, anxiety, ideals, perception, and emotional forces such as frustration. Using frustration to illustrate a further point, he argued that field theory is as much concerned with what frustration 'is' as with its effect (Lewin, 1944, p. 35). Cartwright (1951) explains how in his later years, Lewin continued to broaden his understanding of the range of influences (beyond the psychological) that might be considered as influences. He recognised the complex nature of social interaction and the interdependence of a wide range of what he called *causal factors*, where causal factors might be known or unknown. Cartwright (ibid.) emphasised a growing appreciation of a wide range of causal factors, stating that 'The recognition of the necessity for a fair representation of this multitude of interdependent factors is a step in the right direction toward field theory' (p. 44), and continues to grow today. As a consequence, Lewin and post-Lewinians have been interested in *awareness* as a process for addressing, managing and understanding field forces. In this sense, what is out of awareness is different to what is unconsciousness. An explanation of this difference follows.

3.1.3 The difference between 'out of awareness' and 'unconscious'

Stern (2004), like Lewin, was interested in *the present moment* and what constituted a moment. He argued that 'for an experience to qualify as a present moment, it must enter awareness or some kind of consciousness' (p. 122). Furthermore, he explained the difference between awareness and consciousness. His differentiation is useful here:

Awareness concerns a mental focusing on an object of experience. Consciousness refers to the process of being aware that you are aware, or meta-awareness. (p. 123)

He showed that consciousness in these terms is a self reflective process. The question then arises, what is unconscious? Stern argued that *the unconscious* should be solely reserved for the Freudian meaning of repressed material and the defences attached to

it. To note at this point, the views of both Jung and Bourdieu offer a different perspective. Jung presented the conscious and unconscious as complementary opposites that create a whole (expanded in Section 3.2). Bourdieu, on the other hand, considered the unconscious to be forgotten information from the past (discussed further in Section 3.3).

In order to differentiate *out of awareness* from *unconscious*, Stern drew on the work of Bollas (1987), who studied what he described as the *unthought known*. Bollas was particularly interested in implicit knowing. Like Stern, he developed a great deal of understanding through working with children, where his aim was to help children re-live experiences through language 'of that which is known but not yet thought' (p. 4). In this case, the unknown does not refer to repressed material but to material that is accessible but not considered, not brought into awareness. As Stern explains, 'the implicit is simply out of awareness, whereas repressed material is unconscious' (ibid., p. 116). Of interest to this study is the *unthought known*, which includes the 'vast array of knowing that everyday social life is based upon' (ibid., p. 117), things that people know but do not consider, particularly cultural influences on leadership and the wide field of unnoticed dynamics that play out in organisations.

The term *out of awareness* will be used throughout this study to refer to this vast array of possible influences that are not considered, but are accessible and can contribute to greater understanding and meaning-making when brought into awareness. The term *unconscious* will be used, and defined, where there is a specific meaning, such as in Jungian thought and in the ideas of Bourdieu.

3.1.4 Summary of Lewinian Field Theory

Lewinian field theory focuses on the phenomenological subject, looking as if from inside one's head outwards, to understand the experience of a person's sociological life space. Following this theory strictly, we can only describe, not explain events and how different combinations of forces or sets of valences occur in different ways. For example, women might experience leadership quite differently to men in an organisation, but Lewinian field theory does nothing to explain why gender difference exists, what deeper forces may be at play, or how these valences are communicated in daily leadership practices. Furthermore, Lewin's concept of field theory has been criticised for its lack of understanding of influences that are not in the

head of the individual (Martin, 2003): that is, valences that are external to the individual and are part of the context. Context might include social and cultural influences as well as the physical environment.

To understand sociological influences, we look elsewhere, to the ideas of sociologists Émile Durkheim and Pierre Bourdieu, which are discussed in Section 3.3. Prior to that, the ideas of Carl Jung and the collective unconscious are discussed in the context of identifying deeper underlying forces that can exist in a field: in this case, hidden forces that influence the way leadership manifests.

3.2 Carl Jung and the Collective Unconscious

The concepts and ideas of Carl Jung are wide-ranging. The usefulness of his ideas here is deliberately confined to investigating underlying *collective* influences that can inform an ontology of leadership. These influences carry some parallels with Lewinian field theory in that they are not in themselves causal, correlating with the notion of a dynamic entity, a property of the dynamic system (Jones, 2007, 2002). Topics covered include the *collective unconscious* and its link to social and cultural practices, *compensatory* processes, the difference between stereotype and archetype and the role of *myth* in leadership. The aim is to argue a case for Jung's theory of the collective unconscious as an important contribution to developing a better understanding of the complex layers that underlie and influence organisational leadership from a collective rather than an individual point of view, a perspective not previously considered.

3.2.1 The collective unconscious and archetypes

Jung's main theory is based on the idea of a *collective unconscious* in a different way to social and cultural theory, whilst at the same time playing a part in the forming and reforming of culture. *Collective* in this sense means common to all humanity, where the collective unconscious exists beneath the personal unconscious as deep layers of patterning, which Jung called *archetypes*.

Archetypes are deep structures, not directly knowable, whereas archetypal images are knowable and observable. Archetypal activity manifests through dreams, images, myth and art, which varies across cultures depending on each particular culture and its history (Rowland, 2010). Different cultures will therefore express archetypal influences in different ways, whilst common patterns or themes across

cultures can be identified, such as heroic figures in stories and mythology, some of which have been passed down through generations—stories are different but the pattern of the heroic image can be detected.

In Jungian theory, archetypes are structuring patterns linked to instincts, but in themselves are not instincts. Archetypal forms are 'pre-existent' (Jung, 1959 [1968], para. 90), and 'present always and everywhere' (ibid., para. 89), meaning that they are always present in everyday experiences. A description by Jones (2003) usefully clarifies this, where she positions instincts as 'source' and archetypes as 'its mirror reflection' (p. 623) in a way that it is 'difficult to reduce archetypes to instincts' (ibid.). Another way of looking at archetypes was described by Samuels (1989) as a 'filter that is always in place, colouring or otherwise influencing what is seen or experienced' (p. 25). He explains that 'there is a sense in which the filter is the experience, or in which the experience is dead without the filter' (ibid.). What is important to understand is that although archetypal patterns underlie everyday experiences, they are not in themselves knowable. They become evident through their manifestations and projections, in images, art, drama, fiction, poetry, metaphor, myth, ritual, custom, dreams and philosophy. With this in mind, the idea that there might be a 'leader archetype' would miss the point. The point to be made here is that archetypal patterns exist which contribute to the manifestation of all kinds of leadership acts within the dynamic interactions and interrelatedness of a system and can offer some explanation of why people act in the way that they do. Jung differentiated between the personal (held within a person's life span and life experience) and the collective (the context in which the individual lives their life and develops identities), linking the one and the many through the collective unconscious.

The collective unconscious refers to an intrapsychic world that is available to everyone. Post-Jungians have usefully developed a better understanding of the relationship between the intrapsychic and society (Hauke, 2005; Jones, 2003; Rowland, 2002; Samuels, 2001, 1993). Although his focus was mainly on the individual, Jung understood clearly the dialectical relationship between the individual and society. He linked the archetypal with the sociological through external influences (Jung, 1960 [1969]), proposing that:

Social, political and religious conditions affect the collective unconscious in the sense that all factors which are suppressed by the prevailing views or attitudes in the life of a society gradually accumulate in the collective unconscious. (para. 594)

Jung went on to suggest that this process, this relationship between the sociological and the collective unconscious, is directly related to shifts in cultural attitudes. The connection he made was that suppression activates archetypal patterns (a compensatory process, discussed in the Section: 3.2.3), which over time people intuitively become aware of. They then begin to translate their associated intuitions into 'communicable ideas' (ibid.). With parallel changes taking place in the unconscious of other people, a readiness occurs and cultural shifts begin to take place. Jung did not perceive this as an easy transition, and stated that new ideas which oppose prevailing attitudes often meet with what he describes as 'violent resistance' (ibid.). The notion of cultural shifts can offer a view of the difficulties highlighted by Fletcher (2004) in attempting to embed new leadership practices throughout an organisational system—shifting from conventional ways of working (heroic) to new leadership practices (postheroic). It might offer insight into how change naturally occurs when systems are out of balance.

3.2.2 From stereotype to archetype

The difference between the sociological and the collective unconscious can be understood as the difference between archetype and stereotype, where archetype may influence stereotype, but not the other way around. An epistemology and ontology based on archetypes is different to one based on stereotypes in that it considers instincts, wholeness and myth as meaning-making aspects of the individual and the collective. Where archetypal patterning is rooted in the body-mind relationship, stereotypes are rooted in social constructs and learned perceptions. Archetypal patterns endure over centuries because they express the exact nature of dilemmas that 'can be lost sight of through the process of retelling and transmission' (Pratt, 1981, p. 4). Furthermore, archetypal patterns become symbolised in different ways in different cultures, whereas stereotypes change over time and across cultures.

Archetypal forms bring with them another form of collective energy that can influence the way in which leadership is enacted, that is *cultural complexes* (Singer and Kimbles, 2004; Kimbles, 2000). Cultural complexes arise as positive or negative collective identities and could be construed as a form of stereotyping. The reason for including this concept here is to add a perspective on two particular concerns in leadership—gender difference and leader-follower. Cultural complexes may offer an explanation of underlying patterns associated with these concerns.

First an explanation of the term. Jung empirically showed how positive and negative patterns that become established in life can act as powerful influences: these he called complexes, maintaining that all complexes carry an archetypal component (Jung, 1969 [1960], pars. 194-219). Complexes are a hidden dynamic in the relational field between people, but unlike archetypes, can be partially brought into awareness. Where personal complexes are particular to an individual and rooted in their life history, cultural complexes refer to culturally embedded patterns, rooted in the historical life of the culture (Singer and Kimbles, 2004; Kimbles, 2000). Cultural complexes and identification with the polarities that are characteristic of them are largely unknown until brought into awareness. Out of awareness, they create distorted perceptions of reality that go unnoticed. Kimbles (2006) maintains that ‘we are all swimming in cultural complexes all the time’ (p. 106) and we only know them when something occurs that disturbs the norms or activates the polarities.

Cultural complexes impose constraints on the perception of difference, or accentuate them, emphasising either identification with the group or differentiation from the group. These dynamics establish a sense of belonging or alienation. For instance, it is reasonable to assume that a solitary woman on an otherwise all-male Board of Directors, if not valued for her difference, either becomes similar in her ways of working to the common practices of the men (i.e. masculinised), seeking a sense of identification with the group, or feels the isolation and identifies with her own minority position. When an imbalance occurs and builds into a cultural complex, distorted and projected views prevent the ‘other’ group from being seen for what it really is; the ‘other’ group becomes invisible and its members undifferentiated—i.e. all men in senior leader roles are characterised as *heroic* by senior women who see themselves *as postheroic*. On the other hand, each group’s perception of itself is not of vulnerability but the opposite, of power, strength and solidarity, providing a ‘simplistic certainty about the group’s place in the world in the face of otherwise

conflicting and ambiguous uncertainties' (Singer and Kimbles, 2004, p. 21). People then act 'as if' their perceptions are true, projecting their beliefs out onto the social world as a reality.

By way of contrast to cultural complexes, *cultural identity* brings with it conscious acts which people are proud of, identifying with a nation, group, race, religion. People carry an empathetic sense of the 'other'. Singer and Kimbles (ibid.) describe how affect is the signature of a cultural complex, which helps to distinguish it from cultural identity. They make this distinction on the grounds that cultural identity carries a sense of freedom, whereas intense collective emotions are the constraints of an activated cultural complex. (pp. 6-7). According to Singer (2009):

... a group with a unique cultural identity that is not in the grips of a cultural complex is much freer to interact in the world without being prey to the highly charged emotional contents that alter perception and behavior. (p. 3)

Singer explains that cultural identity can be overtaken by the affect of a cultural complex once a cultural complex is activated. Rigid polarising brings with it an 'us and them' attitude, along with an inflated sense of righteousness or a deflated sense of inferiority in contrast to others.

The question here is to what extent leadership is unknowingly impacted by cultural complexes. Is there an affect which comes about through the superior-inferior polarising of leader-follower? Do women feel invisible? Studies suggest that for women, this is the case (Howell and Shamir, 2005; Russell, 2003; Fletcher, 1999). The question of cultural complexes and leadership is complicated, partly because organisational leadership is not about 'a society' or 'a race', but about 'roles', a concern that Kimbles and Singer do not discuss. On the other hand, at the heart of cultural complexes is identity, and it may be here that the core of understanding can be found.

Breaking free from a cultural complex means recreating identity, but what is leadership identity? Is this problematic when attempting to break free from a leader-follower paradigm? Is identity missing for women in leadership? Leadership pedagogy is not set up to address such deep concerns, but maybe it is time that it did.

Split archetypes and roles

In a different way to cultural complexes, Jungian analyst Guggenbühl-Craig (1971) explained a theory concerning roles, from an archetypal perspective. Like cultural complexes, his ideas illustrate deep underlying patterns that influence the way people interact. With an interest in unconscious forces that emerge between roles, he proposed that polar relationships, such as the teacher-student, doctor-patient, counsellor-client, are split archetypes, where the inner powerful and powerless, that is the intrapersonal dynamics, become externalised in the relationship. He explains how polarities of an archetype constellate in a relationship between two people at the same time: for example, repressed power may become projected onto another, giving that person more power than they legitimately carry. In leadership, the split in power manifests in an imbalanced leader-follower power relationship. This is illustrated in statements such as:

It is often stated that the essence of leadership is followership and that without followers there can be no leaders. (Collinson, 2006, p. 179)

The new theories also recognize the importance of symbolic behaviour and the role of the leader in making events meaningful for followers. (Yukl, 1999, p. 33)

In both statements, actions are unidirectional, from leaders towards followers.

From an archetypal perspective, there is a binding quality in split archetypes that hold a powerful underlying force. In his explanation of split-archetypes, Guggenbühl-Craig (ibid.) describes this binding quality as archetypes that have two poles. He proposes that without one of the poles, the other doesn't exist: without pupil the teacher does not exist, without patient the doctor does not exist. In this context, that would mean that without a follower, the leader does not exist—as illustrated by Marturano (2010) (see Chapter 2). Put another way, the poles are two aspects of the same archetypal patterning. In a polarised relationship, one exists because of the other, not separate from it: 'When one pole is constellated in the outside world the inner and opposite pole is constellated as well' (ibid., p. 89). This creates an underlying tension that is not usually in people's awareness.

The qualities carried in the polarities initially exist as inner patterns, which then are projected onto the outer world, the implication being that we all have these patterns of potential within us, for instance our potential to exhibit both leader and follower. This concept recognises that many people who hold leader roles in the hierarchical layers of an organisation, are also followers in the same organisation. According to Guggenbühl-Craig, heightened energy arises from polar relationships when there is an imbalance of power, and repression develops. He suggests that where one pole is repressed, the repressed part of the archetype becomes projected onto the outer world. To apply this to leadership, if a person represses their own leadership potential, they may unconsciously project this onto a leader, and over time, rely on the leader for leadership without acknowledging their own leader capabilities: they take comfort in their role as follower. On the one hand lives the powerful and prestigious leader, on the other is the subservient follower. This archetypal split then becomes lived out in the world. In the business world today, efforts are being made to encourage empowerment by managers and leaders towards their 'subordinates'. Yet, empowering others in itself is antithetical: in many cases, the behaviours that go with empowering are the opposite to what is needed, as the powerful become more powerful and the situation remains unchanged.

Guggenbühl-Craig's study of split archetypes offers a compelling hypothesis for considering leader-follower dynamics that underlie and sustain the conventional leadership paradigm. As an archetypal split, it is unlikely that people will make sense of that split for themselves, other than through the various processes mentioned earlier, which can bring insight—cognitive-based learning does not provide an adequate platform for this. Where one-sidedness attitudes become extreme, Jung identified how compensatory processes come into play that are not through conscious intention (Jung, 1969 [1960], para. 488).

3.2.3 Compensatory processes

The psyche is a self-regulating system that maintains its equilibrium just as the body does. Every process that goes too far immediately and inevitably calls forth compensations, and without these there would be neither a normal metabolism nor a normal psyche. In this sense we can take the theory of compensation as a basic law of psychic

behaviour. Too little on one side results in too much on the other. Similarly, the relation between conscious and unconscious is compensatory. (Jung, 1954 [1966], para. 330)

Hauke (2005) holds Jung up as a 'genius' (p. 27) in presenting the unconscious as a complementary opposite to consciousness, and in identifying *compensatory* phenomena as an attempt by a system to re-establish equilibrium and wholeness—a form of self maintenance. With the unconscious as a complementary opposite to consciousness, the unconscious compensates when the system is out of balance—faulty attitudes to reality activate a compensatory process in the unconscious. There are similarities here between the notion of compensation and Lewin's idea of the Principle of Organisation, discussed in Section 3.1.1, where hidden dynamics organise and reorganise the situation all the time. It was the unconscious side of being whole that particularly interested Jung; he discovered that bringing unconscious material into consciousness (through dreams, myth, art) enabled a greater sense of wholeness and balance to be achieved. Otherwise compensation occurs unconsciously, sometimes bringing with it dramatic and disruptive consequences. Hauke posits that 'For Jung, this is not only an individual need but a vital need for contemporary western culture overall' (ibid.). Gray (1996) offers an explanation of how this works at a wider cultural level. Starting where the imbalance is most experienced, a compensatory shift takes place and moves out into society, where the compensatory effect is then experienced by people who may not otherwise have been affected by the original imbalance. Gray (1996) explains:

Jung understood that any behavior not fully grounded in an instinctual system is doomed to disappear. He saw the archetypes as motivating forces, whose satisfaction was inherently reinforcing and whose frustration brought forth systemic compensations ... (p. 279)

At an individual level, compensatory shifts are recognised largely through dream images and body symptoms where a question might arise: 'What conscious attitude does this dream image/symptom compensate for?' At a wider societal level, a system out of balance might be observable through an endeavour to fill in the gaps created by convention through symbolic action that takes a different position,

symbolism that appears through analogies and brings attention to *another* position (Samuels et al., 1986), expressions through imagery in everyday myth such as 'the glass ceiling', symptoms that are widely experienced, such as stress-related illnesses, projection, especially through imagery, and in extreme forms, violent revolution. Tensions in the system will be noticeable because 'The standpoint of unconsciousness, being compensatory, will always be unexpected and appear differently from the point of view taken by consciousness' (ibid., p. 33). Symbolism and symbolic action in Jungian terms is 'an intuitive idea that cannot yet be formulated in any other better way' (Jung, 1930 [1966], para. 105). The role of myth and everyday myth offers a way of understanding how the unconscious is finding expression.

3.2.4 The role of myth

Particular to the relationship between the unconscious and consciousness is the role of myth, where myth is a form of language that enables participation in the unexplored in which true expression is achieved. Myth, therefore, is not an idea that can be created through intentional action, but a phenomenon that arises through social interaction over time. Jones illustrates the relationship between the intrapsychic and culture by connecting body and experience with culture; she shows this through an expressive process. Her proposition is that what then constellates in culture is myth, but that process is not in our awareness, just the manifestation of myths as they arise. An example of this in leadership is leader-as-hero (Western, 2008; Binney et al., 2005), where the image of leadership is rooted in everyday hero myth. Although Jones clearly places the map of myth-making as one that could be active outside of Jungian ideas, the implication is that it can reflect an archetypal process. An illustration is provided by Olsson (2000), a lecturer and writer in gender studies who investigated the theme of myth associated with women in management:

Women in management are marginalised by the continuing pervasiveness of heroic masculinism, the traditional and hierarchical form of management, which depicts executives as solitary (male) heroes engaged in unending trials of endurance. This theme of leadership as archetype is strengthened through official organisational myths and

stories which function as vehicles of communication management to support organisational goals and to provide role models for aspiring executives. (p. 296).

Although the idea of 'leadership as archetype', as implied by Olsson, is debatable and is not supported in this thesis, the point here is that a better understanding of myth and myth-making could carry both epistemological and ontological benefits in leadership learning and leadership in practice.

As Segal (2004, p. 2) explains, 'There is no study of myth as myth', but we can begin to understand the processes of myth, why and how they arise and their function, and then why and how they persist (ibid.). Segal suggests that myth arises through need, which then becomes repeated functionally in fulfilling certain needs. An example of this in the last decade has been for women in leadership and the myth of the glass ceiling, which provided a meaningful image and story that women could jointly and individually relate to. On this basis, myth is story that is culturally established, and can be connected deeply to phenomena, stories that capture ideology and symbolism in a way that is meaningful and can be held up as a mirror for personal and collective insight—in Jungian terms, bringing into consciousness that which is unconscious. For example, there are many myths that portray the hero as a leader or the leader as hero, where people identify with the hero or with certain characters in the storyline. Arguably that is one of the functions of hero myths—for the development of leadership identity. Personal and cultural identities can be fulfilled through myth in this way. Yet hero myths are based on masculinised ideologies. A concern that arises in leadership is that there is a lack of feminised myths that connect women to leadership, not a lack of myths that are meaningful in terms of the feminine, of which there are many (Gilligan, 1982; Woodman, 1992).

Myth is a vehicle through which archetypal patterns become available for meaning-making. Unlike stories that carry imaginative fantasies, myth with an archetypal root has a social function (Jones, 2007). Quoting Malinowski, Jones gives prominence to the social function of myth:

Myth is "not an idle tale, but a hard-working active force . . . not an intellectual explanation or artistic imagery, but a pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom."
(Malinowski, 1971 [1926], p. 19, cited in Jones, 2007)

The significance in leadership is the myths that people live by and identities that they relate to. Myths are not merely accounts of people's experiences but a consistency of patterns over time that carry deep meaning, an emotional ground and a mirror for reflecting identities. These processes are largely outside people's awareness yet impact daily life, whilst the role of myth can be a useful meaning-making tool.

3.2.5 Summary of Jung and the Collective Unconscious

There is a strong case for including the particular Jungian ideas mentioned here in this thesis. Where Lewinian field theory is able to provide understanding about *how* underlying dynamics influence leadership in practice, Jungian ideas are able to offer some insight into *what* might be going on in depth. Leadership has largely been absent from Jungian studies, and Jungian studies have largely been absent from leadership studies. It is hoped that the limited yet significant concepts presented here can contribute to new thinking in leadership through this study.

3.3 The one and the many of Durkheim and Bourdieu

There is an intimate link between cultural phenomena and social interaction, where deeply held beliefs and cultural values permeate through economic systems, political systems and the functioning of organizations (Robertson, 1992). As such, cultural beliefs, values and attitudes are an intricate part of our meaning-making processes, informing social practice and norms of social communities. The beliefs and values that give meaning to leadership are deeply embedded in our culture. This thesis argues that leadership cannot be understood through personal and inter-relational practices alone. Although the work of Lewin provided an understanding that unobservable influences are at play in social dynamics, his ideas did not extend to the influences of the deeper layers of culture and cross-cultural differences. Culturally established practices call for a different kind of learning in order to create significant and sustainable change. This thesis is concerned with deeply embedded cultural values and beliefs that underlie leadership.

The ideas of social scientist Pierre Bourdieu will be drawn upon to provide a way of understanding culturally embedded practices relevant to leadership. In particular, the concepts of *social fields*, *habitus* and *doxa* are explained to provide insight into how behaviour is shaped by culture. These concepts are then applied to

leadership. The work of Durkheim, whose ideas influenced Bourdieu, will first be discussed to understand the link between the one and the many, and how cultural practices underlie relational dynamics.

3.3.1 Émile Durkheim: the one and the many

Intrigued by the idea of a collective mind, Émile Durkheim coined the term ‘conscience collective’ to mean shared beliefs, moral values, symbols and ideas that act as a unifying force within a society (Durkheim, 1971). What he noticed was that groups, communities and societies carry wholeness, each with laws of its own but with overlapping and embedded belief systems, as well as with separate and highly differentiated characteristics. Durkheim was specific about what this meant: it was not to be mistaken for a collective form of individual conscience with a rationality that the term implies today, but was a process of implicit beliefs and values that are learned through socialisation. These he called social facts (Durkheim, 1982), a theory of collective consciousness which looked beyond studies of social interaction and behaviour, sowing seeds for understanding how cultures form and differ. This is useful for understanding how organisational cultures differ as well as how they are influenced by a wider belief system concerning leadership

Relevant to this study is that Durkheim made a link between the collective and the individual in two ways. First, a person can act as an individual within the implicit norms of the collective, but to try to live individual beliefs and values different to that of the society in which the individual lived would lead to isolation. For field theory, it could be assumed that there are forces which lead people towards a sense of belonging in the workplace and that these forces will have an impact on leadership, and that communities, societies and organisations can achieve much more than individuals alone are able to do, with the individual carrying within them elements of the whole. There is a convergence towards belonging and commonality, rather than a divergence resulting in isolation and disparate worlds.

The relationship between the one and the many is important to the study of leadership. Until now, leaders have been studied greatly for their inherent capabilities and what this can teach us - the charismatic leader, the great leader, ‘are leaders born or made?’ (Kets de Vries, 2003). Little concern has been given to tacit learning from cultural wisdom and the extent to which the individual embodies a knowledge about leadership through their cultural upbringing. This kind of learning becomes exposed

through the theories of Durkheim, who particularly pointed to implicit learning as values, beliefs and attitudes passed on through socialisation, rather than through explicit teaching. That this learning and implicit knowing is part of the glue that forms and maintains a culture in its wholeness, fits with the ideas developing in this research. Before the work of Lewin, Durkheim believed that these particular components of a culture act as a background ‘force’ that influence the way people behave collectively and individually. For Durkheim, culture is shaped through shared values, beliefs and attitudes within a society; it is not fixed, but is created and re-created through an ongoing dynamic process of interaction between people within the community, through people joining the community and through people leaving the community. That leadership is learned and passed on through beliefs held in the wider culture becomes self-evident when considering Durkheim’s theory. Yet, the value of implicit leadership learning appears to have become lost in the growth of leadership development.

Today it is commonly understood that small groups which form within larger communities establish their own particular sub-cultures based on beliefs and values particular to those groups, as well as carrying values and beliefs from the wider communities in which they exist. Smaller communities moderate and adapt beliefs and ideas from the wider culture, suggesting that cultural beliefs are not as fixed as Durkheim suggested. This is especially recognised in organisational studies (Hofstede, 1996; Schein, 1996a) where beliefs and attitudes surrounding leadership are rooted in the wider society as well as influenced from within the culture of an organisation. Findings from the major GLOBE study of sixty-two societies in cross-cultural leadership (House et al., 2004) demonstrated this point. Focusing on individual leadership behaviour, they showed that certain implicit leadership theories, such as charismatic leadership and transformational leadership, are universal. With this individual focus, the GLOBE study was based on a leader-follower attitude, which was not questioned as a way of thinking about leadership. This understanding of leadership is so ubiquitous that it almost ‘goes without saying’.

Durkheim developed a framework of cultural classification, which he called *collective representation* (Durkheim, 1971), identifying component beliefs, symbols and attitudes of a social group that provide meaning for that group, as well as differentiation from other groups. He argued that collective representations ‘depend upon the way in which [the group] is founded and organized, upon its morphology,

upon its religious, moral and economic institutions, etc.’ (cited in Lukes, 1973, p. 436), taking into account the social conditions and social context of the group. What Durkheim alluded to was how we shape our world and establish belief systems through a shared process that is not deterministic. We seldom notice these processes developing collective meaning over time and living out collective representations in ways that are commonly accepted as everyday reality. It is therefore assumed in this thesis, that the extent to which people live out collectively established beliefs and attitudes associated with leadership, are out of awareness.

Collective representations may express collective sentiments, ideas and symbolic objects that give a society or a community its identity. In today’s terms, for a subculture such as an organisation or corporation, the symbolic representation would be the ‘image’ that the organisation establishes, where the logo is symbolic of the organisation’s identity and its culture. In leadership, it may be the ‘image’ of leader that acts as a symbolic object. What can be drawn from Durkheim’s notion of collective representation for this study is to consider leadership as a representation, where people act ‘as if’ there is a common understanding of leadership.

The ideas of Durkheim offer some explanation of collective adherence to the ‘as if’ of leadership, and how implicit beliefs might be a force underpinning leadership. What the concept of collective representation lacks is a more dynamic, process-based theory which respects change and transformative shifts, and can explain hidden dynamics such as gender imbalances in leadership. To find this, the work of sociologist and anthropologist Pierre Bourdieu is discussed, considering three particular concepts that he raised: field, habitus and doxa. Like Lewin, Bourdieu was interested in the idea of dynamic fields, but his concept of fields was different: his focus was on a collective perspective. He considered a dynamic view of social and cultural patterns, offering a way of thinking about ‘fields’ from a broader sociological perspective than group dynamics. Of interest to this research are aspects of social fields, habitus and doxa.

3.3.2 Bourdieu: social fields, habitus and doxa

For Bourdieu, a social field is bounded by the people who inhabit that field and live according to its social structures. As in Lewinian field theory, a social field is an organising process, but Bourdieu saw fields as being much broader than group dynamics: he saw them as structured systems made up of social relationships such as

large and small organisations, institutions, clubs and groups. Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) entertain the idea of organisational position-taking in the wider economy, and organisational habitus:

... position-takings on the part of an organization must always be understood, not as the self-expressions of a singular actor, but rather, as compromise products of a whole complex of negotiations and contestations unfolding over time within that organization *understood as itself a field*. (p. 19)

Organisations and businesses therefore are never solely driven through self interest, but according to the interests and different positions that it occupies within a particular field. As a consequence, the internal structures and social system of that organisation are impacted by this.

A person may live in a number of different social fields, such as their place of work, family systems, education systems and so on, whilst at the same time, some of these fields may intersect. Bourdieu developed his idea of fields to include embodied structures of the social world, which he called *habitus*—a collective phenomenon where internalisation of social structures is acquired over a lifetime. Recognising that in a given situation an individual brings their personal history, preferences, dispositions and social class, he believed that habitus contributes to the formation of structures which organise perception and meaning-making activities. Throop and Murphy (2002) usefully define habitus as 'an internalized structure or set of structures (derived from pre-existing external structures) that determines how an individual acts in and reacts to the world' (p. 186). They explain that in this way, regular practices, perceptions and attitudes become generated, without them being consciously governed by rules. Grenfell and James (1998) offer a description which accentuates the relationship between the individual and the collective meaning-making world: 'Human action is constituted through a dialectical relationship between individuals' thought and activity and the objective worlds' (p. 14), where the *habitus* of an individual's activity exists within the context of a social *field* which the individual contributes to and is influenced by. Habitus is thus a manifestation of the relationship between the individual and the social world, not merely a product of the social world. To that which is taken for granted, or goes without saying, he ascribed the term *doxa*.

That habitus exists out of awareness, or is unconscious, is relevant here. Bourdieu defined unconscious as:

The "unconscious" is never anything more than the forgetting of history which history itself produces by incorporating the objective structures it produces in the second natures of habitus. (Bourdieu, 2007, p. 79)

Quoting Durkheim, he goes on to say:

'in each of us in varying proportions, there is part of yesterday's man; it is yesterday's man who inevitably predominates in us... Yet we do not sense this man in the past, because he is inveterate in us; he makes up the unconscious part of ourselves. Consequently we are led to take no account of him, any more than we take account of his legitimate demands' (ibid., p. 16)

The unconscious in this sense is not repressed material, as in Freudian terms, but is implicit and embodied but out of awareness, both socially and individually carried.

With his attention to *field*, Bourdieu caused a shift in understanding, through his theory of processes of influence and social capital (prestige, credibility, status, role) where it is 'the processes that define the nature of, and assign value to capital that must be understood' (Lynam et al., 2007, p. 30). The social capital of leadership is the assigned value to the leader-in-role, which carries prestige and credibility in today's business world. Even though the value of the social capital attributed to the role of leader varies from one organisation to another, the leader role is highly prized in the workplace. Much of the time processes of influence take place out of awareness, such as how the employee meets the boss and how the boss meets the employee according to socially established values. As Bourdieu (2007; 1990b) points out, this assignation of social capital is largely taken-for-granted, which could explain why it is difficult to see beyond the highly prestigious title of leader and the position that non-leaders take as followers.

Bourdieu was fascinated by this kind of implicit power imbalance, which he ironically called 'symbolic violence', and described it as a 'gentle violence' of paradoxical submission (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 1) where the dominated are complicit

with the domination. He further contended that where an imbalance of power relations is transformed, the transformer of power will change the rules to their own advantage and benefit (ibid.) As such, symbolic violence is concerned with influences of power and social domination within cultures (Bourdieu, 1992), where the term 'symbolic' in this context refers to a meaningful pattern or belief that is acted upon. Bourdieu was particularly interested in the way people collectively conform to hierarchical structures of domination and subordination within their culture: powers that seem to lie outside of 'consciousness' and the controls of will. In other words, the repression of non-dominant classes seems to be taken for granted. Far from seeing it as overtly 'violent', Bourdieu linked symbolic violence with symbolic power, in that a collusion with and toleration of an imbalance of power occurs. The following examples of two different organisations illustrate more clearly how symbolic violence plays out in practice in organisations:

Example 1

[An] example of symbolic violence can be found in the large corporation, where work is highly structured—one works 8 hours a day, 5 days a week, 50 or so weeks a year—and where remuneration is highly unequal—executives earn orders of magnitude more money for, perhaps, only a proportion more effort and responsibility. Yet, workforces by and large accept this; they are complicit in this structure and this inequity, adhering as they do to the (Protestant) ethic of work and the (American) myth of merit. (Everett, 2002, p. 67)

Example 2

Marks and Spencer's employees and other stakeholders have colluded with a culture of symbolic violence in their toleration of bullying. (Rippin, 2005, p. 591)

In his study of Bourdieu's work in the context of organisations, Everett (ibid.) offers an encompassing summary linking habitus, doxa and symbolic violence:

Doxa, composed of language, of the axioms, postulates, categories, labels, and binary oppositions constitutive of the common sense, structures the habitus. This habitus is the

generative principle of action, one that is mistakenly thought to originate “inside” the social agent, one that convinces the agent that all of his or her interests are “real,” rather than illusory....Where the actions motivated by the habitus are rooted in doxa and where they lead to an unequal distribution of capital there is symbolic violence: the symbolic domination of the dominant, a domination that implies the complicity of the dominated. (p. 69)

In this way, Everett helps us to understand the extent to which doxa, habitus and symbolic violence are not singular concepts that explain social interaction, but a sophisticated web of interconnections that provide a way of understanding culture and why cultural change can seem slow.

