Patricia H. Werhane
Mollie Painter-Morland
Editors

Leadership, Gender, and Organization

Springer

LEADERSHIP, GENDER, AND ORGANIZATION

Issues in Business Ethics

VOLUME 27

Leadership, Gender, and Organization

edited by

PATRICIA H. WERHANE

DePaul University, Chicago, IL, USA

and

MOLLIE PAINTER-MORLAND

DePaul University, Chicago, IL, USA and University of Pretoria, South Africa

 Springer

Editors
Prof. Patricia H. Werhane
DePaul University
School of Business
Jackson Boulevard
60614 Chicago Illinois
USA
pwerhane@depaul.edu

Prof. Mollie Painter-Morland
DePaul University
Department of Philosophy
N. Clifton Ave. 2352
60614 Chicago Illinois
USA
mpainter@depaul.edu

and

Department of Philosophy
University of Pretoria
South Africa

For Kelly Werhane Althoff

Contents

Contributors

Yvonne Benschop Nijmegen School of Management, Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen 6500 HK, Netherlands

Desray Clark The People Business, Johannesburg 2062, South Africa, desray.clark@abellardbi.co.za

Jane Collier Cambridge Judge Business School, Cambridge University, Cambridge CB2 1AG, UK, j.collier@jbs.cam.ac.uk

Rafael Esteban Anglia Ruskin University, Cambridge, CB1 1PT, UK

Ine Gremmen Institute for Management Research, Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen 6500 HK, Netherlands, I.Gremmen@fm.ru.nl

Mary Hartman Institute for Women's Leadership, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8555, USA, msh@rci.rutgers.edu

Nicola Kleyn Gordon Institute of Business, University of Pretoria, Johannesburg 2146, South Africa, nkleyn@netactive.co.zo

Russ Marion Graduate School, Clemson University, Clemson, SC 29631, USA

Kristin McCartney Department of Philosophy, DePaul University, Chicago, IL 60614-3208, USA, kpmccartney@gmail.com

Bill McKelvey Anderson School, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90095, USA

Mollie Painter-Morland Department of Philosophy, DePaul University, Chicago, IL 60614-3208, USA; Department of Philosophy, University of Pretoria, South Africa, mpainter@depaul.edu

Nicola M. Pless ESADE Business School, Ramon Llull University, Sant Cugat 8072, Spain, nicola.pless@esade.edu

Judy B. Rosener The Paul Merage School of Business, University of California, Irvine, CA 92697-3125, USA, jbrosene@uci.edu

Deirdre Tedmanson School of Psychology, Social Work and Social Policy, University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia, deirde.tedmanson@unisa.edu.au

Mary Uhl-Bien Institute for Innovative Leadership, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68588-0497, USA, muhlbien@unlnotes.unl.edu

Patricia H. Werhane Darden School, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903, USA; Institute for Business and Professional Ethics, DePaul University, Chicago, IL 60604, USA, WerhaneP@darden.virginia.edu; pwerhane@depaul.edu

Chapter 1
Leadership, Gender, and Organization

Patricia H. Werhane and Mollie Painter-Morland

Much of the traditional literature on leadership ordinarily defines leaders as ". . . individuals who significantly influence the thoughts, behaviors, and/or feelings of others." (Gardner, 1995, p. 6). The primary focus, then, is on an individual who will direct or influence a group of followers. This definition, in turn, is extraordinarily influential in affecting the mindsets of the alleged "followers" all of which results, at least sometimes, in an authority relationship that can be demeaning if not dangerous. In this collection we will introduce the reader to new theoretical and practical models for thinking about leadership, organization, and gender. By thinking about leadership as a complex interrelationship between various individuals or individuals and organizations, the hierarchical individualism implied in Gardner's definition is thereby challenged, and one can begin to envision leadership in the following way.

> "Leadership is interactive, . . . an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes [reflecting] their mutual purposes." (Rost, 1991, p. 102 quoted in Adler, 1997, p. 171.)

Taking our cue from this interactive, relational approach to leadership, we seek to develop an understanding of the way in which gender plays a role in leadership dynamics within organizations. In pursuing this understanding, we need to ask some old questions, and some new questions. Some of these questions are so old, that one must stand amazed at the dearth of sound theoretical analyses and alternative perspectives on these "old problems". Many studies of women's leadership draw on an ethics of care as characteristic of the way women lead, but as such, it tends towards essentialist gender stereotypes and does little to explain the complex systemic variables that influence the functioning of women within organizations. By remaining stuck in these gendered paradigms, we fail to provide new theoretical models for understanding the challenges that women face and exploring the alternatives that may lie dormant. We hope to move beyond the "canon" in exploring alternative paradigms for thinking about leadership and gender in organizations, and about the

———————————

P.H. Werhane (✉)
Darden School, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903, USA;
Institute for Business and Professional Ethics, DePaul University, Chicago, IL 60604, USA
e-mail: WerhaneP@darden.virginia.edu; pwerhane@depaul.edu

role women play in organization (as a verb), i.e. how they are organizing themselves and their environments.