For Bourdieu, symbolic violence is directly associated with symbolic power and privilege. He understood the *symbolic* in social systems as codes that channel deep structural meanings shared by all members of a culture (Bourdieu, 1992). For example, hierarchies serve as systems of domination in which social ranking is symbolic within the system. The symbolic in this sense is a dynamic process of interrelatedness. It is not a fixed entity and not a linear structure, for example, where the function of power in organisational systems operates through the many social relations that exist. Furthermore, Bourdieu was clear in his theorising that language, and the language of the symbolic, should not be studied in isolation, but investigated as an element of the *field* in which a study is taking place. Applied to leadership, that means studying organisational leadership as situational, not isolated from the context in which it occurs.

Symbolic violence is not a single act of one person against another; it is a force that is in the social field. What stands out in this idea is the complicity of domination by the dominated, a situation that is taken for granted, lived as though that is how it is. In this way, symbolic violence can be understood through the leader-follower dyad and its imbalance of power, of leader as hero, leadership as unidirectional, and the complicity of followers that is taken for granted. Through symbolic violence Bourdieu 'accounts for the "hold of the patriarchy", the persistence of forms of male domination in contemporary Western societies' (Le Hir, 2000, p. 135). He explained this as the dominated contributing to their own domination, where

complicity is deeply embodied and the dominated accept their own condition as legitimate. Bourdieu particularly illustrates this in his book, *Masculine Domination* (Bourdieu, 2001) through a study of Kabyle society in the 1960s, where he shows how women become acquiescent to masculine (male) domination. Critics of his study have argued that:

Masculine Domination is not primarily concerned with analyzing the exercise of masculine power, but rather with analyzing women's apparent acquiescence to it. This often puts Bourdieu into the position of seeming to lecture "victims" of domination about their complicity in their own victimization. (Wallace, 2003, p. 3)

Bourdieu's use of the term 'masculine' in this context seems more aligned to being male than to culturally assigned attributions associated with masculinised ways of working. Furthermore, Le Hir (2000) argues that despite a seeming resemblance to theories of oppression that blame the victim, Bourdieu is different. She believes that symbolic violence is not about reinforcing domination as inescapable, but serves as an analytic tool to identify such situations as a 'preliminary step towards elimination' (p. 136). Le Hir is optimistic: she argues that where Bourdieu's ideas are perceived as antithetical to social change, this is unjustified.

3.3.3 Summary of Bourdieu

Bourdieu offers a perspective for understanding deeper layers of leadership and underlying influences that shape leadership in organisational life. The leader-follower paradigm is an example where social capital is assigned to the leader and goes without saying. It is symbolic. Additionally, symbolic power is carried through the relational activities of an organisation, where the role of leaders carries status, as does seniority. The heroic leadership paradigm carries both social capital and symbolic power, and that is taken for granted.

The notion of *fields* adds another layer to the underlying dynamics of leadership, where social fields become established. Norms and values are established *by* people and *within* people at the same time. Organisational fields by their nature are multi-dimensional structures of power, where history is embedded in the present, and

power is established and carried symbolically. To understand the dynamic layers at this level means recognising the symbolic, mythic and metaphoric language of leadership.

3.4 Concluding thoughts

All three perspectives discussed here offer ways of making sense of social, cultural and collective forces that impact and influence leadership in practice. Lewinian Field theory has much greater depth than Lewin himself suggested in his time—that the situational dynamic field and the way that it becomes organised not only carries in it the inter-relational dynamics and physical influences of that event, but also carries within it deeper, archetypal layers (Jung) and attributes of the wider cultural field (Bourdieu). An original feature of this thesis lies in the exploration of underlying dynamics of leadership through these three perspectives. The research question to be addressed is:

What underlying social, cultural and collective influences contribute to the way that people engage in organisational leadership?

The aim of this question is to develop a better understanding of the deeper layers of leadership in practice, aspects of leadership that are not fully understood and yet play a part in the way that people act and give meaning to leadership in their work. To answer this question it is proposed that a methodology is developed which draws on stories of people's experiences of leadership. The following three chapters describe a narrative based methodology that can achieve this: Chapter 4 explores narrative research as an approach for investigating this question, Chapter 5 describes the design and research method, and Chapter 6 presents the results.

Chapter 4

A CASE FOR NARRATIVE RESEARCH

A methodological problem in ethnographic studies is how to obtain data when much of the data is not directly observable and is out of awareness: how to study what is not seen, what is obscured by current thinking, current mindsets, current practices, what is taken for granted, but nevertheless exists and contributes to leadership as it is lived. While psychoanalytic methods have been more popular in leadership research, studying the unconscious as repressed material in both individuals and systems (Long, 2013, 1998; Hinshelwood and Chiesa, 2002), this study was not interested in material that is repressed, but in material that is out of awareness and accessible. This is an important distinction, particularly when making links to leadership development, as learning and insight from these different perspectives are achieved in different ways.

A further consideration here is that the study of both the cultural and the archetypal are in one sense similar. They call on symbols, metaphor, imagery and patterns that people embody and express to make meaning of their lived experience, where the symbolic context is rich in feelings, not dry and lifeless. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) usefully illustrated, metaphor and imagery are infused in social interaction, interwoven with the mundane, everyday tasks and activities that powerfully obscure the symbolic layers of life experience.

Two different methods for researching leadership phenomena of this kind were considered. One uses narrative research, where the layers within narrative could be investigated for hidden values, beliefs, attitudes and tacit learning associated with leadership. The other uses focus groups, where people could be observed whilst exploring the subject of leadership, and where 'unnoticed' behaviours and conversation could be brought into question and explored in the light of cultural attributes. Both have their value: for example, the focus groups could incorporate an action research dimension developed by Lewin (1946a), with the immediate dynamic field as an aspect of the investigation, whereas the narrative approach offered an

opportunity to investigate social interaction through stories of leadership experiences. These could provide accounts of a person's life-space experience at a particular time, offering two layers of data to consider—how the past precipitates in the present (Gold, 1990) and how it becomes meaningfully conveyed in the context of the interview setting. Both approaches would involve reflective processes, where reflection would be considered a core requirement of the research because of its strength in involving 'the creation and elaboration of metaphor' (Krantz, 2013, p. 38). Additionally, both approaches demand a reflexive component from the researcher, a practice that Bourdieu considered essential to research in the social sciences (Bourdieu, 2004), as discussed in section Section 5.2.

A decision was made to approach this study through narrative research. One reason for this was that one-to-one interviews would not be open to the influence of other people other than the interviewer within the research context. Secondly, real life experiences carry layers of meaning and these could be developed and expanded in a one-to-one situation.

4.1 What Narrative Research is and what it is not

One reason why narrative research is a useful methodology is that narrative is a naturally occurring social phenomenon (Riessman, 2008; Atkinson and Delamont, 2006; Clandinin and Connelly, 2000) in which culture 'speaks itself through an individual's story' (Riessman, 1993). Lucius-Hoene and Depperman (2000) explain that at the heart of any narrative identity is its social foundation. 'Life stories mirror the culture wherein the story is told ... stories live in culture' (McAdams, 2008, p. 246). Social lives are naturally created and re-created through storytelling (Abbot, 2008; Clandinin and Connelly, 2000). We tell stories all the time as part of everyday interaction, describing and sharing experiences. Embedded in shared stories are hints of life in the roots of collective experiences: attitudes, beliefs, assumptions, prejudices, archetypal patterns. Stories are a natural quality of *life space*, which means that participants would not have to 'do' anything that might be unfamiliar. In this research, that would be advantageous on two counts. Stories can be drawn out in a limited timeframe—for many people in leadership positions, the time available for a research interview will likely be limited. Second, engaging a familiar process will

contribute to trust-building between the participant and the researcher, which supports a more intimate sharing of experiences and an increased chance of eliciting meaningful stories.

Similar to the discussion in Section 3.1, Freeman (2002) addresses a concern about confusion or misunderstanding in the use of the word 'unconscious'. In an attempt to overcome this for his own purpose, he describes the 'narrative unconscious' (p. 1) as 'that which has been lived but which remains unthought and hence untold' (ibid.). Freeman addresses the role of historical memory: that is, cultural and sociological memory, which goes beyond the life of the individual and is held within the narrative of the individual but not necessarily 'thought'. He states that 'Memory exceeds what we can know of it' (p. 204). In a similar way Bourdieu argues that 'conscious is never any more than the forgetting of history which history itself produces by incorporating the objective structures it produces in the second natures of habitus (2007, p. 79). He goes on to say:

...it is yesterday's man who inevitably predominates in us, since the present amounts to little compared with the long past in the course of which we were formed and which we result. Yet we do not sense this man in the past, because he is inveterate in us; he makes up the unconscious part of ourselves (ibid.).

In narrative research, every story told is likely to carry memories that are not yet thought, which can be associated with the bigger life narrative of that person's cultural history.

Working with material that is out of awareness, unconscious and embedded in narrative cannot be treated lightly. Following a psycho-social study, Hollway (2001) explains the complexity of 'adducing evidence when the research question involves understanding the unique meanings that underpin someone's symptom' (p. 21). She argues that research and practice can work well together. For her, it was calling on the knowledge of a psychiatrist through which to expand the meaning of data, particularly surrounding the interactions between the interviewer and the participant. Although her subject matter was fundamentally different and more intimately sensitive than the topic of leadership, there is a principle here that is relevant. What do the researchers bring to the research and what is missing in practice that could

support the research? For this I bring my own expertise as a practitioner of Field Theory, Gestalt and Jungian practices, as well as a reflexive approach to the research (see Section 4.2). Of particular value is knowledge and experience in Field Theory and Gestalt for the interview process.

The difference between narrative and story

Often used interchangeably in the social sciences (Riessman, 2008), the two terms, *narrative* and *story* can lead to confusion. Abbot (2008) brings some useful clarity to this issue. He proposes that *narrative* consists of two components: 'the *story* and the *narrative discourse*' (p. 238). Story is the telling of an experience, an event from the past, told in the presence of others. Narrative discourse is how a story is conveyed, as the same story can be told in many different ways. This is not a fictional story such as a fairy story or myth, although it may carry fiction in it. What narrative research is interested in is life story or stories about people's real life experiences and events. Many of these stories are told as an integrated part of everyday conversation. These may be long and autobiographical or short and informative. The following short story was interwoven within a longer conversation with the participant about leadership and women. The whole conversation carried much explanation and argument, but the following story stood out:

He was evil, he used to bawl and shout at me ... He said I wasn't very good at my job, and I really didn't like that because I knew that I was and other people told me that I was. He made me re-do three months of my scheme and I had to go to another shop to do that ... I worked my socks off - but what was great was that the staff on the department worked with me and they really wanted me to run the department. They felt good about it and so did I. And at the end of the week he [the senior boss] said 'she's running the department' ... the real pleasure of that was that he [the bully] was wrong! (Taken from an interview with Anika, a participant in this research)

This extract has few words but conjures up a picture: it is an event that is told with pride and passion, carrying emotion. Shortly after telling this story, Anika reflected on this event, saying 'the learning for me was, you can only be a bully if you have a victim'. This is part of the narrative discourse associated with the story, and helps us to understand her position today in telling her story.

The story illustrated above offers a great deal of information in a few words and demonstrates how narrative can offer a useful agency for inquiring into what is out of awareness. What is noticeable in the story is domination through bullying, succeeding through involving staff and sticking with it until things have changed. An interpretation from a cultural perspective might be:

A male manager bullying a female member of staff (the use of symbolic power—Bourdieu); determination to succeed by the woman and not let the bullying win, incorporating feminine ways of working through the support and involvement of staff and helping them feel good about themselves (which could be interpreted as embodied archetypal feminine, Jung).

What is particularly relevant in this brief example is the infusion of emotions in the story, as well as the expressed emotions at the time of telling it.

Aristotle argued in his *Poetics* that tragedy (story, mythos) contains both events and emotions. Although his argument differentiated tragedy (showing) from narrative (telling), this study will use these same factors of event and emotion to indicate an identifiable story. Gabriel (2000) followed a similar line, describing how narratives are constructed around specific events and re-told through stories that emphasise a point; he stresses that accuracy becomes relaxed in the interest of making that point (p. 136). These terms will be used here in a similar way, with *story* referring to the 'telling of an experience from the past', *narrative discourse* (or just *narrative*) to the construction of facts and information about an event—how the story is conveyed—and *narrative research* as the research methodology that encompasses both.

4.2 Gathering and Analysing the Data

There are a number of design considerations to be addressed for a narrative methodology: What kind of stories, big or small? Are they gathered for their content or as a function of social interaction? How can the fictional in narrative be managed whilst gathering meaningful data? How to tap into the hidden and unseen? These topics are addressed in this section, followed by an exploration of the role of the researcher, the interviewing process and researcher reflexivity.

People tell stories differently in different ways. Some people love to tell many stories about themselves, others less so; some tell long and detailed stories, others short and to the point. This diversity is part of the rich character of narrative research where the telling of stories is interwoven with narrative and non-narrative dialogue. It is assumed in this research that participants will have a number of different stories to tell of their leadership experiences. Yet life story has conventionally been the main interest of narrative research: what are the implications of this?

Bamberg (2006) introduced the idea that big stories (life narratives) and small stories (stories that make up part of conversation) both provide useful data for research, each playing a different role. He argues that small stories in conversation play a functional role:

Placing emphasis on small stories allows for the study of how people as agentive actors position themselves—and in doing so become positioned. (p. 3)

He further enriches the small story concept to include ‘narrative practice’ as ‘narratives-in-interaction’ (p. 15) where small stories surface in everyday conversation. He explains how this navigation process within human interaction ‘relies heavily on culturally available symbolic tools’ (p. 8). Although Bamberg does not explain what he means by ‘culturally symbolic’, this point is particularly relevant to this study. If the culturally symbolic is interpreted as patterns, motifs or icons to which people give value and meaning, then leadership in its many forms is likely to carry culturally symbolic meaning in everyday interactions (Schein, 1992) in small stories.

An in-depth interview with women leaders by Coffey (1999, cited in Huffington, 2004) illustrates how semi-structured interviews carried views, opinions and embedded short-range stories of experiences, all of which provided data for their study, where stories formed part of the data but not all of it. By comparison, biographical studies of life experiences are concerned with personal life story (Riessman, 2008). The latter specifically focuses on drawing out a biographical storyline, defined as a big story or life narrative (Bamberg, 2006), whereas conversational exchanges may carry stories within them that fall into a category of small stories or short-range stories—the approach taken in this research. Having established that small stories are the focus, the next question is ‘Are they needed for their content or for their function in social interaction?’

A strength of narrative research is that it offers a methodology that inquires into both personal experiences and experiences of social interaction (Abbot, 2008; Clandinin and Connelly, 2000; Czarniawska, 1997; Riessman, 1993). Clandinin and Connelly strongly advocate that story telling is the best way for understanding experience within our social world. Telling stories helps to make life meaningful: they are a way of reporting to others the twists and turns of everyday experiences and of meaning-making. Furthermore, stories are emotionally lived as they are exchanged. With this in mind, a decision needs to be made as to whether the research questions are addressing functions of social interaction (that is where the exchange of stories is studied) or stories of social interaction (Atkinson and Delamont, 2006; Hollway, 2001; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). For example, studying functions of social interaction may reveal how the exchange of stories influences the way that leadership is lived, whereas stories of social interaction are studied for their content (Gabriel, 1998, 2000), such as the positioning of the storyteller within the narrative, as illustrated earlier. Although both are of interest in researching leadership, a decision to focus on story content in this study is based on the assumption that the hidden or unseen can be better identified. This assumption is based on the discussion at the beginning of this Chapter on the value of narrative research.

A preference here is data collection through natural conversation, as opposed to stories directed by and elicited by the researcher; a free flowing conversation on leadership, in which stories are invited as part of that conversation. As Lucius-Hoene and Depperman (2000) explain, a dialogical approach of this nature gets close to a story as experientially lived, rather than the participant telling the story that is

directed towards an audience: in this case, the researcher. An advantage of this is that 'dimensions of identity that are often neglected in a story-centred approach' (p. 220) are included, whilst at the same time the potential exists for new meanings to be made by the participant in real time. What is important in this research is to engage with participants so they feel that their offering is important, that the conversation is about them and not about the interviewer. The value of this approach is to bring the meaning of stories told into the interview situation and to allow them space to expand.

Meaningful data - true or not?

In support of narrative practice in leadership, Drath (2001) proposes that:

If the analytical mode is especially useful for solving problems and making decisions, the narrative mode can be especially useful for making sense. Where the analytical mode takes things apart, the narrative mode tells about how things hang together. (p. 160)

Yet, narratives are seldom a true account of what happened in the past and yet they are still meaningful. Fictional components of story arise through co-created imaginative exchange in the telling of stories as people interact. In field theory, a narrative is of the field, not in the field—as a narrative is told, it is an outcome of a number of interacting factors that contributed to a person telling their story in that way. The content is then acted on as though what has been told carries a truth. Through narrative, we selectively include and exclude information from the original event; we embellish, compromise accuracy, create ambiguities and focus on incidental details that are fitting to the story told in the context of that event. The question is, does this pose a problem with 'accuracy' in research?

Researchers report that the telling of a story in narrative research is not about accuracy of an experience as it happened in the past, but how that incident is held in the life story of the storyteller, how it has become embodied and how it is told in the presence of the researcher (Bamberg, 2011; Riessman, 2008; Abbot, 2008; Todres, 2007; Clandinin and Connelly, 2000). The embodiment of a story means that it has become integrated into a person's life and therefore is meaningful. Clandinin and Connelly (ibid.) state:

In narrative research, people are viewed as embodiments of lived stories. Even when narrative inquirers study institutional narratives, such as stories of school, people are seen as composing lives that shape and are shaped by social and cultural narratives. (p. 43)

They differentiate between formalistic (theory-based) inquiry and narrative research, positioning storytelling as a 'transient agency' rather than an orderly static state, adding that 'what one is exploring and finds puzzling, change[s] as the research progresses' (p. 73). Despite the impermanent nature of storytelling Hollway and Jefferson (2000) maintain that it 'stays closer to actual life-events than methods that elicit explanations' (p. 32) such as questionnaires.

There is a further twist in the telling of stories which is not widely discussed in narrative research. That is, the multiplicity of meaning (Smythe and Murray, 2005) and plurality of perspectives that a story holds. Rather than singular accounts of an event or experience, there are many perspectives; what is told and how it is told depends on the context and influences in the field at the time, such as the emotional state of the participant, the situation, and the relationship between researcher and participant.

Narratives with multiple perspectives

Does it matter that stories of people's experiences are one perspective in a landscape of many, and that one perspective may carry multiple meanings, depending on how and when a story is told? In this study, taking a holistic view of story means that stories bring with them layers of meaning from whatever perspective is taken: the story is the agent for the deeper material. Drawing on the ideas of field theory, attitudes and beliefs are rooted fairly firmly in the now and a story from the past will be influenced by a person's current reality. It is the current reality that this research is seeking to understand: how a story has become embodied and is lived in the current life of the individual. This notion is supported within narrative research where Bamberg (2011) suggests:

... narrating in interaction is not necessarily bound by previously held positions, convictions, or beliefs (though it may), but is open to negotiation. As such, the actual theme or content of what is being told is dependent on the interactive situation in which narrating takes place. (p. 17)

It is highly likely that multiple perspectives told by the same person around the same point in time would carry similar attitudes, values and cultural learning on the subject of leadership, even if stories told are different. An example of this is positional power (Harré and van Langenhove, 1999), a dynamic approach to understanding positioning between people in social exchange. With organisational leadership infused with positional power—that is, power gained through role authority rather than personal authority—positioning acts in leadership practice are expected to be present in stories of leadership experiences, as well as in the case study. This may be explicit through role authority, or hidden, becoming noticeable through symbolic expression. Both Harré and van Langenhove (*ibid.*) and Clandinin and Connelly (2000) describe how the position taken by the storyteller in relation to other people in the storyline reveals the positional power of characters in the story. Information of this kind provides useful data concerning the field dynamics at the time of the event, but in narrative research a consideration that must be made is that the telling of the story is in real time: the lens through which a participant is telling their story can only be through real time, in their current life-space, and influenced by their world view at the time of the interview. They may have held a number of different perspectives on the same story over time.

4.2.1 The role of the researcher

Qualitative methodologies generally recognise that the researcher is, in one way or another, implicated in the research process. However, there are differences in the extent to which the researcher is seen as co-creating the research with the participant (Lucius-Hoene and Depperman, 2000), as opposed to being a witness (separate from yet guiding the participant) of the research findings. In view of this, interviewing using a narrative methodology calls for a number of considerations by the researcher:

- a) The aim of the narrative interview, i.e. is it calling for a big story or small stories?
- b) How might the researcher be implicated in the research?
- c) Noticing emerging themes.
- d) Managing boundaries.

The task of the interviewer in this research is to elicit stories: not just any stories, but stories about leadership experiences. These are not intended to be biographical life stories, although stories about personal life may emerge. They are about events concerning personal experiences of leadership, which, as mentioned earlier, is different to the main tradition of narrative research that has focused on studying self identity through autobiographical stories (big stories). Lucius-Hoene and Depperman (2000) believe that 'the person to whom the story is told [is] a co-author of the narrative product, whether she may actively intervene or not' (p. 202). The interviewer is not and cannot be separate from the storytelling process and what is then told, as a process unfolds between the participant and interviewer. It is co-created. As already mentioned, this view is in accord with field theory, described in Section 3.1. As Lucius-Hoene and Depperman explain, even though the interviewer may act as an unobtrusive listener, they are still communicating by paying attention, understanding, reactions and non-verbal responses to keep the interview and story going. Furthermore, the interviewer's questions contribute movement to the direction of the story telling. A final point that they make is the positioning of the participant towards the interviewer and assumptions and fantasies being made about the research.

In this study, there is value in eliciting stories through a conversational interview. It means holding a theme of leadership and inviting the participant to talk about their past and present experiences of leadership. This makes gathering stories 'intentional' rather than stories happening by chance (Schachter, 2011). Small stories then become insertions in the conversation. There is a skill in this: the aim for the researcher is to elicit stories in a way that is meaningful to the participant and ignites their interest: something they want to tell rather than what they 'should' tell. With this in mind, narrative research can be a messy process, not straightforward, where story (with its emotion), narrative discourse and non-narrative become interwoven.

4.2.2 Interviewing

Narrative research is a form of qualitative interviewing where there is freedom in the interview situation to describe meaningful experiences, and where the research focus is on people and their lives rather than on questions and answers developed by the interviewer. Interviews, by their nature, 'are interactional events, not artificial social encounters' (De Fina, 2009, p. 237) and should be treated in that way, but that is not always the case. Many interview methods are driven by the interviewer, where the interviewer selects the topics and themes, orders the questions and wording of the questions, and creates the processes (Bauer, 1996). A qualitative interview of the kind suggested here, co-created between the interviewer and the participant, can result in a deeper understanding of social phenomena (Silverman, 2001). Narrative research is distinctive on three important features:

- a) attention can be on people, on the narratives of the life experiences, or both (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000; Riessman, 2008);
- b) the data gathered draws on a natural and active process in which people construct their world (Murray, 2003);
- c) the meaningfulness of experiences embedded in stories told can be analysed (Josselson, 2004).

Data that is out of awareness and deeply rooted cannot be explored in the same way as observable data. The question is, how can narrative research reach down to the unknown? Hollway and Jefferson (2000) achieved this in a psycho-social narrative study, researching the fear of crime, by using what they describe as Free Association Narrative Interview (FANI). Although their psycho-social study was based on psychodynamics, aimed at accessing repressed material, aspects of their interview method can inform a methodology for this study. Through a process of trial and error, they reached a situation where they realised that the 'Gestalt' of a story carried a great deal of information in it, more than breaking the story down into parts. Furthermore, when they approached the interview with the Gestalt in mind—that is, that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts—it opened up a freedom within the interview process that had not previously been there. They state that 'we gave ourselves permission to explore themes that may have been significant through their absence' (p. 44), which meant at times asking for further stories to illustrate themes that had arisen. They explain that this approach became beneficial in a number of

ways, one of them being that participants warmed to the interviewer because 'they had an experience of being paid attention to' (ibid.), building trust and resulting in data that was more personal and meaningful. They highlight the importance of the role of the interviewer in the production of data, where the interviewer would appropriately use 'I' rather than generalising through 'we', as a way of building rapport.

Taking a Gestalt approach to interviewing is consistent with Lewinian field theory, where the field becomes self organising around underlying themes. In a Gestalt-based interview, the interviewer is aware of this process and 'tunes in' to the field dynamics, which inform the inquiry. For example, if a topic arises that seems to be pertinent to the research but is skipped over by the participant, there may be good reason to return to it. Or, if the participant seems to be deferring to the interviewer, rather than telling their own authentic story, then this can be addressed. At another, perhaps more significant level, the interviewer is able to pick up constellating dynamics within a story and invite expansion, particularly emotional responses that may precipitate in the moment from the historical context. One argument against a Gestalt-based interview approach might be a concern for lack of containment or consistency and losing the intended guides that keep the interview bounded enough to support a research project, whilst at the same time maintaining a freedom of inquiry. Ensuring good practice in this research means keeping a focus on the topic of leadership and personal experiences of leadership.

It could be argued that a research method of this kind would be based on grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). It is not. This research is aimed at advancing both conventional and new leadership thinking through the three theoretical positions outlined in this thesis, rather than developing new leadership theory. There are, however, similarities between the interview method discussed here and grounded theory. One characteristic of grounded theory is that it is an inductive approach where a simultaneous involvement in data collection and analysis takes place (Charmaz, 2003); the interview method proposed for this research follows a similar path where interviews and analysis overlap. From there onwards, this research diverges away from grounded theory comparisons, analysing data through the theoretical lenses discussed in Chapter 3.

4.2.3 Complexities of gathering and analysing stories

Key concerns that need to be attended to in narrative research largely arise in the interviewing process between the participant and the researcher. Two of these concerns are discussed here: assumptions and role positioning. Taking the issue of assumptions first, both researcher and participant will be making assumptions about what a research interview is, or should be, and about each other during the interview (Larson, 1999). When assumptions are not matched, disparity between the interviewer and participant can occur. With good skills, the researcher will know the kind of interview that will achieve the outcome they are looking for, but people are diverse, the unexpected arises and assumptions are made.

Larson (ibid.) describes a study where the author took the role of a subject in a research project on personal narrative. Her intention was to get to know what it is like on the 'other side' of narrative research, and she discovered the difficulty of 'adequately portraying other people's lives' (p. 466). The study showed the extent to which assumptions by both the subject and the researcher affected the stories that could be told and the meaning etched in those stories. She says:

The way that we respond to our fellow human beings in our inquiry projects depends heavily on the way we conceptualize them in our theoretical formulations. When inquirers are unaware of, or neglect to surface and interrogate these assumptions, they are rarely discussed with respondents in narrative projects. (p. 456)

On concluding, Larson was emphatic about two points:

- a) the capacity of the participant to provide more data around their stories to fill the 'hollows' and the need for researchers to invite this;
- b) the limitation of the researcher's theoretical platform to give meaning to a participant's life stories.

With this in mind, emphasis will be given towards engaging the participant in a rich and detailed interview, which invites the participant to add to their stories where important detail appears lacking, returning for an additional interview if necessary.

The second concern is role positioning. In the research, the participant may position the researcher in a superior or inferior position to themselves, which would affect the data gathering process. Equally, the researcher may do the same with the participant. Either way might affect the data collection. The participant may feel the need to say what he or she thinks the interviewer wants to hear, or omit information he or she presumes the interviewer already knows (Bamberg, 2006). This is the kind of data that a researcher simply does not want, where the participant projects positional power onto the researcher. This may occur due to a failure by the researcher to give clear information about the research and the process involved, or to build adequate conversation beforehand. Deference by the researcher towards the participant says more about the researcher and their relationship with authority, as interviewing may not flow well if the researcher is deferential to, or intimidated by, the participant. This may occur with leaders in senior positions holding a great deal of positional authority. The skill of the researcher is to find a way of changing these power dynamics or bringing attention to them in their reflexive journal. A reflexive journal was used in this study.

Narrative research has its limitations. A series of small stories in an interview will never convey the full extent of a person's social and cultural backdrop on the subject being researched. The researcher will only draw small pieces of the puzzle, not the full account. In a review of recent trends towards narrative research, Atkinson and Delamont (2006) warn against narrative analysis that 'float[s] in a social vacuum' (p. 166), calling for greater attention to social context. These limitations act as reminders that outcomes provide windows into our world, not the whole picture.

4.2.4 Reflexivity

Both Kurt Lewin (1951) and Pierre Bourdieu (2004) strongly advocated that the researcher is an active participant in the research: Lewin through the concept of life-space (discussed in the previous chapter) and Bourdieu in his obsession for reflexivity in social science research. Bourdieu recognised the extent to which researchers can become deeply involved in what they are observing, and that involvement affects the behaviour of the individuals being studied. His demand to incorporate reflexivity in research was aimed at addressing this concern, rather than attempting the impossible task of separating the observer from the observed.

Both reflection and reflexivity are of value in research, and they are different. Reflexivity is a deep introspection at the time of an event and is therefore held within a context, whereas reflection occurs after an event, looking back on the event as a way of creating change in the future. In research, reflexive practice can take place early in the research process, during interviews or observations, as well as during analysis of data. It implies an ability to look inwards towards oneself as a researcher, into the space between oneself as researcher and the research participant, as well as outwards towards forces that shape the inquiry. This process is very similar to that of field theory, where a field theoretical way of working is a reflexive practice.

Through reflexivity, the researcher is able to acknowledge their own influence on the research: for example, it can guard against bad interpretations and assist good ones (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). When the researcher is situated as a player in the field of the research, there is an acknowledgement of their involvement in the process of knowledge production as well as the knowledge produced (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000). Their values, beliefs and assumptions become an intricate part of the research process and the interpretation of the data. Mauthner and Doucet (2003, p. 419) state that 'Situating ourselves socially and emotionally in relation to respondents is an important element of reflexivity', calling for a practice of reflection at each phase of the data gathering and data analysis, and attending to methodological and theoretical presuppositions (Coghlan and Brannick, 2005).

At the data analysis stage, reflexivity means examining the ontological and epistemological assumptions about the method being used (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000), inviting the researcher to interpret their interpretations of the data with a critical eye. Reflexivity, therefore, can be thought about in a number of different ways, ranging from a self-checking process through to a detailed reflexive account, which forms a primary part of the data. The former takes into account the relationship between researcher and the researched, presuppositions and finally deep beliefs, established knowledge and assumptions. The latter, referred to as 'epistemic reflexivity' (Maton, 2003) through the work of Bourdieu is an epistemological, collective and objective (ibid.) reflexivity. This significant shift in reflexivity identifies the 'intellectual field' and 'intellectualist bias' (p. 57) as a focus of interest, a point of view that also fits with post-Lewinian thinking on field theory, where intellect and knowledge are considered as organising forces in the field. There is, however, a distinctive attribute in Bourdieuan thinking that is not evident in

Lewinian ideas: that is, *objectivity* and *relation*. Grenfell and James (1998) explain that 'the researcher's social relation to the object of study is itself a necessary object of study' (p. 129). They argue that reflexivity of this kind involves seeing oneself in relation to fields, which reveals 'the sources and maintenances of one's own interest' (ibid.).

Reflexivity has its limitations. Mauthner and Doucet (2003) describe these limitations, arguing that little guidance is offered to researchers on how to 'identify, articulate and take account of the range of influences shaping their research at the data analysis stage' (p. 425). Drawing on their own doctoral knowledge, they give an example of a way of working, suggesting that researchers think in terms of 'degrees of reflexivity' (ibid.). By doing this, the researcher recognises that some influences are easier to identify than others, some need time and detachment to become recognised, and some may continue to slip through the net and go unrecognised altogether. Grenfell and James (1998) offer some guidance here, suggesting that reflexivity can fall into a number of themes: Self socio-analysis; Objectifying relations with the researched; Points of theoretical departure; Theoretical Development; Critical Engagements; Reception in the field (p. 129). These reflexive themes offer a guide for reflexivity in phases 2 and 3 of the methodology. Phase 1 will include a *critical self awareness* (Broussine, 2008) approach, about assumptions held during the interview, and making these explicit and available for question in the analysis.

4.3 Analysing the data

In her book, *Narrative Research*, Riessman (2008) describes a number of methods that can be used for analysing narrative data. One of these methods is thematic analysis. As a method of analysis, its focus is on in-depth case studies, which does not serve this research. Yet aspects of thematic analysis can offer some considerations that can be taken into account for analysing themes in a different way. Compared to Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, which is theoretically bounded, and Conversation Analysis, which looks at the systemic structures of conversations, thematic analysis 'is a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data' (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 79). It is particularly useful for recognising patterns, along with the holistic nature of narrative and the context of a story, which could inform this study. A theme captures an important

aspect of the data that informs the research question (Braun and Clarke, *ibid.*), but how are themes identified? Is prevalence important? What counts as a theme? These are some of the questions that have arisen in the quest for a suitable method of analysis of the data.

Taking a Gestalt approach to their analysis, Hollway and Jefferson (2000) set out questions associated with analysing qualitative data: ‘What do I notice?’, ‘Why do I notice what I notice?’ and ‘How does what I notice relate to my research questions?’ (p. 55). These questions would guide the researcher so that emerging themes were not based on questions or interventions coming from the researcher, but on patterns of meaning that existed within the recorded, storied response from the participant. In narrative research, this is a recursive process, which might begin during the interviewing and continue throughout the transcribing and in the reading and re-reading of the transcripts (Braun and Clarke, *ibid.*).

The meaningfulness of narratives carries value in this study in that what is meaningful has its roots in the social and cultural as well as the personal. It is assumed that the meaningfulness of many experiences is imprinted out of awareness and that meaning can shift over time. Bamberg (2011) makes this point in a footnote:

... it is the meaningfulness of experiences that is relevant for the inclusion or exclusion in the stories being told. And the meaningfulness is not only a question of what has happened in one’s life, but also one of what has been practiced and established as ‘meaningful’ in such practices. (p. 19)

The point that Bamberg makes is that a story told now is likely to have established some meaning over time for it to be told at all. With this in mind, the telling of stories in a narrative interview is a meaning-making process. The act of telling is a ‘reaffirmation’ (Crossley, 2000, p. 143).

Narratives are the raw data and carry patterns of meaning, symbols and metaphors that point towards social and cultural practices. Important to this study is not to fragment stories, but to work with each as a whole and in the context of the whole interview, in the view that meaning is better understood in context rather than as a fragment of the original story. Wholeness and context are features of meaningful patterns, which means not fragmenting or deconstructing data, but keeping it in its whole form. Riessman (2008) maintains that the holistic nature of narrative along

with the context are as important for recognising patterns of meaning as the various parts that make up a story for their detail. Bourdieu also argues that analysis should take into account wider contextual influences. He maintains that 'Understanding is not a matter of recognizing an invariable meaning, but of grasping the singularity of a form which only exists in a particular context' (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 647), emphasising how the context of the research interview is significant in the formation of language and meaning-making of narratives told during the interview, as well as the context in which a narrated event took place. Bourdieu argues against interpreting acts of communication purely through linguistic analysis, claiming that an appreciation of the *habitus* and the *field* surrounding the relationship are needed (Grenfell and James, 1998). Narrative analysis is therefore incomplete if a narrative is analysed without considering the habitus and field in which it is given form (the interview situation). This layering makes research complex when studying underlying dynamics of leadership, highlighting the need for reflexivity as an important part of the research design.

Finally, we must address the question of analysing *the unobservable* embedded in the social and cultural foundations of narratives. Josselson (2004) clarifies this process as 'the work of the hermeneutic enterprise' (p. 3); she states that 'because meanings cannot be grasped directly and all meanings are essentially indeterminate in any unshakeable way, interpretation becomes necessary' (ibid.). It is this interpretative process that requires considered attention, presenting dilemmas in establishing some understanding of the meaning of narrative, and therefore of the participant. However, it is necessary to read the data and draw out hidden patterns, symbols and symbolic form, metaphors, signs, inconsistencies and gaps before interpretation of the data can take place. Josselson investigates the work of Ricoeur (1970, cited in Josselson, 2004) to inform this process. What is useful in Ricoeur's work is the notion of *restoration*, a hermeneutics of faith where the absorbing of a story, its symbols and the messages within it forms part of the meaning-making process. Symbolism in this sense, Josselson explains, is rooted between the standpoints of Freud and Jung: for Jung, as attempts to express meaning, and for Freud, as 'camouflage to be deciphered' (p. 4). The interview then provides a window on psychological and social realities which attempts to understand the participants as they understand themselves. This is what Ricoeur meant by a restoration of faith: an attitude and position of the interviewer which continues through the interpretation of

the transcript, where meanings are 'restored and represented' (p. 9). Analysis then typically moves to-and-fro between a narrative of small stories and the dialogue, asking questions about the stories and searching for patterns or themes (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Hollway and Jefferson, 2000; Riessman, 1993).

In this thesis, the questions that arise will be informed by the theoretical ground described in Chapter 3: Lewinian questions will be concerned with identifying underlying forces within a narrative, Jungian questions will be concerned with identifying archetypal influences and Bourdieuan questions will be concerned with patterns of fields, habitus, doxa and symbolic capital. A full list of questions is described in Chapter 5. Murray (2003) explains how this is the first phase of analysis, a descriptive phase, which is then followed by a second, interpretative phase, connecting the data with the broader theoretical literature that is being used to interpret it.

4.3 Concluding thoughts

Consistency matters in data gathering, transcribing and generating themes. With a methodology based on narrative research and the flexibility of analysing themes, it is important to design a systematic method that can be rigorously applied without constraining the freedom of data gathering and data analysis. The effectiveness of narrative interviews in obtaining rich, authentic stories relies on skilful interviewing and a good understanding of the dynamics of the researcher-participant relationship.

There are three overlapping phases to this research methodology, the first being the gathering of data through a free-flowing recorded interview, where narratives of leadership experiences are invited. The analysis of the data will be in two further phases: identifying patterns in the data through a set of informed questions based on the theoretical perspectives taken in this thesis, followed by an interpretation of the analysis. The full method, design and description of the research are provided in Chapter 5.

Chapter 5

RESEARCH METHOD AND DESIGN

This chapter explains the research design, describing the research groups chosen and criteria for selecting participants, interview considerations, ethical considerations, the analysis, and how reflexivity was put into practice.

5.1 Research design

The three phases of the research design were:

Phase 1: Free-flowing recorded interviews, which were then transcribed;

Phase 2: Developing questions to guide the analysis of the raw data and the analysis;

Phase 3: Interpreting the results of the stage 2 analysis through the social, cultural and collective perspectives described in Chapter 3.

The way in which these different phases were exercised is discussed here. First, an explanation of the decisions made and selection process for the research groups is provided.

5.1.1 The research groups

The main selection criteria for participants in the research was that a participant has been, or is currently, in a leader role and that there would be a variation in the level of responsibility between participants—from senior roles to team leaders. A decision was also made to include a second group of professional people who were involved in leading and delivering leadership learning—Organisational Development Consultants. The main reason for this group was to establish whether they carried an awareness of the deeper layers being researched here, in their practice and within their learning and development frameworks. A further criterion for selecting this group was that all of them had knowledge and

experience of field theory. The assumption was that their awareness would be greater than the leadership group, but to what extent? The two groups were defined as Group A - Leaders, and Group B - Organisational Development Consultants

No other criteria were used. All participants' names are anonymised.

Group A: Seventeen people employed in corporate management roles: that is, in a role as a manager and leader, as well as reporting to a line manager. Participants ranged from first line and middle managers to executives. Details of this group regarding gender, level of management and the industry in which they work are shown in Table 1.

Participant	Male/Female	Status	Company/Industry
Rob	Male	Director	Commercial
Alan	Male	First Line Manager	Automobile
Don	Male	Head of Division	Public Sector/Media
Kate	Female	Senior Manager	Public Sector/Culture
Jill	Female	Senior Manager	Communications
Sandy	Female	Head of Division	Logistics
Anika	Female	Senior Manager	Logistics
Ann	Female	Senior Manager	Logistics
Amy	Female	Middle Manager	Logistics
Pat	Female	Senior Manager	Logistics
Mandy	Female	Senior Manager	Logistics
Janice	Female	Head of Division	Logistics
Linda	Female	Senior Manager	Logistics
Emma	Female	Middle Manager	Logistics
Fran	Female	Head of Division	Logistics
Kath	Female	Senior Manager	Logistics
Kirsty	Female	Senior Manager	Logistics

Table 1: Group A - Participants

Of the people who participated, all were British except one woman who was South American living in Britain. Five people were from different organisations, known professionally to the researcher through business contacts and business networks.

Twelve participants were from an international corporation based in Britain. This came about through a meeting where the sponsor became interested in the study and offered to invite participation from people within the company. A brief of the research was provided with a request for a range of people from different levels of management. It was not until arriving at the offices on the agreed date that it transpired all the participants were female, even though gender had not been a selection criterion. The sponsor offered to try to arrange an all-male group at a later date, an agreement that was later abandoned due to difficulties in setting it up. At that point it was decided that the selection of participants interviewed had provided a rich set of data for this study. This group was primarily selected for their experience in leadership. The group of women from the one company provided an additional opportunity to pay attention to a female perspective of leadership in a company (and industry) that is predominantly male. The opportunistic nature of these women as participants is discussed at the end of this section in terms of the value in research of such an opportunity.

Group B: Six independent consultants who work with organisational leadership, and have been or are currently in a role as a leader in their practice. Details of this group in terms of nationality, gender, professional role and place of interview are shown in Table 2, below.

Participant	Male/Female	Nationality	Interview location	Position at time of interview
Steve	Male	Irish	Conference	Independent
Phil	Male	Dutch	Conference	Independent
Sara	Female	Danish	Workplace	Director
Jamie	Male	American	Conference	Director/Independent
Jonathan	Male	Danish	Workplace	Independent
Richard	Male	British	Workplace	Independent

Table 2: Group B - Participants

All participants are known to be experienced practitioners who use field theory in their work. All have had experience working in leadership positions and working with organisational and leadership development.

Three members of Group B were interviewed at a conference. They were approached at the conference to participate in the study, and all three offered to be interviewed during the conference. A quiet room was allocated and times agreed for each interview to take place.

Three others were approached by email and phone and invited to be interviewed at their place of work. The interview with the two Danish participants was arranged to coincide with a business trip to Denmark. The British participant was interviewed at his place of work in the UK. This group were selected for their knowledge and experience of working with field theory and leadership as OD consultants, not for their national difference. Nevertheless, this factor presented the possibility to consider cultural differences in the analysis if it was felt to be beneficial.

Opportunistic selection of research subjects

Opportunistic sampling is a process that involves taking opportunities as they come along. Although 'opportunistic' may appear unconsidered and impulsive, the opposite can be closer to the truth. Kemper et al. (2003) explain how opportunistic methods 'use insider knowledge to maximise the chance that the units included in the final sample are strong (highly appropriate) cases to include in the study' (p. 283). That was the case in this research, as it was considered that a number of participants from a range of leadership positions in the same company could provide a rich set of data that could be further positioned within the organisational culture. As it turned out, the participants were all women—this was also taken as useful and relevant, rather than to be discarded. This issue was reflected on at length by the researcher throughout the research programme, resulting in the decision becoming a strength of the research.

Understanding context

A brief study of all six organisations involved from the Leaders' group determined the prevailing leadership practices of that organisation and the industry. This information was valuable in order to appreciate the context in which participants were working and the prevailing leadership paradigm in which they worked. In terms of Bourdieu, to appreciate the leadership values and practices within the social field of each participant, of which they are a part and which they contribute to—habitus.

Organisational contexts were evaluated through the interview data, notes taken at the time of each interview and extra information that was provided (or asked for) about each organisation (for example, a copy of the leadership competency framework of the logistics company was requested and provided), along with inside knowledge of the company and industry. It was determined that five out of the six organisations operated within powerful heroic, leader-follower paradigms and one operated within a hierarchical structure with a relational approach. The relational model was functional, a way of breaking down silos that had previously inhibited output—consistent with the relational-entity view of leadership described by Fitzsimons et al. (2011).

5.2 PHASE 1: The interviews

The interview method followed a free-flowing, Gestalt approach, inviting participants to talk about their leadership experiences from past and recent events. This approach is defined more fully below. Interviews were recorded and then transcribed by the researcher. The free-flowing component meant that following an initial introduction to the purpose and intent of the interview, the interview was not driven by interviewer questions or requests, but by participants' interest in the subject of their leadership experiences and the responses from the interviewer. The direction of the interview was co-created and interviewer responses gauged towards deepening each participant's articulation of their leadership experiences. Most of the interviews were carried out in a quiet room at the participant's place of work. Where that was not possible, a convenient interview space was arranged.

Interview considerations

Three specific considerations and decisions were made concerning the interviews: trust and safety (see section Section 5.1); how the interviews would be carried out (defined in the following sections) and whether to offer participants a general definition of community-based leadership before the interview commenced.

This latter point follows from the discussion in Chapter 2 and the term 'leadership', which carries a wide range of meanings, but is frequently treated in leadership discourse as though it has a single, commonly understood meaning. How to present the research to the participant is not straightforward and can affect the outcome. Henwood et al. (2008) explains that the way the research is presented 'acts

as a framing device for the research encounter indicating what the researcher will be “looking for” from the participant' (p. 422). From this position, the participant may filter what they believe to be relevant and what is not, what might be risky to reveal and what is safe. Additionally, different perceptions of the researcher and participant may interfere with the interview process, 'causing the researcher to miss or misread important data' (ibid., p. 422). The way in which to frame the interviews in this research was examined in depth, the main question being whether or not to offer participants a definition of leadership (i.e. as a community dynamic).

With this in mind, a decision was made to not offer a definition. Chapter 2 highlighted the extent to which leadership and leadership discourse is a broad field, of which there is much still to be understood. In view of this, a decision was made to leave the interpretation of leadership open for participants to make themselves if they felt the need, and that participant response to 'no definition' could offer useful data. The framing of the interview was positioned around leadership, such as 'This research is about leadership and I will be asking you during the interview to tell me about some of your experiences of leadership'. As the interviews progressed, the responses from participants confirmed to the researcher that the right decision had been made.

Skilful interviewing

Conducting a narrative interview requires skilful dialogue, calling for interviewing skills that facilitate an expansion of the narrative without too many questions or interruptions that might inhibit the process. It is not a question and answer interview; instead, it requires the interviewer to travel alongside the participant (Gabriel, 1998), not to doubt what is being told, nor create a ‘climate of cross-examination’ (Bauer, 1996), but to seek expansion of stories as they arise, to find out what might be behind ambiguities, such as ambivalent feelings or misunderstandings.

The facilitation of interviews in this study was informed by Gestalt coaching practices, where there is expansive literature on different forms of one-to-one inquiry. The primary difference between coaching and narrative research is that the purpose of coaching from a number of disciplines is to raise awareness of hidden issues, concerns and behaviour in order for the client to learn (Cox et al., 2010; Hawkins and Smith, 2006), whereas the purpose in this study was to elicit stories of past

experiences in order to discover hidden cultural and social dynamics that contribute to leadership in practice. A number of guiding principles were adopted from narrative interview methods and from Gestalt coaching methods for the interview process:

- a) Building trust through relationship building, contracting and when needed, re-contracting.
- b) Staying present to each participant and their stories throughout the interview, noticing shifts in the emotional ground of each story and of the interview where a response may be useful, keeping the focus on leadership.
- c) Moving from facts to experience (stories) using bridging statements or questions such as ‘Tell me about an incident or time in your working life when you were part of leadership—good or bad’, ‘Is there a time in past which you could describe, when you experienced the leadership of others?’
- d) Expanding the story with interventions like ‘Tell me more about ...’, ‘You talked about ... could you expand on that?’, ‘Who was involved in ...?’, ‘What happened next?’.
- e) Exploring emotional content of stories through open and inquiry questions—‘How did you feel when he said that?’, ‘How did you react to her leadership style?’
- f) Incorporating language used by the participant in order to maintain good relational contact.
- g) Interviewer observation of the phenomenological process and personal responses.
- h) Paying attention to the relationship between interviewer and participant, to engender a good interview, rather than stories told to please the interviewer.

‘Why’ questions were excluded from the interviews in this research, as they tend to elicit explanation and rationale, rather than maintain the mode and feeling tone of storytelling (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000; Bauer, 1996).

How the interviews were carried out

Prior to the interview, participants had either received information about the nature of the study (see Appendix 2) or had a discussion with the interviewer. All participants attended a one-hour recorded interview with an agreement that this could be shortened or extended if needed. Given that people tell stories differently— some tell many stories or lengthy stories in a short space of time whereas others take much longer— flexibility was built into the interview and time was allowed for variation between individuals. The option of a further interview was established but not needed. At the beginning of the interview, each participant was asked to sign a consent form (Appendix 3). All interviews were transcribed by the researcher.

With early steps of an interview crucial to scene setting (Hollway, 2001), the short space of time at the beginning of each interview, before recording commenced, was used for contracting, to build a relationship with the participant and to encourage a storytelling mode—participants varied in the time that they took to settle into the interview but this was never more than ten minutes. Engaging conversation helped this process by talking about ‘what is happening today, or this week’, bringing in a sense of ‘today’s story’ before reaching into leadership stories. Recorded interviews in Group A then continued with an invitation to:

Tell me about some of your leadership experiences in your work, in past and present positions - both good and not so good experiences.

Group B participants were given the same invitation but before that they were informed they had been selected for their assumed interest in field theory as a practitioner. The assumption was based on knowledge by the researcher of their contribution to Gestalt field theory practice in organisations.

As explained in Chapter 4, interview narratives can contain a big story or a number of small stories (Bamberg, 2006). This particular point became apparent during the early interviews with Group B, where many of the participants seemed determined to share their knowledge of field theory, skimming over stories of their experiences. These early interviews from Group B were transcribed soon after they were recorded, along with two of the Leadership interviews. A decision could have been made to invite more storied accounts of events. Instead, a decision was made to

allow a natural balance between narrative and non-narrative (Riessman, 1993) dialogue (reports, facts, exchanges, viewpoints not associated with narratives), with particular attention given to inviting information regarding the context of narratives.

The interviews varied widely in terms of the amount of relevant data. One interview provided very little data compared to several other interviews where participants talked non-stop, with little intervention, for the full hour. Altogether, the interviews generated a wide range of material, providing generous data for this study. Participants shared both positive and negative stories about their past encounters with leaders, present experiences with the leadership of their line managers and stories about their own leadership practices.

5.2.1 The relationship between interviewer and participant

Narrative research is a vehicle for understanding people: as such, the focus is essentially on the people being interviewed. Hollway and Jefferson (2000) bring attention to the point that ‘the stories themselves are a means to understand our subjects better’ (p. 32), drawing the focus of inquiry towards the participant and away from a data-producing process. The relationship between interviewer and participant was therefore considered to be crucial in this study towards eliciting meaningful stories of leadership. As proposed in Section 4.2, meaningfulness emerges through the interaction between people. This view is aligned with the view of Hollway & Jefferson (ibid.) in narrative research, in that meaning ‘is created within the research pair’ (p. 31): it cannot be assumed automatically. The meaningful story is an outcome of the relationship between the interviewer and the participant—both people influence this process.

Developing high levels of trust in an interview can create a climate in which tacit meanings become more explicit (Henwood et al., 2008) and where participants are forthcoming in their narratives, not only in telling them but also in the depth of the storyline. There is a fine balance between researcher intervention and free-flowing input from the participant, where each participant is likely to be different. Henwood highlights the 'considerable methodological challenge' (p. 435) faced by researchers as they find ways to negotiate the tensions between participant 'stories

and their own theoretical and substantive concerns' (ibid.). The skill of the researcher is to stay close to the flow of the participant conversation, keeping supporting reflexive notes.

5.2.2 Considerations for trust and safety

Narrative research is a dialogical process (Lucius-Hoene and Depperman, 2000) where participant and researcher establish an interpersonal relationship within the research timeframe. In addition, from a field theory perspective, researcher and participant are not separate: they influence each other, particularly in face-to-face methods. With this in mind, the researcher is not an impartial observer or director, but an integral part of the research 'field' or 'life-space' as described in Chapter 3. With the researcher relationship in qualitative research being a dynamic and influential aspect of the research, attention needs to be given to trust and safety.

Organisational learning and development methods, such as coaching, can offer some insight here, as coaching methods are designed to reveal deeper layers of personal information, requiring trust. Client and coach must create a safe and supportive environment (Hawkins and Shohet, 2000). Based on organisational coaching methods, high levels of trust between researcher and participant will likely yield more intimate data of personal experiences. Low trust is likely to yield more superficial data that might not reveal hidden social and cultural forces that shape leadership. Although data of this nature may not be considered to be deeply personal, the inquiry in this study invited personal leadership experiences—meaningful stories which could carry personal elements. Trust and safety were considered to be important.

Building trust quickly requires transparency and confidentiality, as well as developing good rapport with the participant. A drawback of establishing a more intimate frame of interviewing is that the participant could be unintentionally swayed by researcher assumptions and might even tell stories which they believe the researcher wants to hear. Furthermore, despite efforts to build an environment that is conducive for an interview, Smythe and Murray (2005) point out that 'One never knows when a narrative interview might threaten to go beyond the boundaries of what is safe for the participant' (p. 186).

Trust and safety were established through the Consent Form and the method of protecting information already described, together with the use of the five to ten minutes allocated to developing rapport before recording started.

5.2.3 Ethics and good practice considerations

Two considerations for the research method are the ethical practice for qualitative research and the good practice for qualitative research, ethical practice being the way the research is conducted and good practice being the rigour with which the research is carried out. Ethical considerations needed to be given towards participation consent, anonymity, the protection of data and the content of interviews. Consent to participate and to have interviews recorded were covered using signed consent forms (see Appendix 3), along with taking the necessary steps to protect recorded data and the identity of participants.

Although this study on leadership is not a subject area that is highly sensitive or difficult, it was considered that the interview process might evoke sensitive information about past experiences, a company, role or other members of an organisation. This was managed during the interview by identifying sensitive information and progressing only with express agreement of the participant (which was recorded). The recorded dialogue included an explanation of action being taken to protect data and its use in transcribing. Participants were advised at the beginning of the interview that they could request anonymity about material discussed, or ask for it not to be used, during and at the end of the interview.

Regarding 'good practice', three areas called for particular attention: the competencies of the researcher (already addressed earlier in this section), maintaining parameters of the storytelling and identifying patterns in the narratives. Maintaining the parameters of the interview and telling of experiences were held within a framework of leadership, and if the participant steered too far away from this, the researcher re-established the focus through dialogue. Further considerations concerning the assumptions and biases of the researcher were dealt with through reflexive notes (see Section 5.3). Identifying patterns in the narratives was guided by a set of questions established to achieve this (see Section: 5.2)

5.3 PHASE 2: Method of analysis

Hollway and Jefferson (2000) explained with great clarity the problems associated with fragmenting qualitative data and analysing using coding systems, a practice that is common in narrative research. The argument that Hollway and Jefferson present is that through fragmenting data, especially through computer-based coding systems, one loses many qualities of the whole story, not only in the story itself but in the greater story, the experience of the researcher during the interview as well as the immersion into a story through transcribing. Through this process they allowed their own experiencing of the people researched to inform them at both a conscious and an unconscious level—an 'unconscious "embrace" of another person' (p. 69). This allowed both creativity and intuition to be part of the data—a subjective element in the data analysis. During the reading of all the raw data they kept notes and highlighted significant extracts in the transcripts. The notes provided a way of building descriptive detail, whilst a summary conveyed a whole picture of each participant. At this point they made theoretical links to bring meaning to the data.

The challenges of analysing data that reaches into the deeper layers of human behaviour are stretching, one reason being that the pointers which tell us dynamic forces are at play are not directly visible, while another concerns the researchers' own positions, challenged by how they personally take things for granted (the doxa), and may not see the very thing that they are seeking. As Grenfell and James (1998) explain, 'Orthodoxy and heterodoxy may be readily apparent, but what of doxa, what of "everything that goes without saying"?' (p.128). The analysis of the data considered the difficulty of observing the deeper layers of social interaction and cultural beliefs. Informed by the work of Hollway and Jefferson and the notion of data as patterns of meaning, the intention of the data analysis was to stay true to the theoretical values of this thesis, to 'read' the data in terms of patterns and wholes, rather than reducing it down. Furthermore, to step into the world of the participants as a way of connecting at a deeper, holistic level with their narratives. This was supported by already established skills in Gestalt and field theory, a reflexive approach to the research, and a set of questions that further guided the analysis. The formulation of these questions was based on the three main theoretical positions defined in Chapter 3: Principles of Lewinian field theory and post-Lewinian thinking;

Jungian and post-Jungian thought on archetypal patterns; Durkheim & Bourdieu concepts, particularly acting 'as if' and patterns concerning habitus, doxa and symbolic capital.

Guiding questions to assist the analysis of the raw data:

The Lewinian perspective considered:

What observable patterns exist that might carry underlying, unknown patterns?

What assumptions are being made?

What projections are being made?

Are there indications of a system out of balance? What are these indications?

What metaphors and images are used?

Where are heightened emotions?

Is there a distinct organising theme around a story?

Are there gaps in what is being said?

Has meaning shifted over time? If so, how?

Is there awareness of emergent events?

Are there inconstancies in a story, or between stories?

What is skipped over that might have relevance that is not in the awareness of the participant?

The Jungian and post-Jungian perspective considered:

How are leadership experiences expressed through metaphor, imagery, poetics?

Are there indications of myth-making, or connections to myth that are linked to collective beliefs?

Are there symptoms or compensatory images/acts in the narratives?

From a Bourdieuan perspective:

What social and cultural norms are in the narratives? For example, what appears to be taken for granted?

Are there gaps in the narratives, within narratives, between narratives and as a whole pattern throughout all interviews?

What learning and development in leadership is taken for granted?

What has contributed to a person's leadership in practice that appears to be out of awareness?

What implicit values are held in narratives?

Are there indications of symbolic power?

How is symbolic power played out?

Are there indications of oppressed power or potential?

Are there actions that are different to the cultural norm?

Reflexive notes taken at the time of the interview were also considered as part of the analysis, such as:

Were there any emotional responses to the participant by the researcher?

Was the researcher able to hold a position of indifference? If not, at which point did it change?

Analysis started early, at times detecting possible patterns during the interview and in post-interview reflexivity, as well as through the transcribing and reading of transcripts. To help the analysis, the questions were clustered (as above) and colour coded, with the analysis of transcripts colour coded against the questions. There were many crossovers, some where patterns could be identified through all three perspectives. As well as the colour coding, notes were added to the transcripts linking the data to the question/s with explanations.

Interpreting the data

This phase of analysis meant interrogating the colour-coded stories and notes in more depth, linking the narratives with the broader theoretical literature. Further notes were added to each coded transcript, labelling them with theoretical content. For example many participants automatically provided descriptions of leadership. These were identified as leader-follower, heroic, autocratic leadership attitudes. By contrast, many participants told stories of their own leadership where they demonstrated more relational leadership practices, which had not been included in leadership descriptions. This was identified as a gap between leadership discourse and leadership in practice, a pattern that could be explained in terms of habitus, doxa, symbolic power, and a compensatory process in archetypal terms.

A set of topics emerged from this analysis within which patterns were found. The topics were:

Leadership: beliefs and attitudes towards what leadership is;

Compensatory dynamics: images or behaviours that suggest that a system is out of balance and attempting to rebalance itself;

Absences and gaps: identifying gaps and absences within and between narratives and across the data;

Learning patterns: learning that takes place beneath the surface of everyday awareness;

Metaphor, myth, symbol: expressed within the narratives;

Values: commonly held values implicit in the narratives;

Organising themes: meaning, themes not otherwise mentioned but in the dynamic mix of leadership;

Etymological understanding: where different use of language can unknowingly impact leadership behaviour.

The analysis included identifying differences between Group A and Group B in relation to the research question.

5.4 How reflexivity was utilised

The reflexive process of myself as researcher was divided into two kinds of reflexivity. The first, a self reflexive process, drew on Gestalt practice where unobservable or less observable dynamics are picked up through attention to what was happening in the space between *the researcher* and the *other* (Brownell, 2008). The second was an objective reflexivity in relation to emerging themes in the interviews, the contexts in which the interviews took place, the research questions, analysis of the raw data through these questions, and during phase 3 of the analysis. An objective reflexivity on my own research process was included, such as recognising intuitive leaps that then needed explaining, and my own researcher assumptions about leadership.

Interview reflexivity

Reflexive notes were kept alongside field notes during the interviews and the transcribing, which consisted of thoughts, feelings, images, questions and assumptions about the interview and my relationship with each participant. The reflexive notes provided a way of keeping an eye on and modifying my own interview process, my thoughts about participants, assumptions that I was making as the research progressed and shifts in the process that might point towards particular underlying dynamics.

An example of this occurred in an interview with one participant who had told a story about how she had learned leadership through a previous boss ‘by mimicking him’ and then followed that by saying ‘I now expect my direct reports to mimic me as a way of learning’. A segment from my reflective notes following that interview read:

... I am astonished to hear that she values mimicking to learn leadership, that she did it herself AND is pleased that her direct reports are doing the same with her style of leadership.

(Field Notes, 03/08/2010)

On returning to my notes at a later date, I realised that I might have made assumptions about this participant's use of the word ‘mimic’ and the concept of learning through mimicking to develop leadership. When I re-read the transcript I realised that she was telling me a lot more about her approach to leadership than I had appreciated at the time. It may be that what she really meant was learning through a

role model, trying things out that she saw in her boss, experimenting for herself, which would indicate a more complex learning process. What is perhaps particularly relevant is that she could see herself as a role model, a point that I realised later in my reflections.

Taking this into account, my own imaginings, images and sensations experienced during the interviews formed part of the reflexive journaling after each interview. The following is an extract from my post-interview notes following an interview with a director who had described an experience early in his career, to which I had noticed my own reaction:

... I wonder how he felt telling me the story of his young self as a team member, with no time to wait for people who were slower than him, no capacity to listen. I sensed a tone of self disgust in his voice as he reflected on that event. I was startled that he was so frank, that he shared with me his seemingly exact words at the time. There was a drama in the narrative and in our room as he told it. (Field Notes, 15/06/2009)

I imagined a young, impatient, frustrated version of the man in front of me who had no time for others. Wanting to prove himself, a heroic figure - a knight in shining armour impatient to fight but not yet ready. Absenting himself from potential conflict instead of facing it. The story portrayed an individualistic, heroic leadership style: a style that later in the interview the participant claimed to have grown out of, bringing the narrative to illustrate how he had changed and what he had been like in the past. My reflexive notes went on to question my role as interviewer:

Would he have said the same thing in the same way with a different interviewer—a man? Did he feel the need to amplify the drama to emphasise how he had changed in his leadership? Did I invite it? (Field Notes, 15/06/2009)

At a later stage these notes led to further reflexivity about the position of myself as a female researcher, interviewing men and women on the topic of leadership. Questioning what cultural norms might underlie the research process.

Self disclosure in the interview process

One question that arose through the reflexivity, during the early interviews, was the extent of my own disclosures. I noticed how these seemed to support the conversation and story-telling but I was concerned about the influence that it might have on the participants' stories and conversation. This led me to explore how others had addressed this concern. Contrary to my own concern that self disclosure might influence the flow of the interview in a way that interfered with the research, Etherington (2004) illustrates how researcher disclosure can create opportunities for participants to tell more and reach more deeply into their lived experience. She points out that the freedom of the researcher to meet the participant wherever they are, knowing that the stories are constantly being reconstructed, is enabling for both the researcher and the participant in co-creating the meeting that takes place. I noticed that this calls for balance in disclosure and timing, where over-disclosure might draw the conversation away from the point of the interview, and requires the researcher to ensure that the timing of disclosure is not interruptive to the flow of what might otherwise be valuable data. These reflections enabled me to finely tune my interventions.

Decision points - objective reflexivity

The reflexive process supported decision-making in the interviewing process. For example, an early decision that needed to be made was whether to offer a definition of leadership to participants. Although a decision was made not to do this, early interviews showed that participants were bringing in their own definitions, many of which were not congruent with their narratives of leadership in practice. This was picked up in reflexive notes, raising the question of whether a definition needed to be given, whether definitions needed to be more overtly addressed, or whether the emerging data was showing something important. A decision was made to progress without making any changes to this aspect of the interviewing process.

A second observation during the early stages showed how participants from Group A were giving information and stories about role model learning and leadership, without that information being invited. This was a theme that I had not anticipated. Through reflexivity, this data was felt to be useful to the research, which led to inviting more information about leadership learning and role model learning in

later interviews, when it was not otherwise freely offered. It occurred to me that role model learning carries within it deep layers of cultural beliefs, attitudes and ways of working and was therefore useful and relevant to this research.

Key reflexive themes

Two further reflexive themes that became particularly pertinent to the research were firstly myself as a female researcher on the subject of leadership, and secondly whether to progress with the opportunity presented by an all-female participant group from one organisation. From an objective perspective, I questioned whether the stronger feminine qualities and feminine practices that I believe I carry as a researcher might influence the way that participants responded to me, to the interviews and to the analysis. How might this be different if I was either male or more predominantly masculinised in my approach? This second concern led to deep consideration about the situation in terms of 'an opportunity', and later about whether a gender balance was needed within the participant group. The reflexive process provided a way of thinking deeply about the situation in a way that could best serve the research. Having some information about the company (a highly male/masculinised company in its leadership), it was considered that rather than reject this opportunity, the research could capitalise on the situation. Questions that came up for me in my reflexive notes were 'I wonder what it is like for women in a leader role and in their experiences of leadership, in a male dominated environment?' and 'What led them to this role in their professional path?', 'What am I taking for granted about leadership?

Case study reflexivity

A case study, outlined in Appendix 3, also provided a useful thread for reflexivity between the research and a real life situation, in which a number of concepts being addressed in this research were explored by a group of women on a leadership development programme. Although this was not an intended part of this research, it arose out of doing the interviews. As a consequence I found myself making informative and valuable reflexive links between the findings and theoretical explanations in this study and professional inquiries made on the programme. This case study is occasionally referred to in Chapters 7, 8 and 9, and an observation at a meeting during the programme used to illustrate a point of discussion in Chapter 7.

5.5 Concluding thoughts

Narrative research invites a point of view in the context of an interview (Riessman, 1993): it does not provide an exact account of what happened, nor take into account how different circumstances evoke different narratives about the same or different events (Smythe and Murray, 2005). That does not negate narrative research, but indicates how much more information exists and how narrative is limited by the circumstances in which it is told and what is told. Narrative research cannot expose all that is in the field of a person's experiences. In this study, the intention was for narrative to offer some insight into aspects of leadership that otherwise might not be visible or obvious.

The design was especially chosen for its capability in studying deeper social, cultural and collective dynamics in leadership. The research meant looking for patterns that indicate that underlying influences are at play, influences that are not directly observable. A narrative approach provided the layering in which patterns could be detected. Identifying and analysing patterns was facilitated by looking through the three different lenses of Lewin, Jung and Durkheim/Bourdieu. The analysis was divided into eight topics under which patterns were identified. Some patterns overlapped two or more topics. These topics and how the patterns were identified are discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

Chapter 6

RESULTS

This chapter explains how patterns were identified within the transcripts and the data surrounding them, such as reflexive notes and information about context. Links are made with the theoretical positioning of this thesis. Comparisons between Group A and Group B are discussed where there are significant points of interest relating to the research question. In particular it was noted during the interviews with Group B that stories told were mostly connected with case studies rather than leader roles in a corporate management system. Each case carried a theme, a window into another leadership setting, and how the participant was perceiving that setting and the leadership in it. These case studies inform this research in a different way to the narrative accounts of leadership experiences.