In this book, we will once again engage some of the "old questions", because they provide us with invaluable perspectives on the gendered "organizing" practices that have been going on for centuries. This means that we will have to start with papers that put the challenges that women leaders face in the context of the changing face of feminism. We also have to take account of the results of various studies around unique ways in which women lead. This will allow us the context to understand why some "old questions" never seem to be answered.

One of the oldest, but most pressing questions that remains on the agenda of social theorists, business ethicists and other scholars organizational theory, is why so few women rise to the top leadership positions within their organizations. This phenomenon has been described by means of various metaphors, i.e. "the glass ceiling", or "the leaking pipe-line". Though women perform excellently in their tertiary studies and rise relatively easily to middle management positions, they for some reason fail to reach the highest executive positions of their organizations and consistently earn less than their male peers for the same work. This brings us to another old question. Why is there a consistent pay-gap between men and women all over the world? It seems as if the work that women do is not only considered inferior, but that some prejudices, like the notion that men are the main "bread-winners" of their families and therefore require more income, persist. It is clear that this perception denies the reality of many women who are single mothers or married women who are the main bread-winners of their families. Furthermore, it speaks to a form of blatant discrimination that most organizations will deny on paper, but that persists in practice.

The old questions in and of themselves display a certain understanding of leadership, and betray an expectation that women have to be comfortable with, and "fit" certain persistent leadership stereotypes. These stereotypes often not only betray gender biases, but also foreclose an acknowledgement of the more "informal" or at least "unappointed" functioning of women leaders in their communities and organizations. The stereotypical understanding of leadership needs to be challenged, and this leads us in the direction of asking some new questions. As such, it becomes important to acknowledge that new forms of leadership are already in existence wherever women assume responsibilities for caring, organizing, advocating and resisting. Though this book is primarily focused on business organizations, we decided to include that how women engage in other forms of social organization, i.e. organization that goes beyond, or operates outside of formal institutions or assigned positions of authority. We therefore include chapters by Kristin McCartney on how teenagers in Chicago organize themselves, and a piece by Deirdre Tedmanson on how indigenous women in Australia lead their communities through cultural practices. Both these contributions allow us to confront our own prejudices about leadership and challenge us to redefine leadership as care and resistance. These papers may bring us to fundamentally re-evaluate our stereotypical understanding of leadership: the places where it occurs, the structures it requires, and the individuals who participate in it. We hope that by asking some new questions about leadership,

we can move towards new theoretical models for thinking about leadership and organizational influence more broadly.

We extend the rethinking of what leadership may be to business organizations by devoting a number of chapters to the exploration of the notion of "systemic leadership". This understanding of leadership, as conceptualized by Jane Collier and Raphael Esteban, Mary Uhl-Bien and others, describes organizations as "complex adaptive systems", within which multidirectional influences create complex environments within which values emerge as salient and tacit knowledge circulates in unpredictable ways. Within such environments, traditional command-and-control leadership styles come up short and a different type of leadership becomes necessary. This kind of leadership, which some of the authors in this volume describe as "systemic leadership", acknowledges that leadership is not necessarily restricted to individuals appointed to positions of authority, but is a dispersed capacity of the organization as a whole. The kind of organizational environment within which systemic leadership flourishes is one that acknowledges the importance of participative leadership style that can allow for dissent and disagreement, and is also capable of the nurturing of trust and the celebration of difference. The question that arises, is whether women leaders can be described as capable of rising to these new challenges. The danger that immediately emerges in this regard is to fall back into essentializing and stereotypical descriptions of how women "typically" lead. We want to steer clear of this danger, without at the same time ignoring the socially constructed realities of gendered role-modelling, embodied realities and the tacit (and sometimes more explicit!) expectations that exists of both men and women. With many of the authors of this volume, we view gender as socially constructed, but nonetheless real in the way in which it "organizes" people's lives and shapes their organizational realities. Understanding organizations as complex adaptive systems may however assist us in plotting and addressing the tacit expectations and multidirectional influences that circulate and often sustain gender prejudices within organizations. The notion of systemic leadership, may also allow us to understand the role that multiple individuals, regardless of their gender, can and do inevitably play in what emerges as either gender inclusiveness or persistent discrimination. As such, the relatively large number of papers on systemic leadership in this volume serves to stimulate further thinking about new forms of leadership that may allow both men and women multiple ways of leading and organizing.

This book will offer both theoretical perspectives and insightful narratives to graduate students and researchers who are interested in leadership, gender and organization. It will be of interest to all women in leadership positions, but specifically to those interested in understanding the systemic nature of leadership and their role within it. It is also a book for men: those who have always been feminists and partners in the struggle for gender equality, but also those who have suffered the same effects of a restrictive understanding of leadership. So many men and women would choose to lead differently, in their own distinctive ways, if these contributions could be acknowledged and nurtured. Organizations need to draw on these multiple, fluid leadership dynamics in these challenging times of economic pressure and

socio-political challenges. It is high time that we embrace the possibility of leading otherwise. Let us introduce our authors that will help us explore this possibility.

We begin with a reminder that the feminist movement, begun in the 1960s, has changed dramatically. Mary Hartman addresses the topic of women, power, and leadership in the twenty-first century. The heady days of the women's movement of the '60s and '70s have faded, but in many ways people are more absorbed than ever by gender issues. They want to know whether feminism is dead or alive. They are asking if where we are now in the relations between the sexes is "as good as it gets," or if renewed collective action, or some other strategy, might advance what many still see as an unfinished revolution toward more genuine equality between women and men. Many women nowadays refuse to see themselves in media caricatures of radical man-haters, and many see feminism itself as dated – as an artifact of their mothers' era. So how did we get to this place? Does feminism have a future in this new century, do we need a renewed women's movement? This paper will suggest, with some caveats, that in fact we do, and will suggest why.

What does the past research tell us about how do women lead? Judy Rosener, in her path-breaking *Harvard Business Review* article addresses that question. According to a survey the author conducted for the International Women's Forum, women managers are succeeding by drawing on what is unique to women. Rosener found that women who are successful are by and large transformational rather than transactional leaders, interacting with their managers, encouraging feedback and dissent, and networking with their managers and employees to ameliorate hierarchies and develop leadership all the way through an organization.

Patricia H. Werhane followed up on Rosener's study with a more recent analysis of women in leadership positions. Expanding further on definitions of leadership to include an ethical dimension, Werhane defines values-based leadership as a set of interactive transforming relationships between leaders and followers who intend to create real change based on their mutual values and purposes. In her recent study of women leaders in corporate America we found overwhelming evidence of this kind of leadership. In the "flat" global world of the twenty-first century it is to a company's peril to ignore these models and to dismiss the possibility of women as well as men leading the major multinational enterprises.

Continuing our engagement with the theoretical background for complex relational leadership, we turn to the work of Mary Uhl-Bien and her colleagues, Russ Marion, and Bill Kelvey on relational leadership and gender within the context of complexity leadership theory. Arguing that leadership models of the twentieth century have been products of top-down, bureaucratic paradigms, complexity science suggests a different paradigm for leadership – one that frames leadership as a complex interactive dynamic from which adaptive outcomes emerge. This article draws from complexity science to develop an overarching framework for the study of Complexity leadership theory, a leadership paradigm that focuses on enabling the learning, creative, and adaptive capacity of complex adaptive systems (CAS) within a context of knowledge-producing organizations.

Mollie Painter-Morland draws on her previously published research on organizations as complex adaptive systems and her analyses of the importance of systemic

leadership within such contexts. In this paper, she explores the challenges that women face in leadership positions by highlighting the complex variety of contextual factors and multidirectional influences that enable or undermine their leadership capacities. The paper makes it clear that though some studies may indicate that women have many of the characteristics that would make them very comfortable in organizations where systemic leadership thrives, one should not resort to essentializing statements that women are "ideal systemic leaders". In fact, it seems that within current organizations, the socially constructed gendered realities are such that it makes it impossible for women to lead in any other way than that which conforms to the male stereotype of leadership. She argues that the responsibility to nurture gender inclusive practices is shared by all the members of the organization. As such, both men and women have to participate in systemic dynamics that may change the perceptions and prejudices around leadership. Only then may alternative leadership models for both men and women arise.

Part of thinking differently about leadership is to recognize the critical role of networking. In their article, "Negotiating Ambivalence: The Leadership of Professional Women's Networks" Ine Gremmen and Yvonne Benschop argue that networks and networking have become central themes in organization studies and in organizational practice. One particularly understudied type of network is the corporate or professional women's network. The leadership of professional women's networks generally is supposed to enhance diversity in the organization concerned. But, in contrast with general views of networks as beneficial, the limited amount of studies that have been conducted about professional women's networks show that professional women's networks encounter ambivalent and critical reactions in the organizations in which they are a part. To explore this contention, Gremmen and Benschop employ a feminist social constructionist framework. This perspective enables them to explore gender (women, men, femininities, masculinities) in a non-essentialist way, as dynamic, contingent and continually being produced, reproduced and/or changed in social practices, including discourse and social interaction. Furthermore, it enables the authors to take into account the role power plays in the construction of gender, both in the criticisms of professional women's networks and in the accounts of network leaders.