6.1 Leadership attitudes

Narratives can reveal underlying attitudes that influence and shape leadership, that are not in the awareness of the people involved. In this thesis, attitude is an underlying pattern or mindset, which guides a person towards action but is not in itself the cause of that action. Jung defined *attitude* as 'a readiness of the psyche to act or react in a certain way' (Jung 1921 [1971], para. 687). Attitudes are not necessarily conscious: people act without an awareness of why they act in the way that they do. In this research, the absence of a definition of leadership in the interviews unexpectedly opened the way for participants from both groups to bring in their own definitions. This response drew attention to underlying attitudes in the definitions. These were often distributed throughout the interview, rather than as single statements. In both groups, descriptions were predominantly towards a leader in a role: either themselves in a role, another person in a role or a leadership style, with an attitude towards leader-follower and heroic styles of leadership. There was an 'I-

them' frame of reference: a one-way event where the leader affects the subordinate (leader-follower). The following are extracts from some of the interviews which led to this theme being identified:

It's ok to lead downwards because you have power (Rob, Group A)

..... you always perceive the leaders as the people you've got up above you, as opposed to necessarily looking at yourself in a leadership role (Linda, Group A)

When you progress up through the organisation, yes you are a leader for the people you are responsible for (Jill Group A,)

For me, the person that I report to, I look to as my leader, has to inspire me and they have to have something I want to learn and develop myself, to motivate me at work. (Kath, Group A)

The powerful adhesion to thinking about leadership in terms of leader-follower can be explained through Bourdieu's ideas of symbolic power, habitus and doxa, where people take for granted a way of living and thinking, without questioning it. This subject is discussed in more detail in Chapter 7.

The two research groups differed when it came to separating the role of leader from leadership. A differentiation between leader and leadership was not made by anyone in Group A, whereas several of Group B showed an awareness of *leadership* as different to the role of *leader*, acknowledging leadership as a process, as an emergent property of the situation, with the leader (often referring to themselves) in role as a part of the process.

Leadership and power are not just invested in one person. It's a function. It's an energetic phenomena (Jamie, Group B)

... from a leadership point of view, understanding what I see, what I perceive and how I interpret it and how I relate to it, to a large part dictates my behaviour (Steve, Group B)

Leadership is always a function of the environment and the needs of the environment (Richard, Group B)

As Western (2008) clarified, the language of leadership and the meanings that have been attributed to that language are complicated, where the term *leadership* has traditionally referred to the leader and the way the leader engaged in their own ways of working, rather than a wider relational process.

When attitudes and beliefs about leadership today are rooted in the past, as is leadership pedagogy, it is hard to imagine how leadership in practice can change at a pace that corresponds with the economic demands taking place in the world today. Additionally, historic practices become accentuated through role model learning, a predominant finding in this study over other forms of leadership learning (discussed in Section 6.1.3. How can leadership change?

6.1.1 Compensatory patterns

As explained in Section 3.2, the perspective taken by Jung informs us that when a human system is out of balance, that system seeks balance and adjustment through an unconscious *compensatory* process—a self regulatory process that is similar to the Principle of Organisation in Lewinian field theory. However, unlike field theory, the energy charge from compensatory processes becomes recognised when it breaks through into consciousness in the form of dreams, images, symbols, symptoms, myth, psychic patterns and tensions within the system.

In this research, the most significant compensatory pattern was recognised between leadership descriptions and narratives of people's experiences. This difference was apparent in many interviews in Group A, where there was a difference between descriptions of leadership, expressed in conventional leader-follower terms, and stories of leadership, which included a much wider range of practices associated with relationships, inclusivity and collaboration. With conventional leader-follower practices associated with dominant masculinised ways of working (Koenig et al., 2011), a Jungian lens would suggest that *the feminine* is attempting to break through to re-establish balance: it is compensatory (*the feminine* being a predisposition that both men and women have within them and characterised by relational qualities).

A number of extracts from the data are provided here to illustrate differences between masculine and feminine in leadership, with masculine qualities being associated with structure, control, standards, procedures, individualistic, heroic, practices; feminine qualities being relational, inclusive, collaborative, enabling, community building, organic, holistic ways of working:

Masculine

So what I've found is that I've had to be a lot stronger, I've had to demonstrate, I guess, a lot, being direct and up front, because otherwise you are a lost soul in a group of men, so you're having to push yourself a lot harder and forward a lot more - I think that's why I deal with those reactions. It doesn't offend me (Ann, Group A)

We still have an old boys' network - unwritten rule that you don't do a dirty on the friendship loyalty and relationship. MDs are fiercely loyal to their teams, which isn't recognising the true meaning of diversity. The devil you know is better than the devil you don't know: it is not healthy (Amy, Group A)

Feminine

It's not about 'telling', it's around looking at people as a whole, and not just about what the last thing they ever delivered. We don't want this command and control behaviour—it's very much around maximising individuals' potential (Sandy, Group A)

It took more effort by a lot of people to make sure it happened. Equally the rewards of facilitating were greater. People were scratching each other's backs to make things happen. (Don, Group A)

We have to be selfless about it. When people are not up to standard we look for ways of helping them get better. Sometimes we can turn these people around;, some people just cannot have that difficult discussion. (Anika, Group A)

I think also there's a lot about relationship, so with talking to, you know, so people from Russia, it's all about relationship, talk to people in Greece, it's all about relationship, China, it's all about relationship and so on and so forth, so you know, it's important for me to be able to build that relationship with the franchisees, to develop trust: they need to trust me too. (Emma, Group A)

Combination of masculine and feminine

... his style I admired, which was a healthy balance between collaboration and direction. So he did involve people and you felt like you were being involved all the time. And it was actually a whole lot of fun, whereas when I think about some other times when I've been led, it's not been much fun (Jill, Group A)

The data show examples where leadership is talked about in a masculinised frame of reference and examples where the feminine is active and embedded in everyday activities. People did not describe leadership as relational, inclusive and collaborative.

When it comes to the language of leadership, the feminine appears to be overshadowed, eclipsed or partially eclipsed by a dominant masculine discourse, where masculine practices are highly valued and success is measured. This phenomenon is not within the range of people's perception of leadership; it is largely out of awareness. The findings here are in accord with a study by Fletcher (1999), who discovered a similar process and used the term 'disappearing acts', demonstrating how 'phenomena that fail to fit the masculine ideal get disappeared and devalued in organizational settings' (p. 117). However, the epistemological perspective in this thesis is different to that of Fletcher, where the term *eclipsing* is used to illustrate the extent that a range of practices did not disappear, they were active in practice, but in leadership descriptions were overshadowed by the more dominant, conventional leadership discourse. This topic is discussed in more depth in Chapter 7.

6.1.2 Absences and Gaps

One way of discovering the deeper layers of human behaviour is through absences and gaps in narratives, where absence is something missing in relation to that which is made figural, and gaps are the missing pieces in narrative that are discarded as irrelevant, or overlooked. The analysis here identified gaps and absences within and between narratives concerning *men, women and leadership* and concerning *emotions, the body and reflective practice*:

Men, women and leadership

All the women referred to issues and concerns of working with men in leadership at some stage during their interviews, whereas noticeable by its absence was an appreciation of working with men and the value that men and women can bring together, as well as a lack of reference to gender in leadership by the men in both groups. The following extracts are taken from women's stories. They illustrate the challenges faced through working in a male-dominated environment. The extracts focus on the challenges that women face in such an environment, rather than an aspect of their leadership that is not valued or is devalued:

Historically this industry has been white middle-aged men in big sheds with big lorries, so that just carries on through generation and generation (Sandy, Group A)

This statement emphasises a homogenous organisation with little changing over time; it suggests that she does not expect this to change. The full story included participant insight into how she believes homogeneity holds an organisation back. Another participant described a sense of fear, but not just in herself, in men also:

... it's a big boys' club and the head of distribution for the UK heads up his boys' club, ... he rules by fear. His whole team are absolutely so scared of him and I'm scared of him, you know, he scares me, but he manages by complete fear (Mandy, Group A).

What this indicates is that male ways of promoting men into senior positions exclude women, where men are looking after each other, often taking male colleagues with them when they get promoted. One assumption from this behaviour is that men do not understand (or know) how women can add value to business improvement. As one participant put it:

... the female leaders that I have come across who have been heralded as wonderful and all the rest of it, particularly in the banking industry where there are more males in leader roles at the moment ... what they have done is not to embrace female leaders as such; they have sought out women who could conform to male ideologies of leadership (Jill, Group A).

The story is that women are expected to act in the tradition of 'male ideologies' in order to succeed in management. Studies have shown that productivity is not as good in homogenous teams compared to diverse teams (Desvaux et al., 2008), yet the pull towards masculinised practices is strong, where success is measured in masculine terms, pulling conformity towards conventional practices rather than change (*habitus* and *doxa*). There was a determined effort by some of the women to overcome obstacles that confronted them, but their (conscious) 'fight' colluded with masculinised ways of working rather than breaking it, through assertive and heroic behaviour.

In my own reflexive notes on this issue, I was curious about the absence of gender concerns, gender differences or gender issues in leadership in the interviews from the men (in both Group A and Group B). I wrote 'I wonder what is it like being a man in leadership working with men, working with women?' (reflexive notes 17/12/2011). There is a hidden world here that is not generally addressed in leadership development that is a part of learning, which could be explored through reflective inquiry.

Emotions, the body and reflective practice

A noticeable absence from the transcripts was any direct reference to emotions and the body as relevant or important to leadership, with a small number of participants referring to reflective practice as part of their leadership. Emotions were embedded in stories and at times in the telling of the story. Some men and women mentioned reflection as an important practice in their leadership:

Having a manager that understands you and will push you and challenge you, so that you can then do your own reflection, in a reflection and think, well actually, you know, maybe I need to be doing a lot of that (Kirsty, Group A)

I think it was now, about inspiration, which was quite inspiring, but again, it's this challenge, reflection thing, it's like, I don't know, what do I find inspiring, you know and I couldn't, I struggled to find an individual, could actually find women very inspiring (Kirsty, Group A)

... you naturally then reflect against your own behaviour, don't you? (Linda, Group A)

I think the most important thing is the value of reflection (Steve, Group B)

The idea of emotions and linking head with heart in leadership was introduced by Daniel Goleman (1998, 1995, 2001; Goleman et al., 2001). The work of Otto Scharmer (2009) has further developed emotional understanding and reflective practice for leaders in a deep and profound way. In view of this, it came as a surprise that participants neither talked about emotions nor the body in their narratives, even though some of the stories told were emotionally charged.

6.1.3 Learning patterns

Role model leadership learning was a strong and unexpected pattern in Group A. It transpired during early interviews, which led to inviting people in later interviews to say how they had learned ways of working. When instances arose of effective leadership practice, interviewer interventions ranged from 'How did you

learn to work in that way?’ to ‘Where did you learn to do that?’ In view of this, it was decided to gather stories specifically around role model learning for further examination, with notes then added.

Leadership role models ranged from parents or 'a significant person' in childhood to past and present bosses. These were not high-profile role models at a distance, but were people with whom there was regular and direct contact over a period of time. Studies of role models have shown that both direct and distant role models can play a part in leadership learning. The findings here are consistent with those from a study of a small group of young female managers by Sealy and Singh (2008) where learning through direct contact with the role model was far greater than from more distant high-profile people.

The following interview extract is of a childhood memory in hospital:

I was isolated and my visitors were all adults. I probably learned a lot that stayed with me. I probably developed skills that I never associated with it. Wider leadership skills: I saw the matron who ran the ward with a complete rod of iron who belittled people, everyone was scared of her. I also remember the matron who was the other half of the job share, who got so much more done because she spoke to people ... people liked doing things for her. The being a nice person stood out for me in getting things done. These were two different leadership styles that I picked up on. Only later looking back that I see how they guided my way of doing things (Kate, Group A)

It is only through looking back at the hospital situation that Kate realises how and what she had learned from the different matron styles.

The following story from Anika describes a situation of being bullied by a boss early in her career. A bigger story is included here to hold the *Gestalt* of the narrative.

Some of my learning has come from experiences that I've had, ever seeking the role model, not always finding it - but if you're always looking for a role model, which I've often

done and not found it, then what you see is the role model the way that you don't want to be. I think that one of my first jobs that was a graduate retail management trainee in a supermarket chain - I was in the produce department and the manager took a dislike to me. If I realise someone doesn't like me I need to change it and try to put it right - and I did with this guy and it got me nowhere - he was evil, he used to bawl and shout at me on the shop floor in front of everybody. I probably had more strength of character then than I realised (early 20s) because I think a lot of people would have just burst into tears and run away. For some reason or other I managed not to do that (although I shed a few tears in private). I stuck it out for a year and got another job. because of the way that he treated me - he said that I wasn't very good at my job, and I really didn't like that because I knew that I was and other people told me that I was. He made me redo three months of my scheme and I had to go to another shop to do that - and I went. As luck would have it, the department manager got an infection: within a week of me being there, she was written off for two months. The General Manager asked me if I could do it, to run a department . I said well yes I think I could do it - and the department was huge... but won't let me do it and the training manager won't let me do it. He spoke to both of them and said 'Right - I'm going to give her a week on this department and if she completely cocks it up then we will have to find someone else' but in that week I worked my socks off - but what was great was that the staff on the department worked with me; they really wanted me to run the department. And at the end of it of course at the end of the week he said 'She's running the department, I don't care what you two say, and I ran the department for the remainder of the two months that I was

there and then I went off and got a department of my own -
the real pleasure of that was that..... he was wrong!!
(Anika, Group A)

Anika explained in her interview how she had learned not to be over controlling and dominating with her staff through this experience.

A number of participants in Group A named a parent as a role model, mostly fathers. Whilst one woman referred to her mother as a role model, highlighting the nurturing and relational learning that she had gained:

I've worked for managers that I really like as people, you'd go to the ends of the earth for them, but I don't think I've learnt very much from them. But I think mostly, the nurturing part, my mum was a great role model involving people and engaging people, no-one's right all the time, this sort of thing. (Pat, Group A)

Only one participant mentioned that both parents had been role models for her. Added to this were other role models such as past and present bosses or a significant person in childhood. Learning was described in terms of positive learning as well as 'how not to do it' through bad role model behaviour. Only one person mentioned learning through a leadership programme. The following extracts are taken from transcripts where positive role model learning was embedded in a whole story:

Whatever it is, that passion, that enthusiasm is transmitted through the rest of their team, that's quite important for me, and the guy involved was like that. He was a role model for me (Anika, Group A)

... some of my learning has come through experiences that I've had, ever seeking the role model, not always finding it, but if you're always looking for the role model, which I've often done and not found, then what you see is the role model that you don't want (Pat, Group A)

... it has a lot to do with my childhood. My father is South American, my mother is English. Living in a predominantly white area, I was the only coloured girl at school, I think that

had a lot to do with my character from very early days. I had to be more forceful because of that - but also with my Dad's culture, the family values, the women probably do a lot more of the mundane housework - I don't want to stereotype too much, but it is pretty much like that (Ann, Group A)

And a negative role model:

When I was bullied, that went to the very core of me and I doubted myself, I doubted my ability as an HR professional, but the bullying was so bad I doubted myself as a Mum, as a Wife, as a human being - it was that bad. I did learn a lot by that and wouldn't want to go through it again. That has helped me with a bigger picture of how it is for the organisation (Kate, Group A)

When participants talked about negative role model learning—that is, how not to lead—their stories carried an emotional drama (i.e. experiences of being bullied).

Others learned through their children:

... although curiosity might be natural, it is often hidden, so for me I have a natural curiosity, and I probably learnt it from my son when he was 8 years old, when he said 'what's that dad, why is that, why is that?' (Rob, Group A)

I don't think anybody prepares you for how much you learn off your own children, you know, almost as much, if not more, in some ways, than they learn from you and there's nobody else, it's fascinating (Linda, Group A)

Particularly noticeable in the stories were incidents showing how self-will, self-determination and self-leadership, and for some, low self-belief, were established in early life experiences or early work situations, and have continued to influence their leadership practice today.

Role model learning in itself is not observable: it only becomes apparent when people become aware of it or talk about it. Furthermore, people in leader roles may not think about themselves as role models until it is raised as a possibility or fact.

Role model learning is, however, part of the dynamic field and situationally will influence the field as it happens, as well as when learning is applied—for example through habitus.

If role model learning is as prevalent as this research implies, it may explain why women are struggling in their efforts to reach higher leadership positions. With role models in leadership largely male and masculinised (Koenig et al., 2011), the situation offers little place for women to learn how to bring their feminine qualities into their leadership and succeed. History already tells us the extent to which women have learned masculinised ways of working in management and leadership. There is, however, another perspective concerning this issue. In Jungian thinking, where a system is out of balance, compensatory processes take place. The subject of leadership out of balance and compensatory processes is addressed in Section 6.1.1 and the topic of role model learning is discussed in greater depth in Section 7.4.5.

6.1.4 Metaphor, myth, symbol and image

To understand the deeper layers of social interaction means observing manifestations that come to the surface. Both Jung and Bourdieu valued the symbolic world in language and images, to make meaning of the unobservable. This section identifies examples of symbols, myth, metaphors and images in the data, associated with leadership and leadership learning, that point towards underlying processes of leadership.

Across the narratives there was a strong inclination towards masculinised metaphors/myth. For example:

We still have an old boys' network - unwritten rule that you don't do a dirty on the friendship loyalty and relationship.
(Amy, Group A)

... it's a big boys' club and the head of distribution for the UK heads up his boys' club (Mandy, Group A).

Both these examples illustrate the sentiments felt by the women describing them: the resentment towards a system which seemed to block their progress up the management ladder. Although there was not literally a 'club' of 'old boys' or 'big boys',

both expressed a sentiment of how things work within the system: they carried symbolic power that men in senior roles had, a power that the women did not feel they had.

A more mythological form of masculinised ways of working was illustrated by Rob (Group A):

... not that I like to stay fighting from inside the castle;
you've got to go onto the battle ground at some time and
fight out there. (Rob, Group A)

Later in the interview he repeated:

Clarity is one key issue, willingness to take responsibility,
taking some action. You've got to go onto the battle ground
to fight, but a lot of people aren't prepared to do that for fear
of failure, or something or other. (Rob, Group A)

We can learn a lot about the deeper layers of cultural practices when people connect with or identify with mythologised layers of leadership. Rob spoke frequently about how he saw himself as a leader who had stepped away from conventional leadership practices, yet his narratives still carried deeper mythical layers that told a different story.

Some participants in the field theory group (Group B) described how they use image and metaphor in their work to facilitate learning, illustrating this through case stories. The processes that they described particularly demonstrate the value of metaphor in learning through increasing awareness. The following interview extract from Phil demonstrated his use of metaphor to facilitate learning:

I sometimes ask people to use a metaphor or draw a picture:
'What is the image that comes up when you think about your
team? Could you make a drawing of it? Let's look at other
people's drawings'. In this way the metaphor, the image, the
symbolisation, helps people to also be aware of what was not
in the cognition.

In this example, Phil refers to symbolisation of the team. In doing so, he looks beyond words towards underlying dynamics that metaphor and drawing might reveal.

I say that in my living room there is a piano: when I touch the E key of the piano, the E string on the guitar starts to tremble ... this is exactly what is happening in this group

The use of music in this story showed how a group started to see how they were affecting each other in a way that they previously had not been aware of.

I sometimes draw on the whiteboard an egg with a scratch on it. Some people will say it's broken, you have to throw it away. Others will say maybe there's a little chicken coming out. So causal thinking is very often looking to the past in the way of 'oh it's busted, it's broken', that's causal thinking, ... It's not an effect of something, it has to happen to bring something new. And that is something that is neglected in organisations.

Here, Phil is using imagery to invite people to think differently outside of the familiar, as a way of expanding awareness and seeing the world in a different way.

In each example, metaphor is a tool for learning concepts, or becoming aware of understanding or meaning that is out of awareness: learning that might otherwise be resisted, difficult to absorb, or not conscious. It provides a way of bringing into awareness what might otherwise be difficult to access. The work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) on the use of metaphor in everyday life has imprinted on us the value and function of metaphor. Like story, it is embedded in our language and our lives, and is part of our meaning-making world. The significance in the work of Group B lies in the way that metaphor was used to bring to the surface, to make known, dynamics that were underlying leadership, yet appeared to be out of awareness for the people involved.

6.1.5 Values

Many of the values that we live by lie deep in our social world, as habitus, guiding our interactions but out of awareness. Leadership is rich in values, yet in my own experience as a consultant, leaders tend to find it hard to articulate the values that they live by in their leadership role. As Jones (2002) elucidates, 'Knowing that I feel strongly about something I am aware of is not the same as being aware why I attribute this value to it' (p. 361). In this research, participants were not asked to talk

about their values: these were revealed in their stories and conversations, where participants not only referred to their own values but also to the organisation and team values. The following are a small sample of extracts from the interviews under three headings: *standards*, *fun* and *affiliative environments*:

Standards:

When people are not up to standard we look for ways of helping them get better (Anika, Group A)

It's an internal battle in me. High standards and responsibility dance together for me, but not always for other people (Kate, Group A)

... we treat people with respect because not all individuals are related and respected (Janice, Group A)

I like to treat people as I want to be treated myself (Sandy, Group A)

I was criticised for being one of the lads as I stepped into a number one, but I found that works for me: have some banter, not too lofty or too distant (Alan, Group A)

Work as fun and enjoyable:

You have to get the business done but you have to enjoy it along the way. People talk about that a lot: we must have fun (Jill, Group A).

Creating an enabling and affiliative environment:

I've always been supportive and encouraging, so encourage when things are good and encourage when things are challenging (Fran, Group A)

I'm very affiliative, very supportive, empathetic, collaborative, a good listener, a good communicator (Amy, Group A)

A number of participants from Group A spoke about their values: that is, what really mattered to them, as well as implicit values in stories told. For Group B, their values were implicit in their narratives. Values were largely associated with trust, relationships, growing people, humility, adaptability, flexibility and resilience, some to do with maintaining high standards.

A common theme throughout the interviews in terms of leadership values was supporting and enabling people to achieve. This was conveyed in a number of ways: Through growing people:

I love to see people grow and to get on and to move on through the organisation and there is a sense of feeling of helping people, you know, encouraging, supporting, whatever the agenda is (Kirsty, Group A)

Through supporting and encouraging people:

I've always been supportive and encouraging, so I encourage when things are good and encourage when things are challenging (Fran, Group A)

Through being available for people:

I have a very open door policy. Although I necessarily devolve a lot of responsibility because I have to, I am always there for people when it's clear they need me (Don, Group A)

Don indicates here that as a senior manager, what matters to him is being available for people - but he adds 'when it's clear they need me', suggesting that the open door policy is conditional. From these extracts, values can be interpreted: they offer a good indication of what underlies the respondents' leadership practice.

Values underpin all social action and are deeply embedded in cultures, yet few people are fully aware of the values that drive their action until they are brought to their attention. In Jungian theory, values are rooted in archetypal patterns, and are therefore symbolised, acting powerfully in the compensatory process described in Section 6.1.1.

6.1.6 Organising themes

This category was aimed at including patterns not covered by other topics above, where there appeared to be a *force* (or valence, in Lewinian thinking) that contributed to the way people behaved in a leadership situation. One topic identified concerned confidence. Although low confidence could be associated with personal issues, there is also a good argument to suggest that culturally established practices can also lead to low or diminished confidence: for example, highly masculinised, autocratic environments can diminish confidence for both men and women, when that is not their preferred way of working. The following examples illustrate this:

Low confidence and low self belief

Confidence, or periods of low confidence, was a topic that was raised as a concern in many of the interviews with women in Group A. Whilst none of the men made reference to confidence as an issue, some women shared experiences where their self-belief had been diminished by autocratic leadership in the past:

... and they all said that when they left, you know, their confidence was just rock bottom and I think it's more with the work environment and the way we were treated and the way we were recognised or not recognised or supported in developing ourselves (Emma, Group A)

Others acknowledged this as an issue now:

So, for me, I really struggled in that, and I guess, to a certain degree, confidence and belief for what I do and how I do it is still a big barrier for me as an individual (Fran, Group A)

It takes a while for people to shift into a different mindset. When I was bullied that went to the very core of me and I doubted myself (Kate, Group A)

.....it's confidence in yourself and then the men will have confidence in you (Emma, Group A)

It is not unusual for men or women in leadership to experience moments or periods where their confidence is challenged. Neither is it unreasonable to assume that the confidence of women is likely to be further challenged when working in dominant masculinised environments. This issue, however, may lie deeper than it appears. With

leadership traditionally established as a culturally and psychologically masculinised practice, it is likely that men are able to identify with leadership more than women. This situation can be explained at a deep level through Jungian ideas. Jung believed that psychologically, men are more attuned towards patterns identified as *the masculine*, and women more attuned towards different patterns, identified as *the feminine*. With leadership traditionally established as a culturally and psychologically masculinised practice, it is likely that men are able to identify with leadership more than women. This situation can explain both confidence issues and self-belief issues for women, and also for men who identify strongly with qualities in themselves associated with feminine ways of working. As discussed more fully in Chapter 8, Jungian ideas are not essentialist: that is, Jung strongly argued that all archetypal patterns are available to both men and women (Jung, 1959 [1968]), but some patterns are more available than others.

6.1.7 Etymological understanding

The data showed some differences in the way that language is used and given meaning. Two differences identified here relevant to leadership discourse and their influence on leadership behaviour are the terms *relationship* and *field vs. system*. They are included here as illustrations that the meaning of language, or its intended meaning, is not always clear, contributing to underlying dynamics of social interaction. When multiple meanings exist, as in the term *leadership*, people act 'as if' there is common understanding, creating a gap between what is intended and what is imagined.

Relationship

The word *relationship* was used frequently in many of the interviews in different ways. The first two of the following extracts indicate relationship-building as instrumental or transactional: a means to an end. The second is transformational: that is, building relationships out of which change comes about, with no specific agenda other than to build a relationship in support of the work that is achieved together. The third is either a 'means in itself' or a strategy for building good customer relations (instrumental).

Instrumental relationship building

I will always go for preserving longer relationships - longer relationships are more important than any of those things because you've got another job coming around the corner.
(Rob, Group A)

The example I gave earlier, ego or power or whatever it was, got in the way, which ruined these relationships. If you don't consider relationships you just get isolated. The relationship I maintain at all costs, even if it means giving yourself away. As long as you are focusing on your goal, your responsibility, then fine. Let's hope it leads to both sides achieving their goal (Rob, Group A)

Relationship building

I tried to change the structure of the place, leading by example, tried to meet everyone in the morning ... it began a process of getting people talking to one another. I deliberately went to talk to people who were alienated and peripheral, trying to get people - to get machinery moving. I was very busy, making contact with people. Slowly I sensed things can happen around here - overcoming sluggish cynicism ... Turning negative into positive ... they felt like their views counted. That had not been happening beforehand; there had been a breakdown of communication
(Richard, Group B)

Relationship as a means in itself

I know about my customers: I tend to know what children they've got, what schools they go to, what they do as a family, the football team they support (Pat, Group A)

In this story, Pat went on to acknowledge that she developed relationships in a different way to her male colleagues and noticed how two different ways of building relationships were advantageous:

I couldn't tell you why but in my experience motivationally, how they interact with each other, the mixture works. It is that different slant on things - and I've managed all-male teams and I've managed all-female teams and in my experience the happiest teams are the mixed teams - but I don't know why (Pat, Group A)

These examples suggest different relational intent, which may not be conscious intent but instinctive ways of building relationships. As Pat (Group A) suggests, a combination of different relational styles can work to the advantage of the business. It is not a matter of one being better than another: the importance here is to do with divergence of meaning from awareness.

Field vs. System: Interpretations of field

The following interview extracts illustrate how each participant interpreted the field theory. There is a difference between the participants regarding the language of *field* and *life space*, discussed in Section 3.1. Steve talked at length, differentiating between life space and field, where:

the life space is the phenomenology of the field for the individual ... which is not the totality (Steve, Group B)

He particularly drew attention to the phenomenological life space, using the interview situation to illustrate his point:

... you and I are totally creating the field of 'us', which neither of us can see. I can see you in terms of my life space, you can see me in terms of your life space, but these two field or life spaces are the field of Sue and Steve, or Steve and Sue. (Steve, Group B)

In a similar way, Phil described this co-created situation but used 'field' rather than 'life space':

Something is creating and created, at the same time, as a sort of multiple influence... Quality is a characteristic of the field that both of us are creating (Phil, Group B)

Whereas Richard emphasised:

... it's not so much that I USE field theory or perspective,
more that I TAKE a field perspective (Richard, Group B)

What he meant by this is that field theory in practice is a viewpoint, observing what is taking place over time and not analysing it.

Both Richard and Jamie pointed out how perception changes according to changes taking place in the environment and life situations:

Perception changes as a situation changes. Lewin's example of people in the battle field illustrated this: as they got closer to the enemy they noticed different things (Richard, Group B)

Field is always reconfiguring itself and therefore nothing is fixed. You've got to stay in the moment for the next steps (Jamie, Group B)

The descriptions above were consistent with the narratives of leadership experience offered by these participants, where a demonstration of field theory in practice, as described here, was evident in stories told of leadership experiences. However, experiences were largely through their own case studies

In Group A, a small number of what could be described as field-oriented comments were embedded in narratives (not descriptions):

... that's the moment in a meeting, I've never really thought about this before, is when the raw material of thought and a bit of process that's happening starts to build into some sort of common solution (Rob, Group A)

As an organisation, talking to people here I think there is still some baggage from the previous Director General, who was an organisational bully - people suffered at his hand who are still finding it difficult to trust and to deal with change and to cope with issues in the workplace when there has been

bad leadership, not just at the time but also going forward, it can take a lot to find the positive things when they've been so negative (Kate, Group A)

I don't want a silo. I want us to accept the whole of the project, not just the individual elements of it (Pat, Group A)

Each of these statements refers to something occurring that is outside of commonly held perceptions: a field dynamic that influences the path of action, or a holistic perspective—as one person put it, ‘a subtext’.

Difference between field and system

A divergence in the views of participants in Group B, in both theory and application, concerned the difference between systems and field. Several of the participants were keen to describe field theory and what it meant to them. The main themes in these descriptions, as well as in narratives of their leadership experiences, were: a holistic attitude, perception-based practice, leadership informed by context, field dynamics as energy, difference between life-space and field, relational leadership.

Chapter 3 described how there has been a merging of field theory and systems theory, with few clear distinctions made between them. Systems theory has established some authority in the organisational development theory literature (Campbell and Huffington, 2008; Haslebo and Nielson, 2000; Campbell et al., 1994) compared to field theory, but appears to have lost some important qualities that field theory carries.

Some participants differentiated between systems theory and field theory, while others were invited to define their understanding of the difference as part of the flow of conversation. It transpired from this group that the term *systems* is more acceptable to leadership learning than *field theory* and is used to assist learning in preference to *field*. The extracts that follow are how some participants thought about both:

I think in level of system, I don't think in terms of field. I think of everything as relational (Jamie, Group B)

This comment reveals a contradiction in Jamie's interview: on the one hand, he is implying that he is not informed by field theory in his work but he then goes on to explain a field theoretical perspective on a case study. He goes on to explain how he 'became more and more interested in field theory and it also became more seemingly, when I say modern, it was like, it was suddenly in system theory'. In the first extract he is saying that field theory is not relational. This latter point is explored more fully in Section 7.6.3. The following two extracts explain how participants use the terminology of *system* in client work, where Steve avoids using *field theory* terminology in favour of *systems theory* to explain his process. By contrast, Phil uses systems theory and field theory as two separate interweaving practices:

I think the thing with corporate work that I have found is that it's possible to think and talk field theoretically with individual leaders, generally speaking I would translate it into systemic terms for larger groups (Steve, Group B)

I see systems theory as something that is useful when you want a different shape in groupings, sub-groups, you want to look at different levels of system. Just saying that, is really putting yourself outside and looking at things (Phil, Group B)

In this final extract, Sara is using *system* to describe the organisation:

... with my union work, for example, which is definitely a political system and which was fascinating, because I realised when people moved around in that system, what was said in one group would be different to what was said in another group (Sara)

The interplay between field theory and systems theory in organisational learning could be attributed to the greater value and credibility given to the structural, more objective nature of systems thinking. Where systems theory is more aligned to traditional ways of thinking, field theory is more aligned to new relational, post-heroic ways of thinking (O'Neill and Gaffney, 2008; Parlett, 1991; Lewin, 1938).

Language is more than words. The way we use language carries meaning, and, as Bourdieu argued, should be examined in terms of its relationship with the situation in which it is generated (Grenfell and James, 1998). Bourdieu further argued that '... linguistic relations are always relations of symbolic power through which the relations of power between speakers and their respective groups come into being in a transfigured way' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992a, p. 118, cited in Grenfell and James, 1998). However, it is still possible for language to be used in everyday discourse, where meanings within the exchange are misinterpreted but acted on *as if* correct interpretations are made. The example of what is meant by *relationship* is important for new developments in leadership, and it may serve the future of leadership better if *field* and *system* were more clearly differentiated.

6.2 Review of the method

The narrative interview method was supported by taking a field view of leadership in my own consultancy and coaching work. Narratives are an aspect of the field and can provide both a factual and a metaphorical window through which hidden dynamics between people can be observed. Although other methods were considered, narrative research, designed as a free-flowing conversational interview, provided a lens through which underlying social, cultural and collective influences on leadership could be studied through the narrative data. Whilst approaching each interview, the two main parameters guiding the interview process were a focus on leadership and the drawing out of narratives of leadership experiences. Beyond these guidelines, the free-flowing approach allowed the interviews to open up in unexpected ways, allowing for an emergent quality to the research. As a result, the major and most unexpected finding in this research, concerning eclipsed leadership practices, were revealed.

This kind of research can feel messy at times, with a loose sense of direction, which may lead to direction being sought too quickly through the researcher's own agenda or in support of a hypothesis. One way to manage this kind of messiness was to identify themes (patterns) early in the interview process. An example of this was the role model theme, which allowed for a new area of thought on leadership learning to develop. My own knowledge and experience in teaching leaders, along with published work on the subject of emergent and deterministic strategy (Clayton, 1997), the concepts on emergent strategy developed by Mintzberg (1987) and

professional knowledge of field theory all informed and guided this process. The free-flowing emergent approach did not take place in a knowledge vacuum, but was informed and guided by established thinking in organisational studies and practice. Other methods may have reached a similar conclusion, but the value and purpose of this study was the depth of inquiry that could be achieved through the free-flowing approach in a limited space of time with each participant. There are arguments for and against this approach: arguments for support the rich data that can emerge from a free-flowing method, while arguments against concern a loss or perceived lack of parameters to the research. Emergent and deterministic processes work in tandem, requiring a skill that enables the process to become messy enough for new data to emerge, but held enough for participants to feel comfortable and good practice to be maintained. That calls attention to the processes and interactions of the interview, whilst at the same time listening to content. Researcher influences were factored into the research through reflexivity, rather than ignored or discounted.