One of the questions in leadership studies is to wonder why women leave organizations. In their study, "Why do they Leave? Voluntary Turnover of South African Women Executives," Desray Clark and Nicola Kleyn conduct a qualitative study to understand underlying drivers of the high voluntary turnover amongst women executives in South African organizations. Relevant literature is used to generate a systems-oriented model of drivers of voluntary turnover which includes environmental, organizational, individual and spanning factors. Semi-structured, in-depth interviews were conducted with twenty-one senior South African businesswomen who had elected to resign from their positions. Their motivations were associated with the organizational, individual, and spanning factors in the model, and included: exclusion from male social networks, incompatibility with paternalistic organizational cultures, lack of organizational sponsorship and support, and values clashes between individuals and their employers.

Broadening our focus, Deidre Tedmanson analyzes some of the multi-layered variables that impact women in organizational leadership positions within indigenous cultural contexts – and in turn how cultural knowledge shapes their ways of organizing and leadership. Tedmanson points out that many women from indigenous communities hold formal leadership positions in organizations as effective "managers" – but at the same time they are also community "leaders" or "wise women" elders, responsible for certain customary obligations that extend across generations. Many are mentoring young women culturally and are "required" to embody and "show by example" the ways in which cultural identity and indigenous epistemologies can be sustained. This gives a different meaning to/perspective on what we currently know about women "organizing". Narratives from women at the "interface" or intersection of organization and (indigenous) culture/s are often reflexive stories about leading "both ways". Many reveal insights about sensitive journeys, navigating complex webs of interconnected relationships – and needing to be accountable in ways not often understood/seen by the dominant culture. This provides richly woven strands for analyzing our notions of women and leadership more generally.

One of the neglected areas of study is of teenage girls and how their leadership skills develop. In her study of teenaged women in Chicago, Kristin McCarthy studies this phenomenon. As she argues, in the last decade, Chicago has seen the emergence of community-based organizations addressing interpersonal violence, media justice, disability justice, and the sex industry, led not by adults, but by women between the ages of 12 and 23. This paper will examine how teen sexuality, often only imagined as a site of denigration and danger, is turned around to become a locus for self-determination, collective action, and leadership. Instead of waiting for a top-down, institutionalized remedy to the violence, harassment, and abuse that conditions many teens' sexual lives, these young women have decided to organize for themselves. Their achievements have included everything from the production of award-winning films to the alteration of policing practices in their neighborhoods. Just as crucially, by cultivating each others' leadership and building bridges for their younger sisters, friends, and neighbors, they have created a vital movement for teen empowerment.

The concluding essay by Nicola Pless sheds some light on the question of what responsible leadership can mean in business practice by applying a "positive organizational scholarship" approach (Cameron, Dutton and Quinn, 2003) and examining the case of Dame Anita Roddick. The analysis of Anita Roddick's leadership in light of this framework results in a picture of a woman and role model for leading business responsibly in a global stakeholder society. Pless then turns to the relationship between responsible leadership and the female archetype of leadership. She shows that there are indeed striking parallels between the two concepts and argue that responsible leadership requires qualities that are defined as being female (e.g. caring for others). Yet, the female archetype is first and foremost a social construction of gender relations and that the qualities of a female archetype are by no means restricted to women, but can also be developed and applied by men. Perhaps, then, we need a paradigm change towards a new model of leadership that takes social

responsibility seriously and fosters the application and development of "female" leadership principles.

This last paper cogently summarizes what seems to remain one of the main research questions that future studies will have to confront, i.e. whether it is indeed meaningful and necessary to speak of characteristic "female" ways of leading, or to identify "female" leadership principles? Given the socially constructed nature of gender archetypes, one may question whether continuing to speak in terms of "male" and "female" ways of leading may not be counterproductive. Would this not foreclose the possibility of a gradually and systemically challenging gender stereotypes and prejudices? On the other hand, the embodied reality of women and girls make it equally necessary to create unique spaces of support, mobilization and resistance amongst women. Undermining such identifications and social networks will be counter-productive in allowing women and girls to rally around causes they care about and address the unique challenges they face. Here we confront one of the main debates around the issue of identity politics, about which much has been written. Unfortunately, this scholarship is hardly ever directly brought to bear on the issues that women leaders face in the business environment.

This is perhaps one of the challenges that this volume pose to philosophers and organizational scholars alike: let us bridge the divide that so often exists between women and gender studies, feminism, and organizational leadership literature. Some of the theoretical debates are far from resolved. What has emerged in the process however, is an awareness of the importance that the relational dynamics between people, both men and women, play in the emergence of leadership in various contexts. We need to be able to develop a sense of the tacit influences that foreclose, or enable a broader variety of leadership styles that could potentially benefit both women and men, and especially the communities or organizations of which they are part.