Approaching the study through narrative research provided a process of inquiry that was aligned with field theory and offered a way of looking into people's experiences in depth. Yet questions arose during the analysis that only the participant could answer. I found myself asking questions in my reflexive notes, such as 'I wonder why she said that?' and 'why did he respond in that way?' One such question arose on noticing the lack of reference to gender issues in leadership by the men interviewed. My interpretation of that finding was that it was not of high interest to them, but equally it might have been valuable to find out.

These findings were both limited and strengthened by the twelve women from one organisation. In knowledge of the findings here, mixed gender groups across different industries could provide a useful set of data with a wider range of comparisons, particularly concerning the gap between leadership descriptions and leadership experiences and the topic of gender for both men and women. The fact that the other eleven participants in this research were from a wide range of professions provided some comparisons; however, caution must be applied in drawing general conclusions at this stage.

A further point that cannot be ignored here is my own leadership style, which I would describe as more emergent and relational than deterministic. I am reasonably comfortable with emergent processes, with inquiry and relational work. When I set

out on this research I had not considered that my own approach might be reflected in some way in the results. This raises a number of questions: Did I in some way influence the results? Would a masculinised researcher have achieved different results? Would a male researcher have made a difference? I imagine that the answer to all these questions is a definite 'yes', and that my own reflexive notes have made an important contribution to the study.

6.3 Concluding thoughts

The findings from this study suggest that social, cultural and collective influences underlie leadership and are out of awareness, and furthermore, that certain practices which come to the surface and influence the way in which leadership manifests are known yet become eclipsed. This study offers some insight into the complexity of leadership, of underlying attitudes and forces that influence the way that people act, of the extent to which role model learning takes place and that role models are largely unaware of this, and of organising forces around which actions constellate and leadership becomes manifest, while the forces remain out of awareness.

The following two chapters discuss the key findings from the data in terms of the Lewinian field theory, Jung and archetypal patterns, Bourdieu and symbolism, habitus and social fields. The discussions particularly focus on the gap between leadership discourse and leadership in practice, men and women working together, role model learning and leadership as dynamic fields.

Chapter 7

UNDERLYING INFLUENCES OF LEADERSHIP

This chapter discusses in more depth six key findings from this research indicating unseen social, cultural and collective influences that operate beneath the surface of leadership. These are: differences between the description of and experience of leadership; differences between male and female understanding of leadership; the contribution to leadership of relationship, inclusivity and collaboration; values that influence leadership; role-model learning; and the substantial effect of dynamic social and cultural fields. Some reflections on the case study outlined in Appendix 3 are also included here.

7.1 Descriptions and experiences of leadership

Leadership is much more than what we see and know. The results of this study showed how participants describe leadership in traditional terms, from the position of leader in a role and leader-follower thinking, whereas narratives of leadership experiences revealed underlying layers of relationship building, inclusivity and considering people in ways that descriptions of leadership thinking did not.

A reasonable interpretation of this data is that cultural mindsets and attitudes towards leadership are narrowly associated with a leader's traditional unidirectional role. In line with Durkheim's notion of representation, participants talked about leadership 'as if' there is a common understanding, despite studies showing that a wide and varied range of leadership descriptions exist. Wood and Ladkin (2006) offer an explanation for this. In a small scale study, they attempted to 'catch' the constitutive elements that create the 'leaderful moment' (p. 12). In their discussion, they argue that the structures of leader-follower act against considering leadership in a different way:

The problem is that we tend to confuse the actual occasion of leadership with these designated points, which we then isolate, set apart and label as universal. We have to acknowledge the paradox that without the 'density' of 'leader' and 'follower' identities that gives access to events, leadership may not be recognised at all. (p. 34)

Whilst this explanation is illuminating, Western (2008) offers further expansion in terms of linguistics to the question of why the terms 'leader' and 'leadership' have become fused together. Where 'lead' is both a noun and a verb, 'leader' is used to denote a person (or group) having influence over others, and leadership is used to describe a 'certain type of social interaction' (p. 23). At the same time, 'leadership' is used to describe personality traits and behaviours. This accumulation of terminology makes leadership linguistics and meaning-making complicated in their usage and in leadership development. In this study, when people referred to leadership of any kind they referred to acts of leadership that are unidirectional, including examples where more relational and inclusive acts of leadership were demonstrated. This positioning can give leaders status, maintaining influence that is not ascribed to people in non-leader roles—in Bourdieuan terms, *symbolic power*.

When leadership is focused on the leader, acts of leadership in the wider community of the organisation are likely to be eclipsed, neither recognised nor valued as leadership. When understood as a dynamic field, leadership can be appreciated as an interactive, social process (Day and Harrison, 2007; Northouse, 2004) where the leaders in role contribute to that process both socially and symbolically but are not all of it. That is the case whether an organisation operates heroic leadership, where leadership is attributed to the leader, or relational leadership that 'recognizes leadership wherever it occurs' (Uhl-Bien, 2006, p. 654). To make a shift of this kind in an organisation—that is, to think of leadership as a dynamic, interactive field—is a significant step to take against the backdrop of the traditional leader-follower paradigm. Leadership learning further exacerbates the problem, where the bigger idea of leadership is marginalised in favour of focusing on the traits and expertise of the individual. Iles and Preece (2006) argue that this wrongly 'reinforces the message that leadership is about the personal attributes or competencies of leaders' (p. 323). It also accentuates the symbolic power of the leader role.

The ideas of Bourdieu can offer some explanations here. The dominant leader-follower model of leadership can be understood through habitus and field—habitus bringing past beliefs, attitudes and experiences into the present through a relational process that is out of awareness, not thought about; field being the social structures and systems that occur through these relational processes. As explained in Chapter 2, the history of leadership is strongly rooted in leader-follower thinking and practices, and Bourdieuan ideas explain how this becomes the habitus of interactions and doxa of social fields—deeply embedded in our culture and out of awareness. Furthermore, leader roles are seen to carry both prestige and financial reward in the business world at large. The widely accepted beliefs and attitudes around leadership contribute to constituting the field of an organisation in a meaningful way: in turn, the practices of leadership in organisations and institutions contribute to constituting widely accepted beliefs and attitudes around leadership. Until doxa is challenged, habitus maintains the orthodoxy.

The role of language is also relevant here. As already illustrated in Chapter 2, the world of leadership is filled with language that often goes without question. As Grenfell and James (1998) explain, 'Language, for Bourdieu, is primordial' (p. 78) where 'social reality is constructed in and through language' (ibid.). To link this idea to leadership helps us to understand the extent to which the language of leadership is imbued in social reality and social action. Language is both a product of leadership and gives leadership definition, which may also explain why 'definitions' of leadership by research subjects were aligned to conventional thinking.

Many participants described relational, inclusive and collaborative ways of working that are not typical of conventional leadership practice. These findings are consistent with Fletcher (2004; 1999), who described a similar phenomenon, which she called 'disappearing acts', where 'phenomena that fail to fit the masculine ideal get disappeared and devalued in organisational settings' (p. 117). She showed that relational or 'stereotypically feminine logic' (p. 91) disappeared because it did not fit with the norms of the system associated with effectiveness—individualism, independence and hierarchical structures. Although her study involved only women, she concluded that this phenomenon was not about men versus women, but about masculine logic that impinges on both men and women. Even so, Fletcher argued that women are in a particularly disadvantaged situation because culturally femininity is associated with being 'relational', yet when women act in a relational way at work a

vicious cycle begins—their behaviour is misunderstood and conflated with femininity, and femininity is associated with ways of working that are not associated with effectiveness. In her 2004 essay, she connects relational practices with *postheroic* leadership models, where she states:

Another important aspect of postheroic leadership is its emphasis on leadership as a social process. Postheroic leadership is portrayed as a dynamic, multidirectional, collective activity—an emergent process more than an achieved state. (p. 649)

The difference in this thesis compared to the ideas of Fletcher is the point of view being taken. Fletcher is seeking to describe a postheroic model of leadership and to deal with feminist concerns of imbalance. This thesis is seeking to understand how the underlying field creates the imbalance that exists. Particularly, relational and inclusive acts did not disappear: they were described in bold and accentuated ways. Where Fletcher (1999) noticed how relational acts 'disappeared' in the construction of work, the relational, inclusive and collaborative practices in this study did not disappear: they were actively working but were eclipsed by the language of leadership and the symbolic power that surrounds the leader role—they exist, are acted out, but are overshadowed by the brightly lit, prestigious world created by the leader-follower paradigm.

7.2 Men and women working together

Men and women working together is a leadership issue. Although it was not an intention of this research to focus on gender, it arrived through its notable absence—that is, the absence of positive references to men and women working together in leadership, and the absence of any reference at all by men towards gender as a topic worth discussing. As Collinson (2005) emphasised, the issue of gender in leadership cannot be ignored: it is an 'inescapable feature of leadership dynamics' (p. 1431) and 'inherently gendered in style' (Sealy and Singh, 2008, p. 208). This research showed how gender is discussed by women in the context of their own professional development and leadership practice, in their own self interest, as opposed to its importance to leadership in general.

The findings here mirror current public discussion, where gender difference is a concern for women climbing up the leadership ladder but is less about what is 'between men and women', more on what women can bring to a business from a masculinised viewpoint—as demonstrated in the proceedings of the recent House of Lords Select Committee on Women on Boards evidence gathering (O’Cathain, 2012). The 'between' discussion is not attended to. One way of interpreting this is that women are complicit with the dominant masculine ethos and the eclipsing of qualities within themselves.

As already explained, the case study outlined in Appendix 3 of a women's leadership development programme, provided practical reflections. The programme revealed how the behaviour of the women changed markedly when the male CEO joined them in a meeting. Part way through the programme, the CEO was invited to meet the women to discuss the advancement of women in leadership within the organisation. The women spent half a day drawing on their learning and working collaboratively, preparing for their conversation with the CEO. When the CEO arrived, the collaborative attitude and intention became largely eclipsed by a more individualistic, deterministic and competitive positioning by the women. In Lewinian field theory terms, the field became organised around the position and authority of the CEO—his authority was *figural* and the collaborative team work faded into *ground*. In Bourdieuan theory, what was in the social field was symbolic power held by the CEO and deferred to by the women. Orthodoxy was tangible. Furthermore, in this organising progress, and apparently out of awareness, there appeared to be positioning within the group of women as an opportunity to promote themselves (as a career move), acting into (complicit with) the very culture of the 'big boys club' mentality in the culture of the organisation, that they had criticised earlier in the programme. A group of men may have acted in a similar way, but the issue here was that the women had been intentional in their agreed approach and aware of their own collaborative standpoint earlier that day. A review of the event showed that most of the women had not realised what had happened until they reflected on it later, indicating the extent of hidden forces in the room that had been influencing the situation.

It is inevitable that many underlying forces that shape leadership have been created through male dominance in leadership. Drawing on the ideas of Bourdieu and symbolic violence (Section 3.3), it is unclear from this study to what extent women

are complicit with their situation in leadership: that is, not only taking-for-granted their subordinate position, but acting in a way that maintains that position. The situation is more complex than it seems. There were examples in both the interviews and the case study of acts of a complicit nature by women. There were also examples where that was not the case, where women were acting against male domination, attempting to assert their position and confront dominant male practices. There was one occasion when both were taking place at the same time—that is, confronting male dominance whilst being complicit within the relational exchange in the moment. Two forces were acting against each other, which neither the men nor the women involved were aware of. It could be argued that these patterns are indicative of changes taking place in the wider practices of leadership.

7.2.1 Leadership styles differing

Do women differ from men in their leadership styles? Eagly and Carli (2007) challenged the view by some experts who claim that men and women do not differ when in the same leadership positions. Based on the above scenario, if women feel the need to act in masculinised ways in order to succeed in masculinised environments, they are not likely to be seen to be different. Differences were observed by Eagly and Carli (ibid.), who noticed 'a more collaborative and democratic manner than men' (p. 119). They differentiated practices of women, such as *good coach*, *good teacher*, *democratic*, from the traditionally masculinised practices of *command-and-control*, *autocratic*, *directive*. In the present research, the good coach/teacher was demonstrated a number of times as an element of female leadership, not only in their own coaching but as a role model for encouraging their staff to coach, whereas the men did not indicate that they used coaching or teaching practices. To compare this behaviour with that of men is one way of looking for differences, but there are complexities in the argument as to whether men and women approach leadership the same or differently.

It would appear that what men and women identify with in leadership makes a difference to their leadership progression. Vinnicombe and Singh (2002) showed how a dominant masculine style that is 'highly instrumental' (p. 129) at top levels of management is a limiting factor in women's career progression, because women are 'less likely to identify with, and be seen as identifying with the current model of leadership' (ibid.). Even though women see themselves as 'androgynous or feminine'

(ibid.), a transformational style is 'based on personal respect, mutual trust and a regard for the contribution which each team member can bring' (p. 121). Vinnicombe and Singh contend that the powerful masculinised dominance at the top is likely to have an impact on women's career aspirations because women do not want to become more masculinised. Whilst Ryan and Haslam, (2005) explain in a different way that 'many men and male managers remain unconvinced about the effectiveness of women leaders' (p. 81) because their greatest strength, their 'female nature', is not recognised. As a consequence, women *experience* themselves as invisible (Regine and Lewin, 2003; Fletcher, 1999).

In this study it was the feminine that was *eclipsed*, not women that are invisible. Women are not invisible when they bring a masculinised presence to their leadership practice. Many women demonstrated this in the interviews and on the learning programme in the case study. They substantiated their skills to adapt, through their ability develop their masculine qualities in order to achieve professional success: it is a strength that they have developed, but it also acts against them. In the 1980s and 1990s a wave of assertiveness training came through management and leadership development, which provided women with the necessary skills to step into more senior roles. How women assert themselves depends on context. In a study on linguistics of female leadership, Baxter (2010) illustrated how different kinds of organisations carry variations of masculinised ethics, showing how women respond linguistically in different ways to these variations. In her study she showed how context makes a difference to what emerges and becomes what people identify with and relate to. Due Billing and Alvesson (2000) make a further point that leadership practices are not fixed but change over time according to cultural shifts, as context changes over time. What this means in leadership research is that context must be considered before conclusions are made.

7.2.2 Adapting to the prevailing leadership ethic

When women talked about gender or gender stereotyping in this research, it was usually in terms of challenges that were in front of them or stepping away from their own gender stereotype image, like giving up the housework. Some women described the challenges women face in leadership and moving up the leadership ladder, where the expectation has been to conform to masculinised practices. The strength of women's comments in airing these challenges does not come from passive

women: there was a determination expressed that suggests that this was not happening. That women have conformed in order to reach senior levels says a lot about the determination, assertion and visibility of the women who have made it. What remains less visible is the feminine, and what is known is that the number of women in senior roles is low compared to men, which acts against effective organisational practice. Studies show that mixed gender company boards are more productive than homogenous boards (Desvaux et al., 2008; Curtis et al., 2012). By contrast, noticeable in the data analysis of this study was that none of the eight men interviewed mentioned gender at all, even though they regarded some of the more feminised practices as important to leadership.

As Baxter (2010) concluded, women have creatively adapted to dominantly masculinise environments, especially at the top, where she reported how women use 'double-voiced discourse' (Bakhtin, 1929/1981, quoted by Baxter, 2010) in order to sound neither 'too masculinised nor too feminised' (Baxter 2010, p. 174). She questions whether 'the stamina required to keep up this level of linguistic work may prove too arduous or undermining for some' (ibid.), where they often adapt to masculinised environments in order to succeed. For a woman in the dynamic field of leadership, her feminine, her greatest gift to her work, will feel undervalued. The full potential of her contribution will be missed, but she may not know why.

This issue has been debated for some years in the context of women's ways of working not being understood or appreciated vis-à-vis masculinised ways of working. Walkerdine (1989) reported a very clear misapprehension of girls' performance in school. She said that 'no matter how well girls were said to perform, their performance was always downgraded or diminished in one way or another' (p. 58). A similar misapprehension of performance appears in research on the progression of women's careers more recently. A phrase much used is that 'women are promoted on performance and men on potential' (Economist, Nov. 2011). The source of this view is credited to research by Catalyst (a pro-women independent research organisation). The research presented this statement as a question, positing an explanation for results they obtained when investigating women's salary progression. The research findings showed that men's salaries increased more rapidly as a result of changing jobs: that is, being selected for their potential. Women's salaries progressed most rapidly by remaining with an organisation (in an analogy to the 'glass ceiling', this has been termed the 'sticky floor') and this relates to the need to absolutely prove

ability—it cannot be assumed as it often is in the case of men. The feminine way of working and achieving results is less visible or not understood in a masculinised culture.

The present study provides examples of women decrying even their own abilities where they do not fit the masculinised culture in which they work. Vinnicombe and Singh (2002) said:

For females, if the perceived criteria are based on male stereotypes, then that may lead them to withdraw from the competition, even if they have genuine managerial and leadership talent and qualifications. (p.121)

This research confirms and emphasises that rather than there being a need for new models of leadership to address gender imbalance in leadership, there may be a greater need to build self belief in women for advocating existing feminine qualities and practices in leadership. Women's adaptive qualities may have served them well, but to over rely on these qualities to achieve success in professional career moves may be a betrayal of their feminine nature.

7.3 Relational, inclusive and collaborative leadership practices

The organisations which practice traditional models of leadership and measure leadership capabilities through leader-follower competencies may not carry the intention of relational, collaborative and inclusive ways of working, but nevertheless carry social processes in which relational interactions take place among both men and women. This research showed how these relational interactions support leadership through collaborative, inclusive and enabling acts. Leader-follower structures and relational leadership practices are at work within the same organisational system, but what do men and women really mean when they talk about *relationships*, *relating*, *relational*, or *building relationships*: do they mean the same or different?

Many participants in this study described relationship-building as an important part of their leadership. Yet, there were differences in the way the terms were used—as an instrumental intention or a quality of social interaction. The difference between men's and women's relational styles was considered by Baxter (2010) as a prerequisite for her study on the female language of leadership. What is notable about Baxter's view is that, for the purpose of her book, she defines women's leadership

style as *relational*. There is an important debate here to be developed concerning relational practice and differences between men and women. That debate will be developed further in Chapter 8. The focus here is to assume that there is a difference in the use of the term 'relational', and that difference is based on intention, where intention in field theory terms is an underlying influence that is out of awareness. The following extracts illustrate different intentions observed in the data:

... it's inclusive and just treating everybody the same, no matter who they are or what role they're performing, you know, like the cleaner comes round my building at 5 o'clock every night, I know that she had horses and she'd compete, 'cause you never know what people do and what they can bring to something, so I suppose it's, you know, having that spirit of wanting to know, especially your team, who they are and what they do and what they want to do (Kath, Group A)

Kath's attitude here is inclusive rather than exclusive, in that she makes a point of involving the cleaner as part of the wider team. Her approach is relational, which is not instrumental, but her way of involving others around her. She goes on to describe how getting to know people, whatever her job, helped her to understand the skills and interests people have that otherwise she would be unaware of. She explained that this enabled her to build a good relationship with people as well as to involve people in a wide range of activities when she could:

... people have got other skills that we can use that we don't know about, we just advertise if anybody's got a camcorder they're quite good at, 'cos we want to make a DVD of some colleagues, so we thought if we can get somebody just to come off the shop floor and do it, you know, that's brilliant for them and it sort of saves us, [laughs], a bit of money as well, so yeah, I think it's just being inclusive, being open, being transparent (Kath, Group A)

Context is not static, but a dynamic field. Kath is building a relational context in which field dynamics support leadership, not act against it, although she does not think of it in this way.

In the next extract, Don described how people had changed in the organisational culture to a more relational way of working across departments, following a big project involving several departments. In this first example there is a sense of collaboration in which the relationships were not just instrumental, but also of a quality beyond intention towards more collegiate working:

It took more effort by a lot of people to make sure it happened. Equally the rewards of facilitating were greater. People were scratching each other's backs to make things happen. It has undoubtedly changed the way that we do these things ... more collaborative work. We've since been communicating that. (Don, Group A)

He went on to explain that:

Obviously over time when you build up close relationships with people you can understand people's strengths and weaknesses. That's fine, many people establish those relationships with the directors, which is good, but I'm more concerned with relationships with people on a more *ad hoc* basis or a less frequent basis, where the manner in which they get what they want often then dictates not just singular, but reputationally a lot of people's attitude towards you and towards the function. (Don, Group A)

In this case the relational intention seems more aligned with an outcome, and is instrumental in Don's professional approach to his leadership and to establishing a good reputation for himself.

In the following extract, Jill describes a previous manager who had been a role model for her. Through direct experience, she illustrates how she had learned the value of building relationships, inclusivity, collaboration and enabling people to achieve, at a time when she was new to her job and still in her early twenties.

... when I was a trainer there was a regional training manager who was somebody who I probably aspired to be for quite some time, in terms of his style, his style I admired, which was a healthy balance between collaboration and

direction. So he did involve people and you felt like you were being involved all the time. And it was actually a whole lot of fun. Whereas, when I think about some other times when I've been led it's not much fun (Jill, Group A)

She went on to describe her manager:

... he was awesome in the way he inspired us. The inspiration part of it. It was the giving you support, being supportive and you feel that you could make mistakes (Jill, Group A)

Jill regarded herself as fortunate to have had this experience, which later encouraged her to support her own teams in a similar way, as she stepped into a management role.

These examples provide an insight into the way that participants thought about the contribution that people make, and about building on that in support of leadership. By contrast, the example of Don and other examples shown in Section 6.1.7 illustrate a more instrumental intention, which can be associated with entity-based leadership (Fitzsimons et al., 2011; Fletcher, 2011) where relational practices are outcome-focused.

As described in Chapter 2, the notion of relational leadership has been growing in interest since the 1990s (Uhl-Bien and Ospina, 2012; Fitzsimons et al., 2011; Uhl-Bien, 2006; Drath, 2001; Fletcher, 2011, 1999; Regan and Brooks, 1995) with an ontology that ranges from entity-based relational leadership through to the vast interplay within the social activities of an organisation that contribute to leadership. These developments are largely associated with distributed leadership (Fitzsimons et al., 2011), distinguishing between a number of leadership approaches. On the one hand the relational practices of *relational-entity* leadership are seen as instrumental, whilst the *relational-systemic perspective* is concerned with patterns of relating that 'often reflect systemic and unconscious strategies for managing the collective anxieties associated with adaptive learning' (Fitzsimons et al. 2011, p. 320). This thesis takes a step further, offering new insight into the social unconscious of leadership systems that can advance the ideas developed by Fitzsimons et al. on the relational-systemic perspective of distributed leadership.

What further conclusions can be drawn from this research regarding relational, inclusive and collaborative styles of leadership? Whether leadership, as events within a system, can be adequately researched through a snapshot approach, as undertaken in the interviews here, is questioned by Popper (2004), who argues that:

A true picture of a phenomenon so complex as leadership cannot be obtained, to use a metaphor from photography, by looking at stills which freeze a situation at a given moment ... it requires photography that shows movement over time.
(p. 118)

In terms of this research, Popper has a point. Although narrative carries a quality of a story over time, providing a window into leadership in practice, it does not provide movement over time, in real time. He explains that conceptualising leadership in terms of relationships includes a wide range of variables, such as situational, cultural and ideological, as well as a desire for strong leadership. That means that leadership carries a contemporaneous quality, where acts of leadership today may not have been appropriate ten years ago but nevertheless carry role model learning from the past into the present. The point here is that when social interaction is understood to be a fundamental aspect of leadership, then the hidden dynamics of people over time become relevant. Looking towards new ways of thinking about leadership, Uhl-Bien et al. (2007) reflect that:

... much of leadership thinking has failed to recognize that leadership is not merely the influential act of an individual or individuals but rather is embedded in a complex interplay of numerous interacting forces (p. 302).

Consistent with this idea, many leadership experiences described in this research indicated that relational, inclusive and collaborative acts are not isolated incidents but are held as values, aspects of considered leadership practice.

Relational, inclusive and collaborative activities may support leadership but in themselves they are not conventionally understood as acts of leadership. For clarity here, the language of movement forward, such as direction-giving (Section 3.1) or 'direction-finding' (Collier and Esteban, 2000) refers to acts of leadership. On the other hand, relational, inclusive and collaborative activities refer to acts which create the conditions out of which leadership acts can take place. This is an important

distinction if we are to give voice to more relational leadership practices.

7.4 Values

In this research, the findings showed a wide range of implicit human values in stories told, even though few participants voiced that values were important to them. Apart from a small number of incidents where values could be associated with standards of practice, the majority of values were connected with enabling and supporting employees, inclusivity, involving people, building relationships and creating a fun environment in which to work. That these were evident in activities described by participants suggests that in practice a shift may be taking place from individualistic notions of leadership to more relational, inclusive and collaborative practices.

According to Emery (1997 [1967]), values are underlying forces of the dynamic field of leadership. He argues:

It is essential to bear in mind that values are not strategies or tactics and cannot be reduced to them. As Lewin et al. (1944, p. 14) have pointed out, they have the conceptual character of "power fields" and act as guides to behaviour. (p. 85)

With this in mind, values guide acts of leadership. They are an aspect of tacit learning: they are passed on, learned through role models and often re-formed into personal styles. Personal values are embodied and largely go unnoticed as values, but become evident in conversation and storied accounts of experiences when people describe what really matters to them.

Bolden and Gosling (2006) argue that personal values are frequently overlooked in leadership in favour of corporate values, which tend to be aspirational and which employees are expected to adhere to. Corporate values become objectified, whereas personal values are subjective. Ideally, corporate values are aligned with personal values through skilful recruitment, whilst personal values can become eclipsed by corporate values. In this way, personal values may carry a powerful underlying force in the organisation and through social interactions. In a case example described by one of the participants in the Consultants' Group (described in Section 7.6.1), the values of the leader were predominantly 'be friendly and be nice to

people', acting as a powerful underlying force throughout the system. The case study described how people conformed to this ethos, and the values ultimately acted against effective business practice in other ways. The system went out of balance.

With values significantly high on the leadership agenda, it is surprising to hear that they are not considered as an important quality in terms of leadership competencies. Bolden (2004) found an absence of values in a study of leadership competencies, in a review of public, private and generic leadership quality frameworks. These omissions, he argues, point towards 'a qualitative shortfall, particularly with regard to the moral, emotional and social dimensions of leadership, in the types of skills and qualities currently being developed and rewarded within organisations' (p. 1). Values fall into a category of a qualitative and moral dimension of leadership, hard to evaluate and measure in masculinised terms, sitting very much in the feminine domain. However, the results from Bolden's study raised a dilemma:

The tendency of competency frameworks to steer clear of the more abstract and contested dimensions of ethics, emotion and social relations, however, is perhaps not surprising. Indeed, a fundamental element of their attraction to policy makers, employers and educators is the manner in which they offer a sense of clarity over the nature of leadership and how it can be measured and developed. Making reference to the less “rational” concepts of morality and emotions might be seen to undermine their ability to predict and prescribe managerial behaviour yet, at the same time, a failure to do so greatly undermines their utility in the real world. (p. 8)

Values are active within the dynamic field of leadership: they are a guide to social interaction and learned through social interaction, they exist in habitus and are embedded in doxa and operate largely out of awareness. They are, however, significant in role model learning.

7.5 Role model learning

Cultural and life narratives tell us a lot about leadership in practice. In this research, they revealed the extent to which role model learning takes place from early life through to workplace learning (Section 6.1.3), positioning role model learning as significant in leadership learning. Role model learning is largely serendipitous (perhaps teleological) and not solely situated in the workplace: it can come from outside and through early life experiences. In negative role model learning—that is, how not to act in leadership—there was a predominance of bosses rather than people from outside the workplace.

All but two of the leadership group talked about learning through a role model. This included both men and women. In contrast, none of the field theory group made this connection. Role models ranged from parents, both fathers and mothers, to adults who had made an impression in early life such as a nanny or a hospital matron. Others referred to people in leadership roles through a career where they had learned valuable leadership practices as well as avoiding bad practices that they had suffered. Only one person said that a leadership development programme had been their greatest leadership inspiration. The role models in all cases were people with whom the participant had had direct relationships, such as parents, a previous boss or a significant person in their earlier life. This contrasts with high profile role models who are upheld as 'models' of leadership, people who demonstrate impeccable leadership qualities or are symbolic icons. An example of this today is Sheryl Sandberg, COO of Facebook, who is a strong advocate of women's voices being heard more at the top. However, role models of this kind may inspire, but they do not show people the way close up. All role models referred to in this study had been in close proximity to the participant, such that learning had been through observation of acts of leadership. Appreciating this difference is important on two counts. First, do people who are in leadership positions recognise the implications of themselves as role models? Arguments suggest that recognising yourself as a role model is an 'essential leader behaviour' (Brown et al., 2005, p. 119). However, based on the responses from the women in the case study (Appendix 3), it seems that people do not generally recognise this in themselves, only through others. Second, when it

comes to changing deeply rooted cultural patterns, such as incorporating a more relational ethic, the practices of role models are steeped in traditional ways of working.

Although the role models described by participants in this research were wide ranging, it is not unrealistic to assume that people seek role models from which to learn as part of their career development and professional identity (Sealy and Singh, 2008). Furthermore, this is not a singular process: an individual may learn from a number of different role models, which can range from high profile positions to people in the public eye whom they may never meet in person, as well as people in much closer proximity with whom they interact.

Role model learning is an aspect of the dynamic field of leadership: how and when people learn from others cannot be controlled or pre-determined. Bandura (1977) provided an explanation for how role modelling functions. He explained how people observe the behaviour of others in certain situations, noting the outcomes, and then use this knowledge to shape their own behaviour in similar situations with the expectation of similar outcomes. In this way, people become socialised into appreciating values and expected behaviours, learning social knowledge that is essential for their work and life roles.

The role model learning described in this research may or may not have been considered as learning at the time, especially in support of leadership. Only when looking back and being invited to tell stories of leadership experiences was this realisation made clearer. The findings in this research are aligned with the work of Schein (1992), who showed how role model learning in the workplace is drawn from actual practices and not from espoused leadership such as staged settings. However, he also argued that role model learning can be influenced deliberately to create desirable change, through a change model developed by Lewin (1947). Brown et al. (2005), who studied ethical leadership through social learning theory, went further: they argued that 'effective role modeling requires attention to be focused on the model and the behaviour being modeled' (p. 119). This research suggests that role model learning is far more diffuse than Brown et al. propose, as it came from many different situations and through a variety of people. None of the examples here were pre-determined, such as seeking out a role model from whom to learn. Neither does it suggest that people are aware of being a role model for those around them.

Is gender important in role model learning? The examples in this study showed that women called on both men and women as role models, but the two men who referred to role model learning only named male role models. Javidan et al. (1995) found that females called on both men and women as role models, and that the critical factor for the acceptance of a role model was not gender but their perception of that person's success. However, males did not see senior women as role models. The question of role model learning brings into the leadership discussion a dilemma for women: on the one hand, they are looking for mentors who can open doors to help them rise to the top (in the same fashion as the old boys club is seen to work)—a masculinised way of working. On the other hand, they are looking for leadership role models who exhibit qualities which they can identify with, and who know how to put these into qualities practice—women know they are looking for something but aren't sure exactly what that is. Singh et al. (2006) further suggest that:

As people seek role models as part of their career development, they often search for individuals with similar backgrounds to themselves. However, for minority individuals, including women, this can be difficult. Young women are often said to be disadvantaged by the lack of female role models at the top of organisations (p. 3).

The issue of concern here is not so much female role models but role models that live the qualities that women can identify with. Role models for women are often singled out as women who effectively combine work with mothering, rather than role models who demonstrate qualities of leadership practice. It may be that what makes people like Sheryl Sandberg stand out is how she appears to share her time, being a mother to her children and at the same time holding a responsible and successful executive position (Sandberg, 2013). What we don't know is whether her way of working is a balanced model where she is able to bring her authentic self to her work, or the extent to which she has leaned into masculinised ways of working. To confirm this would mean studying Sandberg more closely.

The group of women in the case study described in Appendix 3 painted a different picture. They raised the concern that in the male-dominated environment in which they work, they do not have female role models in the company that would support their learning, development and advancement. Although there existed a small

number of senior women in the company, the general attitude was that the women in senior roles were too much like the men. The study by Vinnicombe and Singh (2002) on sex role stereotyping in senior management showed that despite women in dominantly masculinised environments developing masculinised skills that enable them to reach middle management, they do not see themselves as similar to successful managers at the top. They regard senior men as 'significantly more masculine than themselves' (p. 129) and are unable to identify with what they see. Perhaps what is more significant is a finding by Singh et al. (2006), who showed how 'Women do not see themselves mirrored in the leadership, nor do others see women there' (p. 70), further adding that 'this is likely to prolong the sex-role stereotyping of leadership as masculine' (ibid.), acting as a strong underlying force. It is the point of a 'leadership mirror' that is of importance here.

Turning to post-Jungian thinking on this subject, Jones (2007) argues that:

An unconscious element can be brought to consciousness only when seen in other people and is recognized as a projection (as opposed to believing it to be a trait of the other person). We need other people in order to see our own self—but we need them instrumentally, like needing a mirror with which to see our faces (p. 92)

Jones made this statement in the context of the development of the 'self' and a process of bringing the unknown into consciousness towards achieving wholeness. The implications of this statement when thought of in Jungian terms can be applied to leadership. That role models provide a mirror into which an individual is able to see qualities in themselves and then bring those qualities into consciousness (and practice). There is however a problem that arises in leadership for both men and women, which cannot be dealt with at a cognitive level or at a level that conventional learning operates: as long as a dominant masculine model of leadership prevails, that is the mirror into which people look and see themselves. The use of the term *dominant masculine* can be understood here as archetypal patterning. This idea is developed further in Chapter 8. Important here is to understand more about what is going on in role model learning in leadership.