Many of the selections in this volume engage in thinking about the organizational influences and implications of a systemic approach to leadership. Beginning with Werhane, Painter-Morland, Collier and Esteban, and Uhl-Bien, these authors both challenge a hierarchical individualistic definition of leadership, and place the conversation squarely within an organizational perspective. A more systemic, less hierarchical leadership style draws on the relational dynamics between people. This may be suitable for women in leadership positions, but certainly for some men as well. However, more research needs to be done in exploring the implications of that conclusion for men as well as women, and organizational contexts need to be created within which such leadership styles could flourish. This organizational research must also be expanded to help us plot these dynamics in other contexts, such as that of local communities. One of the advantages of bringing what may seem like an eclectic array of papers together between these covers, is precisely this ability to look across disciplines, sectors and silos, and beyond the fraught public-private distinction, towards the relational reality that underpin leadership dynamics in various contexts.

These alternative theoretical perspectives should be brought in conversation with individual and organizational narratives, and inform empirical studies that can shed

further light on these dynamics in practice. We realize that in this volume, that integration has not been fully established, but this is to be expected when one embarks on sketching the outlines of what could be a new approach to studying gender and leadership dynamics. We can only hope that in reading the papers collected in this volume, our audience will see the synergies and draw on these to develop more integrated theoretical models. We also hope that they will enthusiastically experiment with these in practice.

A further challenge may lie in the dealing with difficulties of all interdisciplinary work: different methodologies, jargon, and assumptions may leave the various scholars who work on women's leadership "lost in translation". For instance, in this volume, we have included narrative pieces, literature reviews, empirical studies etc. without taking full account of the differences in assumptions that various methodologies imply. This is a challenge that future research may have to take on. Last but not least, working on an interdisciplinary issue like women's leadership certainly demands a certain attitude. Patience, tolerance, passion and openness to critique and challenge will be required in order to pursue the various translations and negotiations that are required in this kind of work. This volume is a step in that direction.

Part I
An Historical Perspective

Chapter 2
Not Your Mother's Women's Movement: Women and Leadership in the Twenty-First Century

Mary Hartman

Editors' Introduction We begin with Mary Hartman's essay in order to describe the genesis of the feminist movement since the 1960s. The articles that follow illustrate her point that the movement, if it i*s* still a movement, has continued to change dramatically since its beginnings in the 1960s. As we demonstrate in other essays in this collection, women have now attained leadership positions, although not in as great numbers as we had imagined. With only 14 women leading the FT global 500 companies, we are still, today, challenged with empowering women. But the challenge is different now in a global economy where interrelationships and networks, not single leaders, are more propitious leadership models. Indeed, as the next chapters will argue, a global networked economy demands that leadership styles should be changed, moving from a hierarchical individualistic model to a more organic, collaborative systemic approach. The question is how to fight against gender discrimination in this new context. How does one steer clear or gender stereotypes, whilst at the same time taking the embodied realities of women seriously and refusing to water down the specific challenges that women face? Hartman helps us rethink our strategies, our labels, and our attitudes. She therefore sets the scene for a critical evaluation of the variety of other strategies that we will explore in the course of the book.

I am an historian, and historians by definition specialize in where we have been, not where we are going. Yet this chapter is not about the past. It is about the present and the future – specifically it is about women, power, and leadership in the twenty-first century. I will argue that even though we historians spend a lot of time with our eyes fixed firmly on the rearview mirror, history has something vital to offer in sorting through today's confusion about men's and women's lives, about the stall in

M. Hartman (✉)
Institute for Women's Leadership, Rutgers University, New Brunswick, NJ 08901-8555, USA
e-mail: msh@rci.rutgers.edu

women's advance to leadership roles, and about the status and prospects for equality between the sexes.

Admittedly, we all are preoccupied these days by financial crisis. Any historical questions we are asking are far more likely to be along the lines of "Who got us into this mess?" While that is not my topic today, I will at least suggest that *that*, and the lack of women in top leadership positions, are not unrelated.

Thank goodness, in my life as director of Rutgers IWL, I get to focus more on the present and the future than the past. This includes spending time with a promising new generation of 17–21 year olds at Rutgers. I try to prepare them, whatever their career goals, to envision lives in leadership, to understand the shifting choices and constraints that have influenced women's lives over time, to be mindful of unfinished business, here and across the globe, in realizing ideals of gender and racial equality, and to recognize the value of power.

By now the heady days of the women's movement of the '60s and '70s have faded, but in many ways people are more absorbed than ever by gender issues. They want to know whether feminism is dead or alive. They are asking if where we are now in the relations between the sexes is "as good as it gets," or if renewed collective action, or some other strategy, might advance what many still see as an unfinished revolution toward more genuine equality between women and men.

The recent campaign focused new attention on women as leaders, and as feminists. After the election, Palin reflected on women Democratic voters' luke-warm support for her. She said "Sometimes, you know, I consider myself, too, as a feminist, whatever that means." We laugh, but the term has become toxic. While I see my own students' embrace of women's equality as light years ahead of where *I* – who call myself a feminist – was at their age, many of them reject the term. They refuse to see themselves in media caricatures of radical man-haters, and many see feminism itself as dated – as an artifact of their mothers' era.

So how did we get to this place? Does feminism have a future in this new century, do we need a renewed women's movement? I am going to suggest this afternoon, with some caveats, that in fact we do, and will suggest why. But I'll begin with the past, to give you a context for my calling this talk "Not Your Mother's Women's Movement." My story thus begins with Betty Friedan who, back in 1963, wrote that famous book called *The Feminine Mystique*.

The book is often cited as the spark that ignited the modern women's movement. At the least, it struck a nerve with an important group: educated, mostly white, middle-class wives and mothers of the 1960s. These women were regularly told that they should be ecstatic about their lot. Many, after all, had brand new houses in brand new suburbs, and were raising growing broods of baby-boomers. Yet when Friedan, one of those women herself, peeked beneath the shiny surfaces of their lives, she found nagging discontent, dubbing it "the problem that has no name." She then named it "the feminine mystique," the idea that women as a group must find primary identity and fulfillment in marriage, home, and family.

Friedan's counter-message to women was simple and bracing: Wake Up. You are being hoodwinked by people determined to keep you in the "comfortable concentration camp" of your house. Whether they are psychologists trying to scare

you with the damage your children will suffer if you pursue a career, or marketers who want you to buy more stuff you don't need, your duty to yourself is to resist their brainwashing. "Shape up," she told them. "Go out and get a life."

Many of these educated women got the message. Some, along with Friedan, became activists in a revived women's movement – the so-called second wave, following the first wave that had culminated in passage of women's suffrage in 1920. True, middle-class white women still get more credit for changes than they deserve. For example, we now know that many *more* women and some men, of all races and classes, had been quietly pushing for decades to expand women's rights, chiefly around work and family support. Still, this revived mass movement ensured that women in decent numbers were able to pursue professional degrees and move into fields such as business, politics, medicine, academe and law. Thanks to them, reproductive rights were expanded, safe contraception made available, and abortion made legal in 1973.

There were bumps in the road. A bill that would have established universal childcare passed both houses in 1971, but was vetoed by President Nixon. Still, the 60s and 70s saw a rising focus on gender equality among men and women alike. Second wave women fought for equal rights to education, work, and housing – and against sexual harassment, rape and abuse. It's easy to forget how much has now changed, but ponder this: in the Harvard Law School in 1964 there were just 15 women out of 513 graduates. The then dean, Erwin Griswold, famously asked all the women degree candidates, including Ruth Bader Ginsburg in 1960, to justify taking the place of a man.

So we fast-forward to the year 2009, nearly half a century later. What do we find? The women whose hopes for equality were so high in the 1960s and 1970s would have been shocked back then to be told that a deep backlash would set in by the 1980s, and still be going strong a quarter century later. For long, feminists clung to public optimism. Friedan predicted in the '80s that by 2000, women would earn half of all income, and men would be doing half of all housework. *Right*. Women fulltime workers in 2009 earn about 78% for every dollar men earn. And men still do far less home and child care, though more than before.

Already by the 1980s, it was clear that the new generation of professional women, who might have been expected to pick up the leadership of an unfinished women's movement, were not doing so. Friedan warned then that these women, daughters of those sixties' housewives, might be trading in the problem of a *feminine* mystique, with its confining domesticity, for a NEW confinement, for which she coined the term *feminist* mystique. These women, she warned, were turning into male clones "even more slavish robots to the obsolete workaholic time clock than men." As usual she was onto something, but it was not so straightforward – and she later acknowledged as much.

After all, the Ozzie and Harriet days of dad at the office and mom home baking cookies, never reflected reality for most people anyway, and those days are long gone. What we need to sort out are the choices and constraints for today's generations of women and men, the baby boomers and so-called 4 like you, and the rising Millenials like my students.

First and most obvious, is the fact of massive shift in work roles, especially *women's* work roles. Today, women for the first time are over half the labor force. Figures vary by race and class, but the work trend for all women is up. Especially noteworthy is the huge influx of mothers into the workforce. In 1950, only about 13% of married mothers in the U.S. with children under 18 held jobs. By now, over 75% of mothers with children age 6–18 work outside the home.

As for that other thing about Ozzie and Harriet – namely, being *married* – there have been big changes there too. We recently passed a milestone of sorts, since for the first time, more American women are now living *without* a husband than with one. Back in 1950, almost two thirds of women were living with a spouse. Fewer people are married now for several reasons. One is later marriage. Men now average age 27 when they marry, and women 25. Another is increased divorce. As one expert says, "there is no going back to a world where we can assume that marriage is the main institution that organizes people's lives." While most people still marry at least once, on average Americans now spend half their adult lives outside marriage.

The professional daughters and granddaughters of the sixties mothers, who are now about 8% of American women, are in many ways sharing, despite their privilege, the hectic and less glamorous lives of the majority of the rest of the new working women. Like them, they live in homes where there are no longer two jobs for two resident adults: a breadwinner and a homemaker. To make ends meet, both adults *have* to be breadwinners, so now there are *three* jobs per household: *two* breadwinners' jobs, and *one* homemaker/caregiver's job.