Although Jungian thinking in this area may appear similar to social learning theory, it is different. Bandura's (1977) work on social learning theory is well documented, defining role model learning as follows:

Most human behavior is learned observationally through modeling: from observing others, one forms an idea of how new behaviors are performed, and on later occasions this coded information serves as a guide for action (p. 22)

Both theories call for observation, but unlike Jungian theory, social learning theory is very clearly considered as a process of learning that is taken in, not already within us to be drawn out or brought into awareness. It might be that both are in play; however, archetypal patterns are timeless, while manifestations are shaped by the situational, cultural and political milieu of the time. How does this inform role model learning in leadership? There is a problem in leadership today, where more women are stepping into leadership roles, but:

There are very few women at board level in UK private sector companies, and only 4% of executive directors in the UK's top 100 companies are female (Singh and Vinnicombe, 2004). Women do not see themselves mirrored in the leadership, nor do others see women there, and this is likely to prolong the sex-role stereotyping of leadership as masculine. (Singh et al., 2006, p. 3)

Women need role models through which they can learn and draw out a side of themselves in leadership that is not present in masculinised ways of working. It is likely that men unknowingly need this too, although this study was unable to gather adequate data in this respect. However, the problem appears almost insurmountable—both men and the masculine dominate leadership at the top. With a scarcity of women and more feminine ways of working in senior positions, the 'mirrors' for women coming up through the management ladder are far and few between. Women are having to find their way: there is little that women can fully identify with in leadership as long as leadership carries a masculinised image. With leadership rooted in masculinised language and practices, a big shift is needed. A Jungian perspective,

however, does not stop at role model learning, but turns to the role of myth as an important vehicle through which learning takes place. This topic is discussed further in Section 8.4.

7.6 Leadership and dynamic fields

The findings here repeatedly indicated that social, cultural or collective forces (valances) in the dynamic field of a person's interaction were out of awareness, affecting interactions. This section takes a field theory perspective on two situations, one from the Leaders' Group and one from the Consultants' Group, to illustrate how complex dynamics are at play. This is followed by an exploration of the data in terms of emergent leadership as an attribute of dynamic fields, and finally how *field theory* has become *overshadowed* by systems theory.

7.6.1 Complex dynamics at play

Situation 1: The story of Pat (Group A)

In this extract Pat explains how a male manager patronised her in a meeting:

But I remember it was like verbal head-patting. Being nice to me so that I couldn't be cross at him. But I thought 'you're making these people think that I can't actually stand my ground'. It diminished me. He was protecting me in a way that I don't think that he would have done to a male equivalent. They then saw me as someone who they had to modify their style to when I didn't feel they had to modify their style towards me - the intent was kind, a good twenty years ago and things have moved on. (Pat, Group A)

This story conveys the details of an event in time where Pat perceived the actions of a man as patronising (verbal head-patting) and 'diminishing'. This then led her to believe that others who had observed the interaction would respond to her in a similar way. Of particular interest here is that in the interview some twenty years later, she says that things had moved on, but, referring to the male manager, uses the words 'the intent was kind' to end the story, giving an apology for his actions. She was not asked what she meant by that statement but the words are interpreted here as a complicit

response to the violation of her power and authority. Furthermore, they suggest that her judgement on this particular concern had not changed—the past precipitating in the present (Gold, 1990).

From a field theory perspective, it is possible to unpick these dynamics, to see how the leadership and the potential of a woman became diminished in a way that had an impact on her work. Instead of direction-giving action, it became direction-diminishing. What this tells us is that not only are there acts taking place in the community of an organisation that support leadership, there are also acts and attitudes that diminish leadership possibilities. What can be extrapolated from this is that valences were active in the life space between Pat and the manager, which had a diminishing effect on her. In the interview, she attributed the incident to 'culture', but she appeared to be referring to him and his cultural attitude, not to herself. She did not appear to recognise how her own behaviour (and beliefs) also contributed to the situation. As already explained, field theory provides a framework with which to see dynamics at work, but does not necessarily help us understand why. To make further meaning of this event we have to move away from field theory and interpret this story another way: in this thesis, through the conceptual frameworks of Bourdieu and Jung.

In terms of Bourdieu, the interaction could be described as an act of symbolic violence, where one dominates and the other is suppressed. Furthermore, Pat tells the story as though she naturally conformed to the situation. She was not happy about it but did nothing. She is neither taking the situation for granted nor challenging it. It is hard to tell how much awareness she had at the time. It may be that she would respond to this in a different way today, it may be that her perception and awareness of it is different today than at the time, but she continues to show a 'complicit tendency' towards the patronising behaviour of the manager that happened many years ago.

From a Jungian perspective, this story could be understood in a number of different ways, but the interest here is in masculine and feminine principles. Pat's bigger story (the whole interview) suggests that she was operating in a patriarchal environment when in her twenties, an extreme form of masculine dominance with little place for her more relational qualities or capacity to draw on her own masculinised skills—qualities that she went on to develop later. She describes:

On a personal basis I needed to learn the skills to take back my position from this protection in a constructive way - not just to say 'Back off, I'm fine', but I needed to learn the skills to take that back and say, 'We need to do this and it is important to get it out on the table and we can work through it'. ... With his peers I didn't have the skills to say 'I'm here for a purpose and it is for these people to tell me how they feel and for me to say what I am going to do about it, therefore I am the core representative and it's actually quite important for me to hear it'. I can do that now, I learnt that by not doing it, the outcome of the meeting we had was less positive, it didn't move us forward as it could have done (Pat, Group A)

It is reasonable to read into this piece a pattern of cultural beliefs by men in roles of responsibility about women at work—the patriarchal response towards Pat in the meeting, and the consequences that she had to contend with following that event. What did not come clear in the full interview was whether Pat had managed to grow her feminine qualities and put them into practice in her leadership today.

Situation 2: The story of Phil (Group B)

To explore the dynamics of field in a leadership context, a case study from Phil is summarised here, in which he was invited into a small organisation (referred to here as NH) to help work through some issues in a staff team:

... one day we're speaking about the team work and the moment, let's say Celia opened her mouth, someone says ah 'It's Celia again oh it's a negative'. And she was saying like, 'No, I'm not negative, I'm trying to ...', 'Oh but you always complain'. But I say, 'OK, let's wait a moment; let's see what's happening here'. Because, when I'm listening to Celia, I don't have the feeling that she's so negative, but somehow you do, so there is something going wrong here.

It transpired that Celia was one of the few people in the whole of the organisation who was regularly negative. Phil reflected on this, realising how nice everyone had been to him, including the Managing Director, and had been since he started working with them. He described it as:

NH was a very nice organisation, [the staff] were very kind
... always very caring, very attentive, this was wonderful,
smooth atmosphere ... and criticisms became more and more
under the carpet. In that way the organisation was stuck.

The leadership within the organisation had become stifled by avoidance of conflict. Dynamically, a polarisation was taking place: avoidance of conflict was throwing the system out of balance. The avoidance of conflict is what Lewin would call a valence, an underlying force that influences the current situation. The Managing Director (the leader) knew that something was wrong but did not know what. The system may have been a reflection of the Managing Director's style of leadership; either way, the big theme of the system—conflict avoidance—was undermining the business. It transpired that Celia was one of the few people who were critical. As Phil explained, in field theory terms, she was 'representing ... the missing pole, only she had to do it for many people, so of course she gets a bit extreme'. Celia's criticisms caused a stir in the organisation. Being 'nice', keeping things smooth, was in the culture of the organisation. It went beyond the immediate situation to a 'larger meaning'. Acts of leadership of this kind can emerge throughout an organisation where the larger meaning of a wide range of acts comes together through relationships, rather than formal structures. As a consequence of this work and developing the staff to meet conflict rather than hide it, the organisation was able to move forward again and leadership was re-balanced.

Compared to traditional thinking, this was a different way of conceptualising leadership. It is not doing anything differently but perceiving leadership differently, which then provides an alternative set of information on which to act and make decisions. Collier and Esteban (2000) describe a similar concept of systemic leadership as an 'ongoing direction-finding process... which is continually emergent' (p. 208), where acts of leadership exist throughout the organisation and influence direction. It is not possible to read into the exact moments where acts of leadership take place through interpreting narrative, but from a phenomenological perspective it

is reasonable to consider Celia's 'criticisms' as acts of leadership, as an attempt to bring concerns that were not being addressed by others. A second act of leadership then took place by Phil, whose intervention moved things forward. However, as Wood and Ladkin (2006) point out, such acts are not generally associated with leadership or leader-follower. From a field theory perspective, any event where leadership emerges will include qualities that people are aware of (authority, power, roles, gender diversity) as well as qualities that people are not aware of but which exist, such as ideologies, cultural beliefs, norms and acts that do not fit with conventional knowing.

A Jungian perspective on NH might consider the *compensatory* process —that is, the system was not functioning well and compensatory processes were activated. Symptomatic of the situation was an increase in minor accidents among the residents, such as falling over or getting bruised. The general care had dropped. The system was out of balance. Celia's behaviour was an attempt to bring the system into balance (although she did not know it in that way). What was out of balance was not 'the care', but the relational practices of the system: the leadership. The conflict avoidance leadership style of the leader, an archetypal patterning linked to the matriarch, became infused into the organisational system to such a degree that the employees felt unable to give each other feedback on things that were not right.

The dynamic field is a complex mix. There is no simple and straightforward approach that can determine exactly what is going on beneath the surface. These examples have been taken to illustrate how different perspectives can yield different explanations that are not contradictory and can inform our understanding of leadership.

7.6.2 Leadership as emergent

In this thesis, the idea of emergent leadership is not situated in a new leadership model, but in an old one with a new perspective, where emergence arises through social interaction (Griffin, 2002). From a field theory view, leadership is an outcome of a dynamic process which involves the leader in role as well as others who are situationally involved: whether the leadership model is hierarchical or distributed, entity-based or systemic, emergent processes are taking place. The question is, are emergent leadership moments recognised, valued and incorporated into leadership practices, are they active but eclipsed, or do they 'disappear'? The findings in this

research showed one person from the Leaders' Group (Rob) as having an appreciation of this concept and the influences that lie beneath the surface. By contrast, all the participants in the Consultants' Group either spoke about or demonstrated an appreciation of leadership as emergent, giving attention to emerging direction-finding moments in their work. This finding was not surprising, as the Consultants' Group were selected for their appreciation of field theory. This divergence has an important implication: knowledge and skills could be missing from leadership in general, including knowledge that can facilitate change in leadership on a wider scale, which is different to the challenges of step change called for in the distributed leadership and relational leadership literature. A third principle of field theory, not mentioned in Chapter 2, is the Principle of Change (O'Neill and Gaffney, 2008; Parlett, 1991), involving the paradoxical nature of change (Beisser, 1970). This principle has particular relevance to shifts in leadership attitudes and practice.

An example of paradoxical change was demonstrated in a story told by a participant from the Consultants' Group, who described a client situation in which a leader had to deal with a staff problem:

He addressed one lady who was in charge of admin. It was obvious that there was something more to it ... her typing was full of errors. He sent her on a typing course and it took her away for a whole two weeks, and then she came back. For a while she was better and then she did it again; he was not able to touch the real thing. When he went deeper into it he realised there was something that he was afraid of touching - the emotions. It transpired that the husband was very ill with cancer and was going to die, he was hostile in this mode and she had to look after him. ... She started to improve (Jonathan, Group B)

The act of leadership—sitting down and talking to the administrator, listening to her—changed her performance: she started to improve. In this case, the act of listening was eventually performed by the leader, but it did not come about through the directive action (control)—to send her on a course. Instead, it was paradoxical.

Paradoxical change relies on attention to emergent processes, attention to the moment. With this in mind, analysis of the data included a question, 'Is there awareness of emergent events?'. The intention of this question was to assess narratives, and the telling of narratives for attention to emergent processes. The following examples illustrate focusing on the present:

Rob, from the Leaders Group, told a story about a meeting with his executive peers (the leadership team of the company):

... what's going on in the subtext underneath, what really matters, ... the cultural things just become irrelevant and you see right through that and go to the heart of the matter (Rob, Group A)

Rob described how he had developed a much better understanding of the dynamics of leadership teams by listening deeply to what is underneath what people say and their interactions. At another point, he commented:

That's the moment in a meeting when the raw material of thought and a bit of process that's happening starts to build into some sort of common solution and suddenly bingo, right at the top of the triangle we've just solved it! How inspirational is that! There's always a cheer in the room! It's an inclusive solution.

The unexpected in this situation was emergent, inclusive and directional, where emergence cannot be 'controlled, predicted or managed' (Seel, 2006): it is a function of the field.

The participants from the Consultants' Group showed a wide range of knowledge and understanding of leadership as a function of the system, an emergent process. Richard had the definition as:

Leadership is always a function of the environment and the needs of the environment, and the existing organisational structures and role relationships. (Richard Group B)

From this perspective, the leader role is a part of the system, whilst leadership is a function of the system and emerges out of social interaction and the situation. This idea is consistent with that of Griffin (ibid.), who describes the emergence of leadership as:

On the one hand the individual possesses skills and strives for personal mastery as leader and, on the other, there is a basis for emergence but it is the emergence of leadership in the system. (p. 57)

Griffin points out, and this thesis also infers, that the value of leadership in an organisation is in the individual leader as well as emerging through social interaction, but in practice the two are never brought together.

Emergence is happening all the time, but it happens in the passing moment, neither in the past nor in the future, yet only occurring within structures and systems. Seel (2006) explains how this works:

Good boundaries seem to be necessary for emergence to occur. These may be deadlines, clear goals and intentions, prescriptions about length or size, and so on. The common factor seems to be that there is a well bounded space within which emergence can occur. (p. 3)

Field theory can provide a perspective for understanding how emergence occurs, situations in which a different kind of leadership exists, and where systems are necessary to create the structures in which emergence is contained. When working from a field theory perspective, acts or interactions that are direction-giving or direction-finding become visible, but the literature does not illuminate the paradoxical nature that leadership can take. If acts of leadership can only be noticed because they are direction-giving, what then happens to acts of leadership that invite standing still, waiting, in order for new ideas and inclusive decision-making to take place? Acts of leadership may not be obvious, and acts of non-leadership, where people unwittingly excite forces that act against effective leadership, frequently go unseen. Field theory enables us to see dynamics of this nature.

7.6.3 Systems vs. field

This section explores the difference between systems theory and field theory, proposing that a bias towards systems theory overshadows (or eclipses) field theory in organisational and leadership thinking. The implication of this is that structures of leadership, organisational hierarchies, language of leadership and cultural convention, such as leader-follower, all lean towards systems thinking and as a consequence some valuable qualities of field thinking are missed. There were inconsistencies on this topic within the Consultants' Group.

One participant described systems theory as relational, suggesting that field theory is not. He said, 'I think of level of system, I don't think in terms of field. I think of everything as relational' (Jamie, Group B). Given that field theory is understood as a relational concept, the question raised is not to dispute this viewpoint but, like leadership, to question how the use of the word *relational* carries different meanings in systems theory than it does in field theory, and if so, what are the implications for leadership? A discussion of the findings in this study, described in Section 6.1.7 illustrates how the term 'relational' carries different meanings, but is used as though people interpret it the same way. It is proposed here that a similar error occurs when referring to a 'relationship' between systems and field theory. Jamie went on to differentiate between systems and field:

... [field] is an emergent phenomena, is always in process, always emerging. Systems theory seems to chop up the field into different clumps, that clump in any way you want, but it's a decisive sort of thing hitting the systems that are relatively impermeable. Like sex [gender], country of origin, it can be softer, like who speaks and who doesn't speak in a group (Jamie. Group B)

In this extract, Jamie was describing leadership in the context of field theory, whilst differentiating between field theory and systems theory. As has been illustrated here, many principles that are embedded in the ideas of field theory are not unique to field theory. Complexity theory and systems theory are two examples where there appears to be cross-over (Stacey, 2003; Haslebo and Nielson, 2000). In systems theory the term *relational* refers to the way in which parts of a system interact: it is instrumental. As Campbell et al. (1994) argue:

When people think systemically, they are able to understand better the effects of connectedness in organizations and account more effectively for the dilemmas and tensions that arise during change. (p. 2)

Campbell et al. use a family system to illustrate this: an interrelated system where meaning is gained through feedback within the system. 'Relational' therefore means the interconnecting parts of the system. In the context of this research, leadership is associated with roles, positions and relationships between leaders and followers. Field theory differs on two counts: from an ontological perspective, life space that considers individual viewpoints, and from those viewpoints, the relationship with the social and physical environment. From an epistemological perspective, field theory is interested in the relationship between forces that interact and in themselves are not causal. Bourdieu (1990a) famously made this distinction when he expanded 'point of view' to take into account the point from where someone 'looked'— an ontological position—and the view they had from that point—their epistemology.

Jones (2007) explains similarities between field theory and Jungian ideas on this subject, where Jung distinguished between a causal-mechanistic view and energy that underlies changes in phenomena but is not in itself causal. Both Lewin and Jung were interested in psychological (psychic) fields as opposed to the physical, causal-mechanistic view. Marrow (1969) explains this in field theory terms:

Lewin held that tensions arise when there is a need or a want. It is their striving for discharge that supplies the energy for, and is consequently the cause of, all mental activity. The forces which Lewin postulated are in the psychic field, not the physical. Thus to understand or predict behaviour, one must deal with the psychic tensions operating in the psychic field. (p. 31)

In field theory, the relational has to do with the way a person relates to their environment and the way that underlying forces interact with the outer world. Organisations do not work in a vacuum, but exist within the wider social context (field) of business, politics and economics. Like multiple pebbles thrown into a pond, the ripples overlap and intersect.

Independent of Lewin's ideas, social scientist Cooper (1976) developed the concept of 'The Open Field' in which he differentiated between structure and process:

Structure is the invariant pattern of relationships among functional points in a system, while process is the continuous emergence of new elements from those already existing. Structure concerns itself with stability or quasi-stability; process with change. (p. 999)

In using the term *emergence*, Cooper signifies the relationship between *emergent* and *process*, whilst at the same time offering two key characteristics that differentiate process from system. Like Lewin, Cooper was interested in understanding human experience in terms of process, but extends his ideas to differentiate between process and the more tangible structures of systems. He maintains that 'Though seemingly in contrast, structure and process complement each other both as concepts, and in the real world' (ibid.). Cooper emphasises how 'The Open Field' is constantly in motion. For example, an organisation is not a fixed entity, but a moving dynamic process that is always changing. This challenges ideas of organisation charts and hierarchies as 'the organisation', and leadership as the person at the top. When observed as a field, an organisation chart is a metaphor for making meaning of a constant flow of interactions throughout an organisation in which people operate in different roles. In addition, Cooper explained:

the field goes beyond the situation to find its larger meaning
... the field of larger meaning resides in the concept of the
world as a penetralium of relationships in which the many
become one' (p. 1008).

It is this particular point that expands beyond the Lewinian idea of field, which is situational, to engage a wider relational dynamic.

Bourdieu also understood social fields as systems, incorporating the larger meaning through the notion of intersecting fields. Grenfell and James (1998) describe social fields as:

a structured system of social relations at a micro and macro level. In other words, individuals, institutions and groupings, both large and small, all exist in structural relation to each other in the same way (p.16)

To understand leadership and underlying dynamics of leadership in this way means peeling away the different layers where social fields intersect. Bourdieu understood intersecting fields to be multi-dimensional and overlapping: for example, in leadership, one field might be leadership institutions and pedagogy, another the cultural practices of the organisation, another the family belief systems about leadership that leaders bring to the workplace, whilst another might be the political system and the leadership that is modelled in the wider political world.

It may not matter that *dynamic fields* and *dynamic systems* become merged. If the language of systems supports greater capacity for meaning-making in leadership, then the language of systems may be the path to travel. However, care is needed to make sure that knowledge and thought in this area is not pulled out of balance by the dominance of masculine thinking. Many of the qualities of field theory are associated with practices that have been prejudiced against in organisational work; they have not been seen as practices that are *known* to achieve success—paradoxical change being one of them.

7.7 Concluding thoughts

This research has identified a number of important influences that underlie leadership, which were out of awareness for the people interviewed in this study. Attention to any one of these influences would add valuable knowledge to leadership and leadership pedagogy. This research is not alone in some of these findings, however advancing new knowledge lies in the point of view taken here, where social phenomena concerning leadership can be understood in depth. A further significance here lies in the research being undertaken in organisations where traditional leadership practices were operating. When new leadership theory is advancing leadership thinking through relational and distributed leadership models, this research is able to contribute to both traditional and new thinking.

Chapter 8

ECLIPSED LEADERSHIP AND WHY IT IS HAPPENING

Although each area identified in the data in Chapter 6, and discussed in Chapter 7, is worthy of further investigation, this chapter focuses on the most prominent finding in the data: the gap between leader-follower thinking and relational, inclusive and collaborative practices in leadership. The aim is to develop a better and deeper understanding of underlying dynamics that contribute to this gap occurring in this way—described here as eclipsing. This will be achieved through the perspective of the cultural and archetypal masculine and feminine. The terms ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ are explained, leading to an exploration of the deeper layers of social and psychological dynamics associated with them. The chapter also includes discussions on the findings in this research concerning low self-belief, an absence of reference towards reflective and embodied practice, myth and symbolism, and using the language of the masculine and the feminine in leadership learning.

8.1 Masculine and feminine in leadership

In the leadership literature, when the terminology of man-woman and masculine-feminine are used, they are frequently used interchangeably. Yet, they are of a different order, man and woman being biological assignments, and masculine and feminine being psychological or socially constructed understandings. At the same time, these labels intermesh where associations are made concerning being a man with masculine, and being a woman with feminine. As Fletcher (1999) discovered in a study of women in an engineering company, being a woman was associated with being feminine, and feminine logic was not associated with leadership competency. Fletcher observed that people who practiced a feminine (relational) leadership style were often described according to interpersonal attributes rather than leadership. This was especially true for women, who were frequently referred to as "nice", "thoughtful", or "cared about others" (Fletcher and Käufer, 2003). With this in mind,

this section will define the terms ‘masculine’ and ‘feminine’ in leadership through both archetypal and stereotypical perspectives, explaining in more depth the phenomenon that results in *eclipsing* through this lens.

8.1.1 Stereotype and archetype in masculine and feminine

A connection between cultural stereotypes and Jungian archetypes was made in Chapter 3, differentiating between the sociological and the collective unconscious. It was explained that archetypes are connected to instincts whereas stereotypes are rooted in social constructs. The relationship between them is through archetypal patterns and how they contribute to social constructs and learned perceptions, becoming symbolised in different ways across different cultures.

A Jungian and post-Jungian perspective

According to Jung, all humans carry underlying archetypal patterns associated with both masculine and feminine. Variations over time and between cultures would not be great, but the variations in terms of what is valued might be. As already discussed, we live in an era where masculine qualities (patterns) dominate leadership in both men and women. The question here is how to explain the masculine-feminine dyad in terms of leadership and the phenomenon of eclipsing—when the role of leader is skewed towards the masculine and where feminine qualities are active and alive, but not valued in the same way. The term 'dyad' is particularly relevant here, as it begins to pull into this discussion a relationship between masculine and feminine that is not explicated in leadership studies, where masculine and feminine are parts of the same whole. To understand this better means looking deeper into Jungian thought on masculine and feminine archetypes.

In his work on Syzygy, Jung (1959 [1968]) described the notion that as men and women we have within us a corresponding nature that is largely unconscious and therefore an inferior function from the conscious mind, whilst at the same time that function is influential in our everyday lived experience. This notion is illustrated in Figure 1.

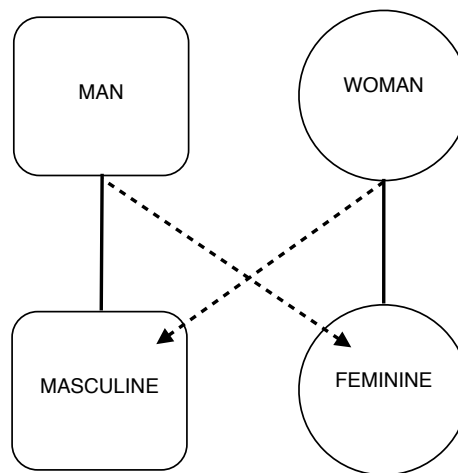


Figure 1: Corresponding natures

The predominant function for men is masculine, with their inferior (unconscious) function being feminine, whereas for women their predominant function is feminine and their inferior (unconscious) function is masculine. This means that men and women have available to them the full range of qualities associated with the masculine and the feminine archetypes, but their associated predominant function is more accessible. Becoming whole means bringing into consciousness (awareness) aspects of the inferior function and living that part of ourselves. Jung referred to the unconscious masculine and feminine as an 'imprint' (ibid., para. 29) or archetype, rather than something that is learned or culturally passed on. Thinking in terms of wholeness, he states:

Wholeness consists in the union of the conscious and the unconscious personality. Just as every individual derives from masculine and feminine genes, and the sex is determined from the predominance of the corresponding genes, so in the psyche it is only the conscious mind, in a man, that has the masculine signs, while the unconscious is by nature feminine. The reverse is true in the case of a woman (Jung 1940 [1968], para. 294)

The dyadic nature of the archetypal masculine and feminine is therefore related to achieving wholeness. If a person or human system fails to seek this, then either a dependency or an imbalance arises. In other words, if a man over-identifies with his masculine qualities and fails to identify with feminine qualities in himself, then he

will become dependent on others around him to bring balance into his life. If he criticises the feminine qualities in himself and in his leadership, then he will criticise those qualities in the leadership of others, creating an imbalance around him. The opposite is also true for women. A human system can tolerate this for a while, but if balance is not sought out then symptoms occur. In leadership, this might appear as dysfunctional practice within an organisation (as in the case study of NH described in Section 7.8) or personal health issues may increase within the system. If we consider conventional leadership through this point of view, as dominantly masculinised and out of balance, then it is not surprising to see some feminine qualities arising, even though they are not yet recognised and valued in leadership terms. This is not a 'deliberate' intention to 'create balance' because our awareness of the reasoning behind it is not there. It is an emergent process arising from an underlying dynamic field that is 'seeking' balance through *compensation* (defined in Section 3.2.3).

With the focus of Jung's interest on the unconscious, or more to the point, wholeness, his brilliance was not in understanding men and women, but in defining the contrasexual psychic energy of the masculine and feminine in this way: archetypal patterns that transcend gender and can be brought into consciousness towards achieving wholeness. What this means is that both men and women carry the potential to act in both masculine and feminine ways. Yet, as Jones (2007) elucidates, 'Jung himself provided little by way of insight into what it is like being a woman' (p. 18). In a paper on *Women in Europe*, Jung positioned women in an inferior position compared to men. Concerning women stepping into social independence, he states:

But no one can get around the fact that by taking up a masculine profession, studying and working like a man, woman is doing something not wholly in accord with, if not directly injurious to, her feminine nature ... when I speak of injury, I do not mean merely physiological injury but above all psychic injury. It is a woman's outstanding characteristic that she can do anything for the love of a man. But those women who can achieve something important for the love of a thing are most exceptional, because this does not really agree with their nature. Love for a thing is a man's prerogative. (Jung, 1928 [1964] para. 243)

Jung lived in a patriarchal culture, an extreme form of masculine dominance, which strongly influenced his views about men and women in society. In terms of Bourdieu, the larger social field in which Jung lived held patriarchal attitudes in much greater esteem than they are held today. He was influenced both by the cultural attitudes of his time and by his own prominent position, and in return influenced the culture through his writing and thinking. Notably, a shift has taken place in the positioning of men and women, and symbolic power associated with being a man and being a woman in the world, since Jung's death in 1961. This shift is relevant to appreciating Jung's position, his attitude towards the role of men and women behind his thinking and the situation that exists today.

Nevertheless, Jung stood firm in his view on the contrasexual capacity of men and women, arguing that, 'since masculine and feminine elements are united in our human nature, a man can live in the feminine part of himself, and a woman in her masculine part' (ibid.). He also recognised that when the contrasexual nature is lived predominantly, such as women acting largely in masculinised ways in order to achieve success, there is a psychological cost. Jung explained that 'the mind of a woman who takes up a masculine profession is influenced by her unconscious masculinity in a way not noticeable to herself but quite obvious to everybody in her environment' (ibid., para. 245). Despite his lack in understanding women, the point made by Jung here is of interest in leadership, because women have been forced into dominantly masculinised environments in the workplace. What Jung failed to recognise was a masculine bias by both men and women in the professional world. This is a further example of his own habitus and the orthodoxy of his time. Neither did he appreciate the full value that the feminine could potentially bring when balanced with masculine practices.

What exactly did Jung mean by the masculine and the feminine? In Jungian and post-Jungian literature it is not common to find masculine and feminine qualities specifically defined. Jungian analyst and writer Stein (1991) differentiated between masculine and feminine ways of *relating*, where he argued that the feminine places the highest value on relationship—that is, the relationship is an end in itself—whereas relationship for the masculine is purposeful, a means for achieving an end. The findings described in Section 6.1.7 are in accord with this view.

A description by Hauke (2005) connects masculine characteristics with an 'active, penetrating, linear, directive, focused mode of rationality' (p. 29), but he does not define feminine characteristics with such precision. Woodman (1982) brings a more dynamic perspective to the masculine and feminine differences. She describes typical patterns in action, such as:

Positive masculine energy is goal oriented and has the strength of purpose to move toward that goal. It disciplines itself to make the most of its gifts—physical, intellectual, spiritual—attempting to bring them into harmony. It comes to recognize its own individuality, and paradoxically the stronger it becomes the less rigid it becomes and the more flexible. (p. 15)

Woodman later explains how 'The masculine, when divorced from the feminine and given an autonomous life of its own, produces a false notion of Kingship—power for its own sake' (p. 19): a system out of balance. In the absence of feminine qualities in leadership, this view could offer further explanation of why it is difficult for women to step into senior roles—Kingship being a powerful force in a dynamic relational field. In Bourdieuan terms, it carries symbolic power in leadership and 'symbolic authority' in organisational positioning in the world (Emirbayer and Johnson, 2008, p. 17).

Noticeable in Woodman's statement is that she refers to 'it' rather than 'he'. She is referring to the archetypal patterning of the masculine as it is lived out, which can be found in both men and women. She goes on to describe the feminine as:

.....a vast ocean of eternal Being ...it contains the potential seeds for life; it knows the laws of nature and exacts those laws with ruthless justice; it lives in the eternal Now. It has its own rhythms, slower than those of the masculine, meandering, moving in a spiral motion. (p. 15)

Her definitions of both the masculine and the feminine are, however, different to the definitions of social constructs, described below. Putting an emphasis on staying present to the moment Woodman defines a quality of 'Being' in the feminine, a quality that is absent from stereotypical definitions of the feminine. An interpretation of 'Being' would be a person owning her 'feminine nature' and living it in the moment.

Woodman's definitions carry an integrated sense of wholeness rather than identifiable characteristics. This is typical of the Jungian tradition because archetypes cannot be directly known, but instead are portrayed symbolically in myth and story (see, for example, *The Feminine in Fairy tales* by von Franz (1972 [1993])). In this way Jungian ideas operate in wholes, concentrating on psychic movement, rather than objects (Tacey, 2006).

Tacey provides a useful comparison between studying the world through symbols (from the unconscious), which leads to 'mythology, religion and philosophy' (p. 11), and studying the world through objects or signs, which are 'obvious, manifest and can be understood by reason' (ibid.). This difference may explain the difficulty of trying to define masculine and feminine characteristics within the Jungian tradition, compared to the definitions identified below from social and cultural studies. A further point to recognise here is that feminine qualities stretch much wider than relational, inclusive and collaborative practices observed in this research and in the distributed and relational leadership models discussed in Chapter 2, whereas an appreciation of the full range of masculine qualities is widely accepted in leadership.

Before investigating sociologically ascribed differences between masculine and feminine, it must be recognised that Jung's original idea of contrasexuality has been challenged but not dismissed (Young-Eisendrath, 1997; Samuels, 1989). Post-Jungians continue to support the idea of associations with contrasexual masculine and feminine in men and women, albeit that some consider this through different revisions of Jung's original idea. Rowland (2002) raises a concern that Jungian psychology 'contains a gender politics in a drive to displace the feminine into the position of 'other' (anima) to the masculine psyche' (p. 19) rather than as a connected dyadic relationship with the masculine. Like other post-Jungians, she does not dismiss the contrasexual concept but points out limitations in Jung's ideas on this subject. It is not intended here to discuss or critique Jung and post-Jungians on the contrasexual debate, but to acknowledge that Jungian ideas can provide some insight into unknown forces in the field associated with masculinised and feminised ways of working, and most significantly to this research, as dynamic embodied processes where human nature and culture become linked. Furthermore, the positioning the

feminine as *other* by the masculine psyche may also be the source of projection onto women in the workplace, resulting in a cultural complex in leadership (described in Section 3.2.2). This topic is developed further in Section 8.1.4.

What does this mean in terms of eclipsing? The most significant learning here is that when feminine practices become eclipsed, they are eclipsed by masculinised logic in *both* men and women. Furthermore, the ever increasing interest in relational (feminine) qualities in leadership, in practice and in theory, can be interpreted in Jungian thinking as *compensatory* within the larger field of leadership—where, masculinised leadership, the orthodoxy, is out of balance, and feminised ways of working are rising, albeit not firmly established in leadership discourse yet.

Socially constructed associations

In comparison to Jungian ideas, the works of Baxter (2010; 2011), Koenig et al. (2011), Fletcher (2011; 2004;), Eagly and Carli (2007), Bourdieu (2001) and Olsson (2000) all use the language of masculine and feminine as socially constructed and culturally established practices, where a set of principles have been established and maintained. Oakley (2000) defines masculine and feminine in terms of stereotypes and preferred leadership styles, such as masculine being *authoritative, directional, strong, decisive, in control, outcome-focused and instrumental* in relationships. Drawing on the stereotypes of others, she describes the feminine as the way 'that women solicit input from other people in an effort to make people feel included and create open communication flows' (p. 620). Koenig et al. (2011) consider stereotypical personality traits where masculine is *agentic* and feminine is *communal*. Agentic personality traits are *assertive, forceful, dominant, and competitive*, and communal personality traits are *affectionate, compassionate, warm, and gentle*. Similarly, Eagly and Johnson (1990) describe masculine style as *autocratic* and *directive* whilst feminine styles are defined as *democratic* and *participative*. Vinnicombe and Singh (2002) include in their descriptions of women's management styles *respect* and *mutual trust*, whilst masculine styles emerge as *competitive* and *independent* with an *instrumental relational* style.

For her study on the language of female leadership, Baxter (2010) used terminology for masculine and feminine based on cultural associations. She defines 'masculinised' in a number of ways, drawing on male values and practices such as *competitive, efficient, cost-effective*, and how women are received differently in

different male contexts, such as being ignored or rendered invisible in hierarchical, command and control situations. She also examines how women use masculinised language, becoming more assertive and direct, in organisations which claim to be gender neutral but deny their issues of gender discrimination.