It gets worse. With a massive step-up of work, employees at every level are exhausted and time-starved. In the US, workers spend more hours on the job than in any other industrialized country – including Japan. Working mothers, in particular, suffer stress and sleep deprivation. There is a "care crisis," and even professional women, despite more money and options, bear the brunt of child and elder care. As a nation, we have failed to take steps most other developed countries have taken to ease women's mass entry into the paid workforce. What is more, while people see all this, most do not recognize it as the result of an unfinished movement toward gender equality.

To add to the fun, even mainstream media continue to give breathless attention to any evidence, however flimsy, that can be made to support the notion that everybody wins if mothers stay home, that women's "natural" role, anyway, is caregiving. Think of the blitz about an "opt-out revolution," a term created by *New York Times* writer Lisa Belkin in 2003, who claimed that masses of young professional women are *choosing* to leave high-powered careers to go home.

Research doesn't deny that some *are* leaving these careers, but it shows that rather than *opting* out, most are being *pushed out* by workplace inflexibility, failure of pubic policy, and workplace bias against mothers. Rarely is it mentioned that returnees pay a price. For every 2 years out, salaries fall by 10% – the so-called "mommy penalty." Also, the press tends to focus on one situation: *after* women leave the workforce and *before* they get divorced.

A while ago, having participated on a sobering project for the Sloan Foundation interviewing overworked managerial women in New Jersey, I began thinking about

why, despite all the progress, there is so little sense of celebration, even among the highest achieving women. It was here that I began to see important connections between what my experience as an historian of women's lives had taught me, and our confusion about whether the gender revolution is over or just stalled. With a Rutgers colleague, I first sought the perspective of Betty Friedan herself. She agreed to meet with us at her home in Sag Harbor, Long Island, in July 2002. It turned out to be one of her last formal interviews. (As you may recall, she died early in 2006.) We wanted to learn how a woman who had made an enormous mark on the last century saw the prospects for gender equality now, so we invited her to imagine she was sending a message to the mid-twenty-first century.

"I hope by then our focus will no longer have to be women as such, or women vis a vis men," she said, "that we will have achieved what at this moment we seem to be achieving, real equality between women and men." But she added that with no paid parental leave and no national child care, the U.S. had catching up to do. Asked to name the major change in the past 40 years of the women's movement, she did not hesitate: "I would have to say consciousness, the change in consciousness. It used to be: 'What do you want to be, little boy, when you grow up?'. . . And 'Oh, you're a pretty little girl, you'll be a mommy like mommy.' *Now,* [it is] 'What do you want to be little girl when you grow up?' I mean, that is the biggest change. The women are expected to, brought up to, and expect themselves to be part of society on their own, not just as wives and mothers, and they are doing it."

We asked her if she thought a renewed women's movement was needed and likely to occur. Acknowledging the stall in a movement she once declared would be won by the year 2000, she said that there was clearly a need for such a movement, but she doubted it would happen. In her view, the real sticking point was leadership. Where will the leaders come from, she asked us, now that women who might do the leading are burdened with TWO jobs – one paid, and one unpaid? And how can men, who should join women in leading the movement, be persuaded to do so when they stand to lose what male privilege and power they still enjoy? Why would men agree to do more housework? Friedan reminded us, too, that finding leadership for a new mass movement was a far easier task in the 1960s, when potential leaders were more available among the "bright, well-educated, able" housewives who had volunteer experience and time on their hands.

Friedan's perspective, as usual, was powerful, and yet even she was stuck on the assumption that any renewed movement for gender equality would resemble the last. I and some colleagues working on a book on this topic disagree. We believe it is possible in this century to achieve something similar to what happened in the 1960s: namely, a conscious movement that goes beyond current more or less isolated, local, and scattered change movements. But for that to happen, we need a clearer consensus about the extent to which problems in our current domestic, work, and leisure arrangements actually do rest upon a continuing gender inequality, spoken or unspoken.

Just as important, we need to have a fuller grasp of the far deeper historical roots of our current gender arrangements. We are only now beginning to see that a shift toward gender equality has been centuries in the making. It did not begin

with the modern, self-conscious, women's movement of the 1960s. It did not even begin with the so-called "first wave" from the late eighteenth century revolutionary movements. Instead it began with changes in the institution of the peasant family household that got underway more than 1,000 years ago in medieval northwestern Europe, but by now are spreading all around the world. In short, the typical peasant household became smaller, or nuclear, with just one married couple, and that worked to increase women's power.