A final selection to add to this list is from a study by Due Billing and Alvesson (2000), who offer a variety of definitions such as *self assertion, control, objective, explicit, competition, focused perception, rationality*, which they align with masculine practices, whilst recognising that both men and women can live and act these qualities. In terms of feminine qualities, they include *feelings, imagination, creativity, interdependence, co-operation, receptivity, awareness of patterns, nurturing, compassion, connective leadership*. They interpret women's views of power as 'more relational and less purely individualistic' (p. 147) than masculinised practices. It is maintained here that many of these qualities are characteristic of archetypal dimensions of masculine and feminine, taking the view that social constructs are influenced by the collective unconscious. These descriptions help to provide an understanding of patterns of masculine and feminine ways of working, where men and women carry both and can identify with both, but proportionately to their gender stereotype—men with masculinised ways of working and women with feminised ways of working. However, these qualities are not always in balance. To interpret the findings in this research—that is, the gap between description and discourse—shows leadership as dominantly masculine with the feminine as eclipsed. When women become masculinised in order to be accepted in a leadership role, in Jungian theory the dominant function in women, the feminine, is made inferior, and their inferior function, the masculine, is made superior. With invisible field dynamics of this kind existing in leadership, then both men and women are likely to experience difficulties because the dynamics at play are out of balance with human nature.

8.1.2 Masculine, patriarchy and domination

The cross-over in terminology between *patriarchy* and *masculine, dominance* and *domination* can be misleading. For instance, *masculine* and *dominant masculine* are used differently here compared to patriarchy—which is defined as a highly controlling cultural and political ethic, an extreme form of masculine. Whilst post-Jungian Rowland (2002) conflates patriarchy with masculine, she contends that:

In patriarchy a fundamental structuring principle is that masculine stands superior, desirable, intelligible attributes, while the feminine denotes what is excluded from, or is potentially chaotic within, the system. (p. 178)

That the masculine stands superior and desirable against the feminine can explain why the feminine is partially or wholly eclipsed and is struggling to come into the light. However, I wish to argue here for a greater range of dynamics in leadership: not to discount Rowland's point of view but to add to it. This is helped by the language of *dominance* and *domination*, where dominance can be taken to mean not *dominance over* as in patriarchy (although it might be experienced that way), but a predominance of masculine practices. For example, the masculinisation of women in the way that they act in leadership may have been the only way that women could break through conventional workplace patterns and become accepted in more senior roles. A *dominant masculine* environment would therefore carry an excess of masculine qualities that are favoured over feminine qualities, but not exclusively, whereas *masculine domination* as defined by Bourdieu (Section 3.3.2) is different again, in that he identified symbolic violence as a form of 'soft' violence in which women are complicit with male domination in their subordinate position and are involved in some way in creating that position. From this perspective, *dominant masculine* rather than *masculine domination* is an optimistic point of view, not an oppressive one, because it begins to acknowledge the positive masculine and the potential for the positive feminine to emerge. It is this potential that I believe exists within these underlying forces, from which a new form of leadership can take place.

Despite leadership studies indicating that shifts are taking place towards more relational practices, studies show that our society continues to carry strong masculine forces, and these forces are deeply embedded in our culture (Koenig et al., 2011). An example given in Chapter 2 was concerning women on Boards and the development of quota systems to increase the number of women at that level. Quota systems are based on masculine logic, whereas the feminine way is to engage in dialogue, to appreciate difference and build on the value of what women can bring to a Board. A balancing action to quota systems has yet to be established.

8.1.3 Leadership in a masculinised world

The findings in this research correspond with a study by Koenig et al. (2011), who, in a meta-analysis, concluded that there is a strong and robust tendency towards leadership as culturally masculinised. This perspective suggests that the drive towards treating women as equal to men in leadership roles could be deeply flawed because equality is lodged in a masculinised world view; it does not include a feminine perspective. With this in mind, the underlying dynamics of leadership in practice carry the dynamic forces of this flaw.

Stein (1991) raises a particular concern regarding the complexity of this issue. He emphasises how the over-development of the masculine perspective in the western culture has resulted in a glorification of 'reason, objectivity, detachment, and noninvolvement and a denigration of all the subjective feelings and life-involving emotions' (p. 60) which is responsible for the oppression of women. However he argues that the source of this problem is not the oppression of women, but 'the oppression of the Feminine.' (p. 60). I believe that Stein is partly right in his assertion but not entirely. That he refers to the feminine as different to women is agreed, but the *oppression* of the feminine is debatable and does not correspond with the findings of this study. Some stories told by women illustrated oppressive acts by men onto women, such as experiences of being bullied, and management domination, but neither men nor women indicated an oppression of the feminine. Since Stein's publication in 1991, changes have taken place, with the rise of relational leadership practices in this century being an indication of those changes. There is strong evidence in this research that some aspects of the feminine are alive and active in leadership by both men and women. Not oppressed, but eclipsed, not recognised as leadership. This difference is important to leadership pedagogy, a topic that is addressed in Chapter 9.

Studies of women show the extent to which women have cultivated more directive and assertive ways of leading (Oakley, 2000) in order to succeed in masculinised environments. In the past ten years this position has not changed (Koenig et al., 2011). What is concerning from this research is that some women judged themselves negatively when they had not established a more masculine way of working. For example, Amy (Group A) stated 'The bit I lack is the hero side. I'm not as tasky as some of my colleagues are - that's what lets me down'. There

continues to be a strong pull towards masculine ways of working, which will need to be challenged if change is to take place. On the other hand, with gender issues mainly raised by women for women in this study, there was an absence of concern for men by men or women working in dominantly masculinised environments. The findings in this study showed how men do not voice concerns in this area, but do they carry concerns? Would the emancipation of the feminine offer some freedom to men in their leadership? As Oakley (ibid) explains, 'Men can exercise leadership in a more compassionate, relationship-oriented way and overcome some of the weaknesses associated with traditional male-oriented leadership'. However, the question is not *whether* they can, but are they interested in doing so? Masculinised ways of working stand superior and desirable (Rowland, 2002): as long as this is the case, will there be enough motivation by men to become interested in the qualities of the feminine, in women and in themselves?

The context in leadership is usually men and women operating in masculinised environments, not the other way around. In their meta-study, Koenig et al. (2011) showed how men believe that good leaders have masculine qualities and fail to grant women many of the qualities that are consistent with their 'greater social dominance' (p. 635). From this position, men are a long way from recognising the particular feminine value that women bring to business at leadership level. Yet men and women cannot ignore that leadership is, as Collinson (2005) emphasises, both men and women. It no longer only involves men: it involves both. It must therefore be recognised that masculinised attitudes and beliefs by men and women are a force in the field, along with deeper, out of awareness forces such as the pull towards maintaining 'greater social dominance' by men. The problem, however, may be deeper than it seems. Walkerdine (1994) explained how she believes our world became 'produced' by masculine ideals.

'Human nature', therefore became the object of a scientific inquiry that from its inception was deeply patriarchal. It legitimated doctrines that existed previously within philosophy, and with the transformation of this doctrine into science, the female body and mind both became the objects of the scientific gaze Yet what counts as 'female nature' does not preexist the development of those doctrines, bodies

of knowledge, and scientific practices that produced it as its object. In this sense, the truth of scientific statements is not discovered: it is produced. (p. 60)

Walkerdine refers to the development of science and how scientific ambition became 'intimately connected to the control of nature by man' (p. 60). In this way masculine dominance eclipses the feminine (female nature) where it is active but unseen in its authentic form. The feminine in leadership has followed a similar path to that of the 'female' described by Walkerdine, where masculine dominance in management and leadership is deeply embedded in our culture, in both men and women (Koenig et al., 2011; Baxter, 2010; Bourdieu, 2001). The masculine has been the carving tool for shaping leadership, as well as 'producing' what is acceptably feminine in leadership activities.

Masculine dominance is therefore deeply rooted in our culture, and in the language of Bourdieu is taken for granted in such a way that it largely goes unnoticed by both men and women. Woodman (1993) described how women embody masculinised ways of working:

In the business world, I hear many women complain about patriarchal structures they're in, and very often it's a woman who is the worst patriarch. A woman who is driven to perfection can be harder to work for than a man ... they are forced by the structure to repress the feminine (p. 59)

On the learning and development programme in the case study (Appendix 3), women demonstrated this. When asked where they believed their leadership practice was positioned, all eleven women put themselves equidistant between masculinised and feminised ways of working, but during the programme they demonstrated much greater alignment with masculinised practices in a number of different ways—in their language and behaviour. They seemed unaware of some of their masculinised habits and the potential in their feminine capabilities. Bourdieu (2001) has an explanation for this phenomena.

In his book *Masculine Domination* (2001), Bourdieu describes how masculine dominance becomes symbolic violence: that is, how 'the dominated apply categories constructed from the point of view of the dominant to the relations of the domination, thus making them appear as natural' (p. 35). He maintains that the dominant view is

then embodied by the dominated as though that is how it is. Applied to leadership, this view would mean that beneath the surface of organisational leadership lies a powerful force that keeps the dominant masculinised paradigm of leadership the same, where women unwittingly embody masculinised ways of working as 'what leadership is'. As a consequence, feminine practices are treated as inferior to masculine practices by both men and women, and the masculine is treated as a natural way of operating. Dominant masculine practice in leadership is an example of how practices from the wider culture are carried into organisational life, across intersecting fields. Furthermore, men and women involved in leadership pedagogy are also immersed in, and influenced by, the cultural patterns described here. This topic is discussed further in Section 9.1.

From the perspective that historical roots of leadership are masculine, not feminine, at a very deep level women may be trying to embody a concept that is fundamentally masculine—the clothes do not fit well. Le Hir (2000) explains how the origins of leadership in business are in the military and that the symbolism of leadership is therefore highly masculinised, which concurs with Walkerdine's view above. If this is the case, then the mirror for women and the feminine in leadership does not exist. So a woman stepping into a leader role immediately positions herself in a practice that is masculinised, demanding masculinised expectations and putting her at a disadvantage. Women and the feminine in leadership are not treated as an integral part of a dyadic relationship between man-woman or masculine-feminine, but as 'other', where men are leaders and women are non-leaders (Bowring, 2004); where masculinised ways in leadership are known to be successful and feminine ways have not been seriously put to the leadership test. A male-dominated world can be oppressive for women, and a masculinised world eclipses the feminine. Yet the dynamics that make this happen are hidden from view and the difference between men-women, masculine-feminine are not understood because the main source of knowledge, the dialogue between men and women in leadership on what they uniquely bring to leadership, is not taken up. Future research could usefully investigate this area, where focus groups made up of both male and female leaders could engage in a process of inquiry on the subject of masculine and feminine ways of working. Furthermore, context must play a part in leadership understanding. On the subject of masculinised and feminised environments, Koenig et al. (2011) consider situations where leadership may be less masculine, such as female-

dominated workplaces like elementary education, nursing or librarianship. Their point is that these environments are thought to require traditionally feminine skills, such as 'warmth, compassion, and caring for others' (p. 619). Their argument is that the characteristics that people associate with leadership roles in these occupations are likely to incorporate more communal attributes.

8.1.4 Leadership and cultural complexes

Following up the point made earlier in this chapter by Rowland (2002), concerning a person or group being treated as *other*, the beliefs and attitudes that generate this behaviour are deeply rooted in the underlying processes of social interaction, and are acted on out of awareness. Singer and Kimbles, who developed the concept of cultural complexes (Singer and Kimbles, 2004; Kimbles, 2000: see Section 3.2.2), offer a way of understanding the *other*, and how to address imbalances that are culturally created. Like stereotyping, which can lead to prejudice, cultural complexes impose constraints on the perception of difference, or accentuate them. When in the grip of a cultural complex, distorted and projected views prevent the 'other' group from being seen for what it really is: the other group becomes invisible and there exists a superior-inferior imbalance. Positive social identity is missing for the inferior group.

Superior-inferior polarities in a culture are therefore characteristic of cultural complexes (Kimbles, 2000). Building on his own experience as an African American, Kimbles described a 'myth of invisibility', where he experienced himself as invisible in a culture of White American dominance. Kimbles clarified a link between the Jungian concept of the collective unconscious and the social world, stating that 'Our individual psyches emerge out of the deeper levels of the unconscious and are derived from the collective, communal, and social experiences of humankind' (p. 162). In Jungian thinking, activated complexes are powerful when one is in their grip. That is, they are a powerful underlying force. Kimbles (*ibid.*) illustrates the extent to which the powerless can become invisible to a powerful, dominant group, describing complexes as 'patterns of interlocking associations grouped around emotionally toned themes and ideas.' (p. 159). With an active complex functioning compulsively, an individual may feel carried by the force of a powerful energy with little control over it. Kimbles goes on to describe how being in the grip of a complex can lead to inflation or inferiority, illustrating the polar structure of a complex at work. The

imbalance described here between masculine and feminine qualities in leadership—that is, a dominant masculine with an eclipsed feminine—carries many of the characteristics described in cultural complexes.

Singer and Kimbles explain that 'once the cultural complex is activated in an individual or group ... the everyday cultural identity can be overtaken by the affect of the cultural complex' (p. 6). In other words, if a woman is affected by a sense of inferiority in a leader role, then that may lead to self-doubt and self-limiting behaviour. She may not experience this in her other roles or situations, say as a mother or a member of the local club, but when in the role as a leader, something else happens. Breaking free from a cultural complex means recreating identity, and leadership identity is calling to be recreated.

A finding from this research identified a number of situations that are in accord with the idea that a cultural complex was present in narratives, where women (not men) either talked about diminished self-confidence or indicated self-doubt that had been generated through cultural rather than individual beliefs. Furthermore, in the case study described in Appendix 3, women exhibited strong emotional responses regarding their situation and the activities of the 'big boys' club' that operated within the company. Such prejudices are indicative of cultural complexes. Learning to value the *other* is a step in the right direction. This would mean breaking through silences, finding forms of communication which express the voice that isn't heard (the feminine voice, the relational voice), and at the same time allowing women to 'articulate their own meanings' (Olsson, 2000, p. 8), rather than having these defined through masculine logic.

8.2 Self-belief in women

Low self-belief can be generated through both cultural and personal circumstances. A particular finding in this research was reports and examples highlighting periods of self-doubt and diminished self-belief by women, but not by the men. Another finding was the extent to which the women carried a view that the future of women in senior roles in the company was really in the hands of the executive team (predominately male) who could open doors for them to move up the

ladder. They did not see how they could do this themselves. Self-doubt and deference to both masculinised and male practices may act as hidden dynamics in leadership that keep feminine ways of working eclipsed.

There is good argument for differentiating between self-belief and self-confidence here, where self-belief is about believing in, knowing and valuing one's self as a person and self-confidence is concerned with professional expertise. In Jungian terms, *self* is wholeness in which a person strives for self-understanding and both personal and collective unconscious are a part of the whole, whereas self-confidence is achieved through developing expertise in a wide range of professional and life skills. Although interlinked, both self-belief and self-confidence contribute to self-identity; by making this separation, it is possible to understand how high expertise, leading to high confidence, can mask low self-belief. Furthermore, and perhaps more significantly, the proposition here is that the feminine is rooted in the self and self-belief, rather than self-confidence.

One way of bringing greater value to the feminine in leadership is through strengthening the voices from women, to believe in themselves and the value of their feminine ways of working. Why specifically women here—why not men also? Walkerdine (1994) concluded that 'it is still up to women to prove themselves equal to men' (p. 60), which also means that it is up to women to recognise, value and give voice to their true feminine nature, alongside masculine practises that they have most likely already successfully honed. Not to prove themselves through their masculine side, but through a dynamic balance between masculine and feminine ways of working. There is an added complication in the dynamics of leadership with this argument: as Fletcher observed, feminine practices, such as relational and inclusive ways of working, are associated with being female, and being female is associated with the private spheres of life (1999), not the workplace—cultural symbolism. When women lack self-belief and self-identity in leadership, they seek affirmation of themselves through the masculine leadership ideology. There are very few mirrors (role models) into which women can look for a reflection of their own feminine in leadership, or balanced leadership. That is the case for men also, but the story is a different one. When feminine qualities become prejudiced against, it does a

disservice to men in their leadership and to the masculine, as balance cannot be achieved. The mirrors which could provide reflective learning are eclipsed by their own highly prized masculinised practices.

Jungian analysts Young-Eisendrath and Wiedeman (1987) offer some insights into what happens to women and their self-belief. Repeatedly confronted with women's lack of self-belief and insistent self-blame, they studied twenty-five of their female therapy clients, inquiring into what might be behind this pattern. From both a social and a psychological perspective they focused on how a woman relates to her own personal authority within her life experiences. They concluded that women in a patriarchal society frequently evaluate themselves from a 'deficit orientation' (p. xi). They posit that this has been imposed on women through socialisation and reinforced in everyday experiences. Examples of deficit thinking are self-blame when things go wrong, or not feeling good enough in the roles that they take on, even though they are well qualified to do the work. Young-Eisendrath and Wiedman interpret this kind of deficit thinking as women coveting male attributes that give men their superior position. There is good argument to suggest that the dynamics underlying such behaviour are more complex, less to do with what women covet, more to do with the value of the feminine and trying to fit into roles that were not made for feminised practices, and furthermore, that many of these dynamics are out of awareness and therefore not understood. The experience is felt but the language of understanding is missing, and therefore not expressed.

The Young-Eisendrath and Wiedeman study was carried out in the mid-eighties, and on therapy clients who may have had a much higher level of deficit thinking than in women in management and leadership (this is unknown). There are strong indications today in the business world to suggest that deficit thinking is present and that things have not shifted to any great extent. A term commonly used behind behaviour is *impostor syndrome* (BBC Radio 4, Woman's Hour, 15 Feb 2006; Cozzarilli and Major, 1990), a fear of being 'found out' despite being competent and capable. In the case study described in Appendix 3, there was a high level of negative thinking, self-criticism and moments of 'not feeling good enough' among the women. As discussed earlier, competency frameworks in leadership are a symbol of masculinised ways of working: they do not fully support the contribution that women bring, and can act against developing women towards leadership positions, rather than supporting that process, which may fuel the impostor syndrome. If women (and

indeed men) are unknowingly trying to achieve success through conforming with predominantly masculinised practices, whilst at the same time their feminine ways of working are not recognised, a person could feel like an impostor and not know why.

Young-Eisendrath and Wiedeman noticed that deficit thinking of this kind leads to women reflecting on what is missing in themselves rather than 'striving for their own coherence' (p. 12). What they mean by coherence is their own authority, not through the reflection of men, which is part of the problem, but inner reflections that bring into awareness their own competence. They define competence as 'a vital connection to one's life and circumstances' (p. 29). Leadership pedagogy would do well to provide more leadership development for women, not for learning masculinised leadership practices but for developing *coherence*—self belief, self understanding and self authority. This would mean confronting objections towards learning initiatives that may be interpreted as positive discrimination, where women are seen to be getting preferential treatment over men. Such a view misses the point: that developing women would also mean men would benefit, as would leadership.

The increasing activities of feminine qualities in leadership, even though they are eclipsed, may be the process that shifts the way that we think about leadership. These glimpses become more visible in leadership practice. The voice of the feminine clearly needs to be heard: women's attitude to their leadership position is a force in the field, as is diminished self-belief. If self-belief is low and deference high, a woman's capacity to bring her authority into work situations is likely to have a weakening rather than strengthening effect on the wider field of leadership that she engages in.

Women's finding their voice is not necessarily about assertiveness, but being present, giving a viewpoint that is heartfelt, not holding back. A voice that is present, clear and purposeful can be far more effective than assertive comments that are falsely masculinised. The argument here is that women are able to value and live their feminine openly and at the same time allow masculinised ways that they have learned to support the feminine, not the other way around. Furthermore, it is highly possible that the full value of feminine qualities will not become visible in leadership until women make that happen, giving them a voice and linking them with success.

8.3 Reflective practice and the body

Participants in the Leaders' Group of this research did not indicate that they reflected on their emotions and intuitions as a source of knowledge, wisdom and guidance in their leadership. Only a small number of stories indicated that reflective processes were being used. The Consultants' Groups was different, indicating a practice that relied on this. One of the strengths of field theory (and Gestalt) is attention to the moment, self in relation to the social system (life-space) and drawing on moment-by-moment awarenesses. So this finding is not surprising. The absence of reflective practice in the Leaders' Group is, however, more surprising and concerning: they were absent rather than active but eclipsed practices. These particular ways of working can be associated with the feminine, and were not observed as active and alive in the experiences of people interviewed in the same way that relational, inclusive and collaborative practices had been. One limitation of this research in this respect was the length of interviews, in that longer interviews might have drawn out information of this kind, and in the number of participants interviewed from different organisations. Interviewing more people from different organisations might have led to a different outcome on this topic.

Reflective practice has particular value in leadership, especially when attending to, and seeing, *what is*—responding to the current situation rather than acting *as if* (Pedler, 2004). The more that can be understood within the current situation, the more sustainable change in leadership can take place. For example, if women realise that they are contributing to the eclipsing of the qualities that they most value in themselves, they can act on that knowledge. But without awareness, change does not take place. Awareness requires reflection, which brings understanding and meaning. This subject is addressed in Section 4.2.4 in relation to research through the ideas of Bourdieu and Lewin. The relevance here is towards professional practice where 'reflecting-in-practice' (Schön 1983 [2009] p. 59) and 'reflection-in-action and reflection-on-action' (Grenfell and James, 1998, p. 126) can provide continuous learning, bringing awareness to *what is* happening in the moment as well as an objective understanding of that event. In terms of reflection or being reflective in leadership, there is a growing body of knowledge in this area (Carroll, 2010), but like the language of *relationship* and *leadership*, there are a variety of different meanings not made explicit in everyday terminology. The key point in this

section is that reflection brings awareness and many new awarenesses associated with social interaction are gained through sensing the whole body, not just through thought. Todres (2007) explains that:

The lived body thus grounds understanding by intimately participating in a world that can show new horizons and meanings. It is this participative and aesthetic dimension that the lived body gives to understanding. (p. 2)

Todres brings attention to the importance of embodied enquiry as the path through which embodied understanding is achieved: that is, understanding that is not just cognitive, but 'involves embodied, aesthetic experience and application' (p. 3). It is reasonable to assume that the body carries the lived experience of *female nature* (Walkerdine, 1994) and *Being* (Woodman, 1982), mentioned earlier in this chapter.

From a Jungian perspective, the body is an integrated aspect of life. Rowland (2002) explains that 'For Jung, the body is both a phenomenon with its own needs and indissolubly bonded to the psyche. Archetypes are psychosomatic, meaning they are also of the body' (p. 35). So when an organisational culture is out of balance, it will be experienced in the body—such as emotionally, or symptomatically—by people within the social system.

There is further reason to bring the body in as an important and relevant topic here, and that is to do with the relationship between instincts and the symbolic world of language in culture. Regarding the link between experience and expression discussed in Section 3.2.4. Jones (2003) states 'we may talk of the psyche as a kind of field in which experiences as bodily lived and as culturally expressed come together' (p. 624). Jones explains that 'the transition from experience to expression is not a matter of cause and effect' (ibid.) but can be understood as a dialectical conflict between two dispositions in which language is formed. Furthermore, Jung postulated a reflective instinct, 'reflection or deliberation' (Jung, 1937 [1960], para. 241, cited in Jones, 2011 p. 4), in which instinct and experience are connected: that is, a relationship between the organisation of instinctive drives within the body and the established symbolic system of language in culture. Through experience, what was previously unconscious is brought into consciousness. Jones explains how Jung made

the connection between reflection and culture in that he regarded the reflective instinct as the 'cultural instinct *par excellence*' (ibid., para. 243) where its strength is in culture maintaining itself.

When leadership is understood through a lens of masculine and feminine, where heroic leadership is established in the symbolic system of language, then there is a conflict between feminine instincts relating to leadership and the symbolic system. Here we find another way of explaining deep underlying forces in relation to the findings of this research. That which is present but absent from awareness is not absent from the field. Learning that involves the body, awareness-raising activities and self-reflection would provide a step towards re-connecting and valuing the body and all that it brings to leadership.

8.4 Myth, symbol, image, metaphor

The heroic leader carries symbolic power and is custodian of the doxa from which it comes. Whilst symbolic power maintains the doxa, the hero carries the mythology: not just an image but a story, a way of acting and relating in the world. As explained in Section 3.2.4, from a Jungian perspective, myth provides a mirror through which learning takes place and cultural practices become established. The narratives that carried mythological symbolism in this research were predominantly masculinised and heroic (see Section 6.1.4), whilst there was an absence of myth that included the feminine in positive leadership symbolism. As Fletcher explains:

While the rhetoric about leadership has changed at the macro level, the everyday narrative about leadership and leadership practices—the stories people tell about their leadership, the mythical legends that get passed on as exemplars of leadership behaviour—remains stuck in old images of heroic individualism. (Fletcher, 2004, p. 652)

In the absence of leadership myths that symbolise feminine qualities, women only have masculinised leadership myths (hero myths) to identify with. Because men and women are able to put into practice both masculine and feminine qualities, this has until recently been advantageous for women, but not for men nor for leadership. Women have developed masculinised leadership practices in order to succeed, but that has its consequences for women, and masculinised leadership has become more

entrenched. This concern was reflected in a study on female managers and the importance of role models by Singh et al. (2006), who reported that 'Women do not see themselves mirrored in the leadership, nor do others see women there, and this is likely to prolong the sex-role stereotyping of leadership as masculine' (p. 70). On the other hand, what do exist are myths associated with the glass-ceiling and the glass-cliff (Ryan and Haslam, 2005) which symbolise the difficulty for women stepping into leadership and staying there—a failure of women in leadership, not success.

In this thesis, myth can be understood in two ways; both operate beneath the surface of awareness. The first is where myth has been carried from history into the present, such as heroic leadership. The work of Joseph Campbell on the hero's journey (Campbell, 1993) illustrates both the mythical journey and the symbolism associated with the leader as hero. The leader as hero in our world today, however, has lost some of the qualities carried in the original myths, and these include *sacrifice*—a giving up or surrendering of a person's own self-serving drives in service to the community. When leadership loses this quality, an imbalance is created.

The second kind of myth is mythmaking that arises through everyday social interaction and the sharing of stories. This form of myth is therefore not static, but is a dynamic process which is constantly being structured and restructured, a process that we cannot be aware is happening at the time. Jones (2003) explains that 'we cannot predict that someone's exposure to a certain typical situation would result in the production of certain mythic themes' (p. 624): we only know the path of myth by looking back, when we have the whole picture. This means that mythmaking is not and cannot be deterministic, but arises emergently—is of the field. The work of Olsson (2000) offers an explanation of how this works, through the stories of women. She reported that 'an untapped, distinctive subculture of organisational storytelling exists in the stories women tell other women about gender in the workplace ' (p. 297). In other words, women share their stories with each other but not with their male colleagues. Inward-focused storytelling may act against the visibility of the feminine in leadership but it may provide the mirrors needed for women to see into themselves and recognise feminine leadership practices. It might be the beginnings of the making of feminine leadership myths, which women can then learn from and identify with.

One proposal here is that the situations out of which myth arises can be supported and encouraged within leadership pedagogy. Picking up on Jones' proposition for tracing the path of myth (discussed in Section 3.2) would mean attending to *body*, *experience* and *expression*, and in support of feminine qualities, giving voice to this, bringing in a language. The critical point is that myth can only develop if the internal experience is given an outward voice. Jones (ibid.) warns that the main obstacle in talking about myth, certainly from a Jungian perspective, is being taken seriously. That is, seriously enough for discussion and debate on the idea of mythmaking as a fundamental psychological and sociological process. On the other hand Olsson (ibid.) suggests that, rather than seeing the lack of myth as a setback, women can use this in their favour by researching ways for expressing women's voice. What Jungian thinking can add to this idea concerns the deeper emotional and archetypal connections, a process that involves the body. The question is, to what extent have women identified with the hero myth and become cut off from their own natural feminine resource? It may be that women can transform their situation, but embodied awareness is critical to this process. To take an understanding of myth further into leadership and leadership learning would be another big stride.

Self identity and professional identity is at the heart of everyday myth making and role model learning. With this in mind it is reasonable to assume that in this research, meeting a female researcher may have provided women with an opportunity to open up and 'tell' stories about their leadership experiences as part of this deeper process that they are otherwise unaware of. Interviewing the women was not difficult: a number of them required very little intervention in order to tell their stories and talk about their leadership experiences. With greater awareness, women could better facilitate the process of myth making. The stories that women tell each other inwardly may well carry the substance of myth making that is needed outwardly, in society.

8.5 The language of the masculine and the feminine

Whether the language of *masculine* and *feminine* is useful to leadership is questionable. With their powerful associations and emotional intolerances, seeking balance through developing a better understanding of this dyad may need a language which people can warm to without the challenge of complex resistances. On the other hand, it may be within the resistances that the best learning can take place.

The case study described in Appendix 3 took the bold step to explore the language of the masculine and feminine with the group of women on the programme, with an aim of seeking balance-in-context: that is, a choiceful balance using different qualities in the context of a variety of situations. For example, to consider bringing opposing qualities together, associated with the masculine and the feminine (such as *competitive* and *collaborative*), in different leadership situations—setting and finding direction, building cultures, innovation, decision making, managing organisational politics. Although they found holding both masculine and feminine logic at the same time a challenge, they also discovered that it could be done, resulting in outcomes that they otherwise had not anticipated. Furthermore, through this process, a number of women overcame self-limiting behaviour that they had previously been unaware of, spurring them forward in their careers. What this suggests is that an appreciation of masculine and feminine qualities of practice and awareness of one's own patterns does make a difference.

On the other hand, many of the women found it hard at times keeping masculine and feminine qualities separate from being male or female, frequently conflating them. Although a range of terminology was explored that could offer a useful substitute, we came back to the same language. One reason for this could be that the roots of masculine and feminine rest in the archetypal layers of the human and cultural psyche—for example, relational practice is one aspect of the feminine but not all of it.

There is scope for further research on the language of leadership in relation to eclipsing, masculine and feminine practices, and the deep roots of language that establish cultural meaning. In this research the language used for describing leadership was qualitatively different from narratives of leadership experiences. Bourdieu considered language to be primordial (Grenfell and James, 1998), and therefore deeply rooted in social interaction. He was 'mindful of the way that social reality is constructed through language' (ibid. p. 78), and how symbolic power is embedded in social reality. Language and symbolic power are deeply linked and embedded social fields.

8.6 Concluding thoughts

Associations were made in this chapter between active but eclipsed leadership practices and the cultural and archetypal feminine, and between dominant leadership practices and the cultural and archetypal masculine. It is only in recent years, parallel with the rise of women in leadership roles, that a number of qualities associated with the feminine have appeared in leadership theory and been advocated as significant to the activities of leadership. The world that we live in is a fluid and moving one, out of which new patterns and themes emerge. Whilst this moving-context perspective provides building blocks that enable us to begin to understand the archetypal masculine and feminine in leadership, there is no definitive explanation. Instead, a broadening set of patterns are illuminated and some common themes found across the chosen perspectives that can be explained in a number of ways, such as through an explanation of archetypal activities, or through social fields, habitus and symbolic power.

The ways in which the masculine and feminine surface are wide ranging, not narrow and fixed. Different qualities arise in different contexts. As has been stressed at various points in this thesis, context makes a difference. Based on new thinking presented here to explain why leadership is reshaping in the way that it is, along with new leadership theories on distributed, emergent and relational leadership, it would appear that hidden influences are already moving cultural practice towards different ways of working, albeit that relational, inclusive and collaborative (feminine) behaviours continue to be eclipsed and undervalued. The process already happening can be described as compensatory, bringing masculine and feminine practices into dyadic balance.

Increased capacity for awareness in leadership is important as a way forward. In the language of Bourdieu the social construction of stereotypes are embodied as *habitus*, and taken-for-granted as *doxa*, so they are lived out, but are not in awareness. The eclipsed qualities of the feminine in leadership are an example of this. What is proposed is paradoxical: both an inclusive perspective on leadership, where the masculine and feminine work together and an exclusive frame of reference where both masculine and feminine qualities are recognised in their differences and valued for their diverse contributions to the leadership landscape.

Chapter 9

FUTURE DIRECTIONS

This thesis investigates deeper influences that contribute to the way organisational leadership is lived out, taking a social, cultural and collective perspective: *collective* here meaning the collective unconscious. To achieve this, three different theoretical perspectives are drawn on to make meaning of leadership phenomena. The first is field theory, based on the work of Kurt Lewin, which shows *that* underlying forces exist, and *how* they exist through organising principles that are not under the control of human intention. The next is archetypes and the collective unconscious through the work of Carl Jung, explaining *what* is going on in leadership at a deep archetypal level, particularly concerning links between instincts and culture. Finally the ideas of Durkheim and Bourdieu help to explain *what* is going on between the *one* and the *many*, drawing particularly on Bourdieu and how leadership is established and maintained through social interaction and social fields—symbolic power, habitus and doxa. This thesis adds to the debate on ‘where leadership is situated’, it offers new insight into deeper social and cultural layers of leadership systems developing a better understanding of conventional leadership practices, and advances thinking in new leadership approaches concerning relational and distributed leadership.

9.1 The research findings

A free-flowing narrative interview method was used to gather data about people's leadership experiences. Narrative research was particularly chosen for its strength in providing data that is rich in social, cultural and collective practices. Participants were drawn from two groups. The first and main group were people involved in leadership within organisations at varying levels of authority, from executive level to middle-senior management, to team leader. This group therefore had experience of being in a role of leadership, of being led, and of being involved in a wider, socially established leadership environment. The second group were people

involved in leadership, yet standing outside corporate systems. This latter group were drawn from consultancy and were further chosen for their past experience as leaders, their present experience in working with leadership and their knowledge of field theory. The aim of involving this second group was to see if differences between the two groups would offer additional insight into underlying layers of leadership, which could be explained through knowledge and awareness carried by the consultants. Analysis of the data from both groups was achieved by looking through the three theoretical lenses, where a set of questions were established to guide the analysis. Questions were aimed at identifying compensatory patterns, gaps, absences, learning patterns, symbolism, values and organising themes within the data. These patterns were regarded as indicators that underlying influences existed within and across the narratives. A reflexive research approach supported the data collection analysis and discussions. A case study, which focused on a number of issues, themes and concepts emerging from this research, ran parallel to the analysis of the data and provided further reflection for understanding the deeper layers being addressed in this thesis.

The findings of the research revealed a number of themes associated with social, cultural and collective layers of leadership within the narrative experiences told, and across the data. The main themes included: a gap between descriptions of leadership and experiences of leadership, where relational, inclusive and collaborative practices were active and present, but overshadowed by the dominant discourse of the leader-follower model of practice; that people considered role model learning as core to their leadership practice; the extent to which values underlie leadership and are implicit in the social interaction of organisations; a gap between the way women talked about gender as an issue in leadership and the absence of this topic in the narratives of the men; and variations in meanings of commonly used leadership language. These themes are discussed to establish an understanding of *why* the underlying forces exist and generate the behaviour exhibited in the narratives. The three theoretical perspectives are used to inform this discussion, concluding that attending to 'what is', rather than 'as if' is essential to understanding leadership in this way.

Finally, the topic of *eclipsing*, the most prominent finding in this research, is discussed in greater depth through cultural and archetypal associations of masculine and feminine. An explanation is given to differentiate between man/woman and masculine/feminine, describing an important non-essentialist position taken in this

thesis through Jungian and post-Jungian thinking. This approach is able to explain a dyadic relationship between masculine and feminine principles, and how compensation occurs beneath the surface of social interaction when a system is out of balance—a person and their attitudes to life, a group and the way that they work together, a whole organisation, and the social field. Eclipsing is viewed in a positive light where increased awareness can accelerate a process of change.

The findings and discussions in this thesis contribute to both leadership theory and leadership pedagogy. Two particular themes that have become figural from this thesis, and could be instrumental in future developments of both leadership theory and leadership learning, are; 1) bringing the eclipsed to a more figural position in the minds and experiences of researchers, practitioners and people involved in leadership pedagogy; 2) developing a deeper understanding of dynamic fields and social fields in leadership.

9.1.1 Making eclipsing figural

The work of Bourdieu offers an explanation for why leadership is difficult to change, mainly because of the symbolic power that is associated with the leader role, but also how conventional leadership thinking is in the social field of organisations; is maintained through the habitus of social interactions and embedded in the doxa of the organisational fields. Raising awareness of the eclipsed and enabling it to become more figural in the moment when eclipsing occurs, *in situ*, is one way of bringing awareness to leadership practice—to 'uneclipse' these moments, as well as to inquire into them. As discussed here, the eclipsing of the feminine in leadership is not just an issue for women: it is a process that takes place within both men and women, as well as through social interaction by men and women. Further research could study differences between the way men and women create eclipses within themselves and in their interactions with others.

The main qualities that were found to be eclipsed in this research were relational, inclusive and collaborative practices. These practices are particularly relevant to context building in leadership: that is, creating the conditions out of which leadership can emerge, and out of which success can be achieved. This idea does not fit with the leader-follower paradigm because context is generally understood in terms of how a leader acts in different situations, not how effective leadership can arise. It does, however, fit with new leadership thinking in distributed, emergent and

relational leadership. When organisations recognise the value of these particular practices in terms of *context building* aspects of leadership, when context is acknowledged as foundations on which leadership (and organisations) operate, feminine practices might then become integrated into leadership.

Paradoxically, bringing eclipsing moments into focus could address many current issues within the gender agenda in leadership. For example, there is public concern in Europe regarding the low number of women on Boards where quota-based initiatives are being proposed. This equality-based quota-for-women approach does not address the issue that women bring a range of different and important qualities to leadership that are not valued for their contribution. Until the dominantly masculinised gaze of leadership shifts, these qualities seem unlikely to be recognised. However, rather than focusing on *what* is being eclipsed, it could be more productive to focus on *that* eclipsing occurs, catching eclipsing moments and events as they happen. Taking a different perspective on the same problem can shift underlying dynamics that may be keeping things the same.

9.1.2 Developing a deeper understanding of dynamic fields and social fields

All three theoretical perspectives in this research are connected with the idea of fields where underlying energies, forces and influences are at play. Although we may never know all that is going on beneath the surface, to respect this is to value the unknown and the never-to-be-known in any given situation. On the other hand, to ignore that which could be known can be costly. A field theory approach to leadership learning is able to provide a perspective that challenges conventional thinking through seeing the reality of situations.

This thesis argues that when leadership is viewed from a different point of view than conventional thinking, people's understanding of leadership changes and dynamics that underlie leadership can come into focus. When leadership is understood as a phenomenon emerging from a dynamic interactive field, the power base and generally accepted cultural forces affecting that field become figural *and* relational, inclusive and collaborative practices that are in service to leadership also come into view. From a field theory perspective, awareness changes the perception we have of the field, and the field includes the many possibilities of each phenomenological event in which men and women interact.

The findings in this research showed a noticeable difference in levels of awareness between the Leaders' Group and the Consultants' Group. The knowledge of dynamic fields carried by the Consultants' Group suggested that they had a much greater appreciation of underlying dynamics in leadership than did the Leaders' Group. A consequence of this was that in their interviews they illustrated a different range of leadership patterns than the Leaders' Group. Consultants carry an advantage of 'seeing' an organisation with different eyes than the leaders within that organisation, because they are not immersed in the organisations culture, they are able to see more clearly what is habitually acted out and taken for granted.

There is learning here for leadership pedagogy, not only in how leadership learning can be delivered differently, but also in how leadership is practiced within their own pedagogical systems and where they stand within the symbolic world of organisational authority. In their paper on 'Bourdieu and organizational analysis', Emirbayer and Johnson (2008) introduce the notion of *symbolic authority* at an organisational level within the social field of leadership learning. They argue that:

... programs of management studies and organizational analysis usually located inside business schools – often wield an intangible but very real symbolic authority vis-à-vis programs that are associated with sociology and psychology departments and that self-consciously oppose themselves to economic tendencies within the field (p. 37).

They further state that:

Contestations over symbolic capital or authority ... are a key feature of nearly every field of organizational transactions, and those firms, academic departments, or other organizations that succeed in amassing it gain considerably thereby in their efforts to assume a dominant position within the field as a whole (ibid. p. 37).

The positioning of pedagogical institutes of leadership may be an enemy of leadership pedagogy, of their own making, unwittingly caught in historical leadership thinking because of symbolic power and symbolic authority. Yet leadership pedagogy

has a responsibility to look deeper, to understand the deeper layers of leadership theory and practice, and in particular, to attend to and question their own leadership status and language, to challenge their internalised cultural patterns. Organisations and people who deliver learning live in the same orthodox world as the people that they are teaching. To take one step further means thinking differently; to challenge organisational thinking means challenging one's own habitus. Reflexivity can help people within these organisations to look objectively into their world of leadership and to question it.

9.2 The future of leadership learning

At the very beginning of this thesis, the motivation for researching leadership was linked to leadership learning, highlighting concerns about the way that many leadership development approaches reinforce out-dated practices rather than change them. That this is happening is itself of interest, explainable through many of the discussions in this thesis. Yet there is no time like the present for new learning initiatives in leadership. As the economy recovers, things will not return to 'normal', the way that they were—and different approaches to leadership will be required (Heifetz et al., 2009).

9.2.1 Men and women in dialogue

A strength and a limitation of this thesis was the resultant gender balance within the Leaders' Group. The strength of the predominance of women from one company provided insights into leadership through the eyes of women in the same dominantly male company. A limitation was that these women were from one company and one industry, a study in other industries might reveal a different picture. A further limitation in addressing the issue of gender in leadership was not having any men from the logistics company as participants. Nevertheless, questions have been raised through this thesis concerning gender differences and leadership in masculinised cultures.

People who deliver leadership learning are also immersed in masculinised cultures, and the lived masculine only recognises its own strengths in its dominant position to be of value. Competency frameworks—a masculinised practice—are an example of this. Furthermore, 'leadership development' programmes are often 'leader development' programmes, involving a mixture of competency models, psychometric

assessment of personality, 360-degree feedback, motivational speeches and outdoor development (Iles and Preece, 2006). Arguing for new directions in leadership development, Bolden and Gosling (2006) proposed that:

To escape from the repetitive refrain of competencies we believe that more consideration should be placed on reflection, discussion and experience. Organizations should endeavour to develop opportunities for their members to articulate and explore their experience of leadership in all its richness. (p. 160)

One such discussion could usefully bring men and women together in dialogue about men and women in leadership, to ask such questions as 'What is it like for men in leadership?' and 'What is it like for women in leadership?' and to explore practices that might otherwise be seen as in opposition, such as *competitiveness* and *collaboration*, as explored by the women in the case study linked to this thesis. In particular, there could be enquiry into taken-for-granted practices in which both men and women participate. An enquiry of this nature would identify ways of working that no longer serve leadership, exploring what might act as a threat to symbolic power. However, such a conversation would be fruitless if women in particular are unable to give voice to the feminine as a quality that they can identify within themselves and value in their leadership practice. As concluded here, Koenig et al. (2011) also came to the conclusion that success for women is not only about growing the feminine part of themselves but also that:

women leaders would be well advised to retain elements of masculine leadership style to avoid a mismatch with leader roles even if they now have greater flexibility to incorporate elements of feminine leadership style (p. 635).

However, the reason in this research is different to that of Koenig et al. Building on Jungian ideas, retaining elements of the masculine is about building wholeness through the dyadic relationship of the masculine and the feminine. This may be a creative and politically astute step to take for women: the task will be to draw on the masculine in service to the feminine, not to *identify* with it. The adaptability that women have brought to bear in drawing on their masculine capabilities has enabled

them to build that part of themselves. If they are now able to appreciate their feminine qualities in the same way, then women will successfully be able to bring balance to their leadership.

This thesis suggests that what is needed is an interweaving of difference, not a polarisation and not a blend, where both masculine and feminine practices are able to exist in a dynamic balance, rather than in opposition. This would be a demanding task for both men and women, particularly as masculine dominance carries with it a powerful force of symbolic power. Yet, feminine principles have the potential to bring the kind of *relationship* needed to establish balance.

9.2.2 Role model learning

The findings in this research showed a surprisingly high number of incidents of role model learning, especially compared to the low number that referred to leadership development programmes. Yet there are consequences to this when role models demonstrate only masculine practices. There is important information to be learned in leadership development about role model learning, and about what kind learning can be provided to enhance it.

Role model learning cannot be deterministic—we do not know when a person is learning in this way—yet we can bring this to the awareness of leaders to consider their own behaviour and practices with the view that at any point in the day people may be learning from them. In the leadership development case study linked to this thesis, the question of role models was discussed, with the women on the programme stressing the difficulties that they had in finding role models to learn from. The women raised the role model issue themselves as an important aspect of their learning and moving up the management ladder. Yet they found difficulty in seeing themselves as role models. The main difficulty that they expressed was that in order to change the culture they would need to create a bridge between a lack of role models above them from whom they could learn and becoming role models themselves for up-and-coming managers below them. It meant that they had to learn in different ways. To be a role model with awareness requires reflective practice, self-awareness and self-belief.

9.2.3 How to learn when the roots go deep

As argued by Bourdieu, language is deeply rooted in the symbolic world of social interaction, and the symbolic world of social interaction is conveyed through language. Leadership development could take more interest in the language of leadership; not to take for granted the language used, but instead to encourage a practice of inquiry; not to position difference as right or wrong, but to become aware of, and appreciate the value of both for their contribution. There is benefit to be gained though researching the language of leadership, to understand the symbolism and associations that make leadership happen. Yet deep cultural and archetypal understanding cannot be achieved in the same way as behavioural or cognitive learning because it is carried symbolically rather than literally. The language of the deeper layers of culture and the collective unconscious calls on metaphor, myth and symbol. The world of objects and signs (from the conscious world) operate at a different level of the psyche to that of symbols (of myth and the unconscious).

Both research and leadership learning could usefully develop a better understanding of the deeper terrain that underlies leadership. Not only bringing storytelling into leadership learning, but also helping leaders—men and women alike—to tell their stories and understand the language of the symbolic world in which we live. Gareth Morgan (1993, 1986) pointed the way for this in management and leadership learning, and the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) brought attention to the value of metaphor in everyday life. Some leadership development is taking place that incorporates metaphor, myth and symbolism, such as the work of Richard Olivier (2001) using Shakespeare. His approach focuses on the individual as leader and the interpersonal, rather than developing insight into social and cultural perspectives of leadership. In this research a number of participants from the Consultants' Group demonstrated the successful use and value of metaphor in learning. Treating metaphor as a language through which learning could be achieved, they illustrated situations when leaps in learning had taken place when imagery and metaphor had been used. An explanation of why they did this was not sought.

There is good argument for the inclusion of creative methods, such as metaphor, narrative and arts-based learning, to aid the kind of leadership awareness-raising proposed here. There is also a need for further research, studying the language of metaphor, myth and symbol as a way of accessing the deep structures of meaning-making in leadership learning.

Whilst new leadership approaches are taking into consideration the wider field of social interaction, the dynamics that underlie social interaction also need to be accounted for. Surface knowledge is only part of the story.



Appendix 1: BRIEF TO PARTICIPANTS

PhD Research, School of Social Sciences, Cardiff University

RESEARCH PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Perspectives and experiences of leadership

Researcher: Sue Congram

This is an invitation to participate in a study of leadership which addresses such questions as: How does leadership manifest? How do people learn to lead? What is hidden in the dynamics of corporate leadership that we have yet to learn? What prevents people from taking leadership initiatives?

Participants will be asked to talk about their experiences of leadership in their work as a leader, or as a non-leader. The interview will take about an hour.

Overview of the study

My aim is to show how personal knowledge and historical life experiences contribute to leadership practice, and how unseen factors affect the way that leadership is co-created in the workplace.

I am interested in how people learn about leadership, what they see and believe about leadership, how they interact with it, what happens in leader-non-leader relationships, what inspires people to be leaderful and what stops them.

My study takes into account relational dynamics, gender and positional differences, situational influences, historical and cultural patterns,

Confidentiality

Interviews will be recorded and transcribed. The recordings will be stored in a secure location. Participant and company names will not be included in reports.

How will the results be used?

The data from this research will be used for:

- PhD thesis
- Academic research papers and presentations
- A summary report to be circulated to all interested participants.

I hope you will be able to help with this important area of research.

If you agree to take part you will be asked to complete a consent form at the time of your interview. You will be free to withdraw at any time and without giving a reason.

For further information contact:

Sue Congram

Tel: 01981 580040

Email: congrams@cf.ac.uk

July 2010

Appendix 2: CONSENT FORM

PhD research, University of Cardiff

Leadership as a property of the organisation: psychological perspectives for leadership development

Researcher: Susan Congram

CONSENT FORM FOR INTERVIEWS

I am willing to take part in the interview for this research

I am willing for the interview to be recorded.

I understand that

- no-one will have access to the recording beyond the researcher and transcriber.
- any personal statements made in the interview will be confidential. As far as possible all comments will be anonymised in any reports or papers that are produced as a result of the research. People's names will not be included in reports.
- I will be offered a copy of my interview transcript.
- taking part in the research is voluntary and that I may withdraw at any time.
- the data from this research will be used for:
 1. PhD thesis
 2. Academic research papers and presentations
 3. A summary report to be circulated to all participants and other interested parties.

Name of Participant:

Signature of Participant:

Date:

Signature of Researcher:

Email address

Phone Number

Appendix 3: CASE STUDY: A LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME FOR WOMEN

The following is a description of a leadership development programme which ran parallel to the analysis phase of this research. It provided another dimension for reflection and reflexivity around the thesis and emerging themes

Through doing research with women from the global logistics company, the company became interested in running a leadership learning and development programme for women in middle management positions, building on the idea of masculine and feminine practices. They wished for this to be research-based, the aim being to extend the findings from the interviews, specifically around women in leadership, and finding a balance between masculine and feminine practices in context.

Data was gathered in two ways: The first, evaluated learning over time based on experiential and applied learning of masculinised and feminised leadership practices, along with one-to-one coaching, aimed at developing personal authority and building self belief. The second, observed the women and their behaviour in a learning environment, as well as in a focus group meeting with the CEO of the Division (male), which took place during the programme. This meeting provided information about the women's behaviour in a context close to their everyday practice, where all participants were from the same company immersed in the same company culture, addressing company issues. A particular interest here was the extent to which women are able to take responsibility for masculine domination within their own leadership practices and to voice feminine qualities as an important aspect of their leadership.

This study provided an opportunity for live observation, in the context of a learning environment. The focus group with the CEO in particular, offered a ninety minute opportunity in which the women could usefully be observed in a real work situation, in discussion with a male executive.

The study design and programme delivery

A learning and development programme was designed which was made up of 1 x 2-day event, followed by 3 x 1-day events interspersed with one-to-one coaching, and peer group learning. On the third module the CEO met with the participants as a focus group, to discuss a way forward to support women in management in the company and to discuss how to increase the numbers of women in senior roles.

The programme design was based on a building block approach where later modules were designed to meet learning needs that arose through the modules, through the coaching and in conversation with the women. Early assessment along with the coaching, provided some guidance on key topic areas that could support the group as the programme progressed and trust within the group developed. The result of this was that the programme was not taken 'off the shelf' based on traditional thinking, but was aligned much closer to real learning needs and current context. The programme that was delivered reflected the two positions of masculinised and feminised ways of working, structured and emergent. Where delivery included both pre-determined teaching as well as facilitative awareness raising interventions. Facilitative interventions were based on a field theory approach where observations of group dynamics, along with inconsistencies between what was being spoken and behaviour being acted out in the group, without offering a hypothesis of why that particular behaviour might be happening. By facilitating in this way the women were able to reflect on their own behaviour rather than have it interpreted. This approach offered a way of inviting out of awareness concerns to be considered and insight to be gained through new awareness.

As the modules evolved, learning topics throughout the programme were established. Topics included:

- a) understanding the difference between male-female practices and masculinised-feminised ways of working ;

- b) advocating feminised practices;
- c) self reflection, self in relation to others and context;
- d) challenging assumptions and self limiting behaviour;
- e) developing personal authority, emotional strength and presence;
- f) building self belief and self confidence, and knowing the difference;
- g) influencing sustainable shifts in the company culture to support women in management;
- h) personal authority, emotional strength and presence;
- i) being visible, making an impact and having an influence;
- j) influencing change as a woman in management;
- k) becoming aware of hidden prejudices;
- l) becoming a role model.

A number of themes were introduced on the programme that looked beyond personal learning and insight, towards how women can influence and change the culture in which they work to support the advancement of women. In particular, how this can be achieved through drawing on both, feminine ways of working and masculine assertiveness. It was considered that these steps can be achieved if women believe in themselves and recognise their natural qualities to be of equal value alongside their male counterparts and masculinised practices. That meant challenging deeply held cultural beliefs about management and leadership practice. Some women came onto the programme having already 'lost heart' that they could achieve promotion into more senior roles. From this position culture change was a greater challenge as the motivation was not there.

The context

The environment that the women were working in was predominantly male and highly masculinised, The programme for the company was set up as part of their diversity strategy to strengthen female talent. It had an aim of realising the full potential of women so that women would be better placed for moving up the management ladder and into senior management positions.

The company were aiming to achieve a 20% target of women to men in senior roles. In particular, there was a need to support individuals at the middle management level to move up the management pipeline, particularly women who may be experiencing a career plateau. A recruitment level of 1.4 females across all grades was needed to reach that target. A further aspiration of the company was, and still is, to be recognised as an employer of choice. Initiatives taken to address the gender issue needed to bear this in mind. The company wanted to avoid acts of positive discrimination and were hesitant about running an all-female programme.

The culture of the company is typically characterised by masculinised practices. What this leads to is that feminised practices are not entirely absent, but go unrecognised in management and leadership practice. When women learn to navigate masculinised practices, in order to succeed they tend to subordinate their naturally held feminised ways of working. A potential consequence of this is self doubt, because natural talents and strengths are going unrecognised. Without awareness of this, nothing changes. The programme was designed to bring this awareness to the participating women, to appreciate how feminised ways of working can support their leadership, whilst at the same time recognising their potential strengths to the business.

In the wider business world the female challenge has been addressed by putting women through conventional leadership development programmes on the assumption that the lack of women in management and senior positions indicates a lack of talent or expertise in male practices (Ely et al., 2011). This mindset fails on a very significant point, a lack of recognition of the special talents women bring to management that are different to traditional management practices, talents that make a positive difference to a business.

Research in this area was taken into account, in particular the work of Eagly and Carli (2007) showed how women at board level find themselves in a double bind—wanting to live their feminised ways of working but called to succeed through masculinised practices. Women are faced with the challenge that professional advancement is usually achieved through the more traditional masculinised ways of working, such as structured, directional, strategic, individualistic ways of working (Koenig et al 2011). On the other hand, studies show how companies with both men

and women in leadership teams perform better than single gender teams (Desvaux et al., 2008). This difference is attributed to diverse thinking patterns but what that diversity actually is has not yet been defined.

Programme delivery and data gathering

The programme commenced in October 2011 and was completed in March 2012. Eleven women from middle management participated, all from the same division of the company. None of the women who took part had previously participated in the research interviews. All the women agreed to participate in the development programme as research. The learning modules were delivered off-site. Some coaching was delivered on-site and some off-site.

The research evaluation process was divided into four parts; Parts 1 and 2 involved setting up the evaluation against which assessment could be made, part 3 formed the evaluation at the end of the programme, and Part 4, to be evaluated on the impact and sustainability of learning after six months, is yet to be completed.

PART 1 A pre-programme, online, reflective questionnaire asking the following three questions:

Past: Reflecting back on your working life, what do you believe has held you back from achieving your ambitions?

Present: Give an example of a recent experience where you felt inhibited, or the need to hold back.

Future: What would you most like to develop in yourself to achieve your aspirations in the future?

PART 2 Part of Module 1 enabled the women to assess their current situation through the use of image and story. That is, through selecting one or two pictures from a pile of 80 random printed images, and using these to tell a story of their current situation. This included how they experienced themselves as a women in management. In this process they identified personal challenges that they would like to achieve through taking part in the programme. They were invited to tell this in a storied way, and the use of pictures as metaphor facilitated this process. With their

permission photographs were taken of their picture, the photographs of the images as well as notes of each story were kept with this study's research papers.

Participants were asked to name three people who were directly impacted by them and their work. The purpose of this part of the study was to encourage the participants to recognise that their behaviour and learning has an impact on others (positively and negatively).

PART 3 Carried out at the end of the programme when the women were asked to bring their picture and notes from Module 1 and were given a copy of their response to the online questionnaire. They were then asked to complete an evaluation of their learning on how they saw changes in themselves since starting the programme. They were asked to imagine any differences in their relationship with the three people named in Part 2. They were invited to talk to these people after the last event for further feedback as part of their own learning.

PART 4 (Currently being completed at the time of submission of this thesis). An exercise that involves talking to the participants to find out how the learning has impacted their work, their work culture and their development after nine months.

A post-module summary of each module was provided for the participants. This was useful for later reflections on the learning and how the participants could recognise the changes in their attitudes and behaviour during the period covered by the programme. Given that a qualitative approach was used in the research, that is, not measuring skills and competencies, but change of mindsets, attitudes and behaviours, then learning summaries as well as journals and notes provided a useful record for participants, against which learning could be assessed. What the company was interested in was a change in the way that women were able to move up the management ladder. They evaluated this in terms of movement up the ladder by participants into more senior roles, by the end of the programme.

On the request of the CEO, the women met with the him in a focus group to address the question of women's development in the company. This happened at the end of day two, on Module 3 of the programme. The women used the learning environment during the programme to prepare for this. As part of the research the meeting was observed providing information for learning on the last module as well as data for the study.

By the end of the programme several of the women had moved into new roles. Most of the women considered that the change in themselves was having a positive effect on others, and how they could use their learning to make a difference in their team effectiveness.

Focus meeting with the CEO

The focus meeting with the CEO provided an opportunity to observe women in an active work situation. The CEO was male, the group were the eleven programme participants plus the Chief Finance Officer, who also joined the meeting (the only female member of the Executive Board). In the background were myself and the two programme sponsors. Altogether fifteen women in the room.

One notable observation was how the group had worked collaboratively in preparing for the meeting and had planned for a collaborative discussion with the CEO, that is they were working together with common threads which they wanted to discuss. However, when the focus group meeting got underway the group appeared to lose their collaboration, with each woman mainly giving her own views, rather than a collaborative view. There appeared to be deference towards the CEO, even though many of the women were clear and articulate in what they were saying. A second observation, also linked to deference, was a sense that the CEO could put things right for women in the company. It is worth noting here that this kind of ideological image of a leader as the one 'who can show us the way' was discussed by (Pedler, 2004, p. 5), who suggests that living this image damages the capacity of people to achieve greater potential.

A brief evaluation of the focus group meeting was built into the final module but this evaluation was not in depth. The women felt they had achieved a good outcome from the meeting, but did voice concerns that they had lost their original plan. Informal conversations following the meeting indicated that some of the women

admitted that they had wanted to be seen in a good light by the CEO, that having the discussion was a rare opportunity in which a good impression might leave a lasting impression and increase their chances for advancement—thus taking a competitive masculine perspective, and falling into 'the old boys club' mentality themselves.

The results

These results are divided into two parts. The first part consists of the company evaluation regarding women moving up the management ladder along with some extracts from the end of programme evaluation from participants. Extracts from feedback sheets are identified with a participant number. The second is based on observations during the programme.

Evaluations

Did the learning from the programme achieve movement towards closing the 2% gap? During the programme six of the eleven women moved into more senior management positions, with a seventh woman successfully acquiring a more senior position soon after the programme ended. That woman in particular faced high male competition for the job and had said that she did not expect to get it. Three women became recognised as potential successors to senior roles in the business through a formal system within the company.

These results were largely attributed to the learning and new confidence gained by the women through the programme, although it was recognised that other factors had also contributed.

Participant evaluation

There was a very high response from the group that the following three areas of management had greatly improved for them.

Understanding the differences between masculinised and feminised ways of working

The effect of this is that men and women alike begin to appreciate and value some of the more feminised practices important to the company. Evaluating comments included (participants are identified by the number in brackets):

I am more appreciative of the difference between male [masculinised] and female [feminised] traits, the benefits of having both and recognising that this is not just about male versus female (5)

I recognise that difference creates value and that male and females both need to be developed to understand more (9)

I recognise my feminine qualities and use them more, not worry about what other people think (11)

I have greater awareness that female colleagues may have barriers that I can help them unlock (3)

I have moved from noncommittal to actually being proud of what part women can play and the added value of being part of the business (7).

Having greater impact and influence

These attributes lead to improved effectiveness and productivity, greater sense of working together, increased motivation. Evaluation comments included:

I personally have got so much out of the programme, more than I had hoped for actually. As time has gone on I realize that actually by me getting a personal gain from the programme does in fact have an impact within [the company]. I just hope now I can be a part of the bigger picture and influence change (9)

I am empowering others to take on additional responsibilities that could have resulted in additional costs to the business if a different approach had been taken (3)

Seeing more 'invisible skills' (2)

I am considering other people's behaviours a little more, trying to challenge my assumptions I may have about them (10).

Developing self belief, minimising self doubt and overcoming self-limiting behaviours, resulting in more positive attitudes

With greater confidence the women were taking more initiatives, speaking out and more creative. Consequently others around them were impacted in a positive way. Evaluating comments included:

Awareness of self-limiting behaviours has helped me get my new role (8)

Really believing in what I can give, helps minimise feelings of self doubt (2)

Now I can see how 'presence' has an impact (3)

I am now aware of my self limiting behaviours and am trying to challenge this thinking (11)

I am dealing more effectively with challenges rather than reacting in panic (9)

I am becoming more aware of when I am avoiding speaking up (7)

I am a more confident, structured and assertive individual that can drive change and influence people around me (4)

Observations and data

The following themes are taken from observations during the programme along with emerging themes that were addressed on the programme. Some observations are similar to the data from the interviews, supporting the findings from the narrative interviews. Other observations add new data. There were no observations made that contradicted the data in the interviews, although contradictions were observed between how the women perceived themselves as acting with feminine qualities, and some feminised learning activities on the programme.

Shifting from male-female to masculine and feminine

The programme introduced the idea of masculine and feminine ways of working. The women were invited to differentiate between masculine and feminine qualities. The following is a list of what they came up with.

MASCULINE

Decisive
Orderly
Structured
Assertive
Direct
Logical
Determined
Competitive
Organised
Task driven
Visionary
Planning
Challenging
Objective
Concrete
Detached
Focused
Risk taking
Dominant
Single focused
Unemotional
Black white
Hierarchical

FEMININE

Balanced
Listening
Consequentially aware
Reflective
Encouraging
Caring
Intuitive
Empathetic
Perceptive
Practical
Compassionate
Negotiating
Conscientious
Simple
Enthusiastic
Collaborative
Multi-tasking
Honest
Nurturing
Intelligent
Moralistic
Approachable
Ask for help
Open
Emotionally intelligent
Forward thinking

The women were able to differentiate between male-female and masculine-feminine attributes, but occasions were observed when women would talk about masculine and feminine in the same way as male-female difference. Their ability to differentiate between them when they were not thinking about it, was not straightforward. When the women were asked to self-evaluate how they already bring masculine and feminine practices into balance along a spectrum, they all positioned themselves very much in the centre with a steady balance of both. However, observations throughout the programme, and in meetings following the programme, indicated that most women (not all) operated in a more masculinised way than they had indicated. Their self perception was different to researcher observation. This was

further supported by feedback from a small number of participants who complained that the design of the programme was not aligned with 'the culture of the organisation'. Two issues were criticised, the emergent design of the programme, where they wanted to know all the content of all the modules at the start. The second was towards the nature of some learning exercises. The programme had been deliberately designed with both masculine and feminine styles of learning, the feminine being the emergent programme design, along with some arts-based learning methods and learning through inquiry. Feedback had been critical towards both. Whereas masculine styles of delivery brought in a more structured process, theoretical input and predetermined content. Recent comments from two of the women have aired a disappointment that their 'masculinised frame of thinking' had prevented them from fully embracing the feminised learning activities with an added comment from one participant, 'I'd like to do it again from this position'.

This data could be interpreted in a number of ways. First, that some women in the group were too far outside their comfort zone in feminine learning experiences. They responded to that with criticism. Second, that perceptions of masculinised-feminised practices were modelled on the highly masculinised culture in which they worked. This second point is in accord with the findings of Eagly and Johnson (1990) who showed that male-dominated environments invited more masculine leadership styles from women. In addition, Baxter (2010) showed how masculine-feminine practices in women vary according to their work culture.

This situation may bias self-perception about personal style when self evaluated on a continuum between masculine and feminine. Another less masculinised culture may lead to different perceptions of what can be categorised as masculine and feminine and how these two practices can work together. In this way it can be assumed that leadership perceptions and personal leadership style are influenced by context.

Early in the programme some of the women questioned the value of the terminology *masculine* and *feminine*, others liked it, felt it was valuable and that it paralleled other concepts such as left-brain and right-brain language. Later in the programme a number of women commented that they had found the idea of masculine and feminine qualities valuable to their management role as they had started to work with it, especially as these qualities could be understood separately

from gender difference. Furthermore, the women were describing how they were advocating feminine qualities as important to leadership, such as ‘inclusivity’, and building communities so that a sense of belonging could be established in groups and teams that they were leading.

Self-limiting behaviours

An observation early in the programme was that some of the women were pointing to the senior management team (an all male team except for one women) the need for that team to open doors for them. That it should be the senior management team on the learning and development programme, not themselves. There was an emotional response in the room about some issues that were surfaced, such as how difficult it was to move up the management ladder.

What was observed in the group (as a field phenomenon) were indications of self-limiting behaviour. This was reflected back to the group that although the senior management team could be doing more, they may be acting in self-limiting ways. The results above showed how some women from this intervention, recognised their own self-limiting behaviour, not only towards how they felt they were held back by others in management, but in other situations too.

As the women explained their frustrations, what they appeared to be doing was trying to negotiate the cultural blocks using the same sort of practices that created the blocks (masculinised), then found themselves challenged by what they described as the 'old boys club'—men opening doors for men to move up in management. ‘The old boys club’ acted as both a real and psychological barrier to their own ambitions for moving up the management ladder. In reality, there is no ‘club’, neither is the company full of ‘old boys’, but the sentiments and emotions that expressed this point of view were palpable. What the women hadn't realised was how they might draw on feminine ways of working such as using their personal authority to create small but significant steps of change.

During the programme a number of women had started to use their personal authority and take action for change in this way within the organisation.

Role models and becoming a role model

On this programme women did not reveal their role model experiences and did not indicate where their leadership learning had come from. What they did raise in discussion was a need for role models in their learning now. That is, women in more senior roles who demonstrate a healthy balance between masculine and feminine qualities. A need that had been spoken about by some women in the main study interviews. When asked, most of the women had not thought of themselves as a role model.

Developing self confidence and self belief, feelings of self doubt

A significant finding amongst the women was self doubt, or as many described, 'they often experience moments of self doubt'. In addition, one of the most common concerns that was raised in the coaching was reduced self belief and self confidence, even though the capability to do their management job was high. Low confidence was the most common concern described in the pre-programme questionnaire

Almost all the women commented that their confidence, self worth and/or self belief had improved by the end of the programme. The following are some of the comments from the end of programme evaluation:

I now recognise when I get good feedback (4)

I feel like weights have lifted, I feel refreshed (9)

I am a lot more confident and have learnt that it's ok to take risks (3)

Decision making is easier with increased confidence (10)

I think more strategically now and decision making is easier with increased confidence (2)

It is unknown whether men in leadership roles feel the same kind of self doubt, with similar frequency. The assumption here is that highly masculinised environments can have a negative impact on women, challenging their self worth. Further research would need to be undertaken to assess whether highly masculinised environments contribute to lowered self confidence and increased self doubt in

women. Which ever way it arises, self doubt is a hidden dynamic that will likely have an affect on leadership in practice, such as holding back personal authority, or reduced confidence, whether it is situated in people, in leader roles, or around them.

Concluding thoughts

This case study provided data specifically on women in leadership who work in a dominant masculine environment, where women were observed in a setting close to their working practice. Observations of emerging themes and interactive behaviours were noted, as well as participant responses to new awarenesses. As a result, this study provided data that added to and at times corroborated the data gained through the interviews. Of particular interest was the response of the women towards masculine and feminine ideas, their initial sense of powerlessness in the male dominated culture of the company, the learning gained through recognising self limiting behaviours, along with observations of the focus group meeting.

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