I won't dwell on specifics, but what we know is that initially, most peasant households outside of northwestern Europe were multi-family dwellings, with a patriarch, his wife, adult sons, imported daughters-in-law, and grandchildren all living under the same roof. Gender roles were sharply divided. By contrast, later on, rather than being 7–10 years younger than their husbands in arranged marriages, brides in northwestern Europe were usually in their 20s, and had worked outside their natal homes for years before marriage, ultimately marrying men they were likely to have met on their own. Once married, rather than being absorbed into their husband's households under the control of their mothers- in-law, men and women set up households in partnership, and women had comparatively greater power and leverage as one of just two resident adults. The institution of marriage was thus profoundly altered, and from there the family, the household and the wider society. Lines dividing men's and women's roles began to blur, and the sexes came to share common experiences at every stage of the life cycle. This was not yet equality, but a movement was underway.

So now we fast forward to the current and future scene. Adopting a wider historical lens enables us to see that the trend for 100s of years has been to diminish the capacity to sustain systems of sharp gender-role differences as well as of huge hierarchies that favor men over women. Against this longer historical backdrop, it becomes clear that commentators have exaggerated the effects of the stalled progress of the past three decades. Far from the movement towards gender equality being relatively recent, it has been going on for centuries and is now, indeed, spreading throughout the world.

In most places now, the shift to nuclear households has come from the outside, with intrusions in the economic and political realms that have produced dramatic changes in new, streamlined household structures, increases in women's age at marriage as well as in women's literacy and education, and (often enough) deeply reactionary, male-led political and social movements. Still, despite these reactions, a new global feminist movement has also emerged, that is advancing a global shift toward greater gender equality.

I would maintain, therefore, that far from being near the beginning, or even the middle, of the long historical era in which the sexes have been unequal, we are instead nearing the end of that very long period. That result was prepared by early shifts in household, marriage and work structures, but it finally became potentially achievable in the twentieth century with the development and spread of the capacity for safe and effective means to control conception and ensure women's choice in childbearing. One huge consequence is that for the first time in the history of the species, whether one is born biologically male or female is coming to matter less

than it ever has, not only for an individual woman or man's identity for but for the capacity of both sexes to play fuller roles in society. Identity is becoming uncoupled from biological sex. Freud to the contrary, anatomy is finally ceasing to be destiny. Or as Malcolm Gladwell would put it, we are at the "tipping point" of a whole new era of relations between women and men.

But *will* we tip, and if so when and how? Here once again, it helps to recall the past to be able to make plausible predictions about the future. Consider just the US context for a moment. Remember how Betty Friedan's *Feminine Mystique* is so often cited as sparking the modern women's movement. To the extent this was true, it was owing to how Friedan gave her target group, educated middle-class, largely white women of the early sixties, a new way to understand and then to act on things that already troubled many of them about their lives.

In an eerily similar fashion, the way that gender equality has evolved in recent decades has made it difficult for people like us, the privileged daughters and grand-daughters of many of those women of the sixties, to recognize that as professional women now in the workplace, we have acquired our own "problem that has no name." This time it is not a stifling ideology of femininity but instead the message that because they have been permitted to enter the public workplace, we have already achieved "equality" with men.

We are not so dumb that we have not noticed that we are the ones still doing both the bulk of the housework and nearly all the child and elder care at home, but we are aware that we ARE privileged women who are far more fortunate than the bulk of today's working women, who have fewer resources to address the shared problems of increased stress, longer hours on the job, and the unpaid labor at home. In sum, there are plenty of reasons to believe that the working women of the early twenty-first century, similar to those of the 1960s, are ripe for that spark of understanding, that "click moment" if you will, that will enable us to see our circumstances not as equality, but as a call to action, a movement to change the rules of the game not just for ourselves but for far larger groups of working people – men as well as women – and to bring more genuine choice and equality to our lives.

This new movement, which is in many ways already underway, is *not your mother's women's movement*. It is something new, with a new cast of players and a playbook that is still being written. It is likely to be far more diverse – cross-class, race, gender, generations, and national borders – than ever before. But this renewed movement, as it evolves, should be able to attract the talents of additional powerful and influential potential leaders. It is empowering in itself to realize that history is on the side of anyone contemplating leading or joining a revived movement to fuller equality between the sexes.

To be sure, it will be necessary to address Friedan's valid concerns. Key potential leaders of such a movement – namely, educated, professional women such as yourselves – do not have much time on their hands. But what they do have now are new power bases in businesses, governments, unions, law firms, academe, international organizations, and more. These are places from which, once they recognize the power they already have, they can mobilize it to lobby and organize and benefit themselves as well as countless less privileged women and men.

Another new group that *does* have time on its hands can be recruited, too. That is the growing number of retired professional women, who are the very first generation of such women with the knowledge, skills and connections to make serious change happen. Also, while bringing men into the leadership of the movement may not be easy, plenty of men are already at least half-convinced that they, and their sons, stand to benefit from enhanced gender equality. Recognition that they are not bucking history but instead helping to move it along in the direction it has been headed for centuries is also likely to be a useful motivator.

Last but not least, young women and men who are more supportive of gender equity than any previous generation, are the secret weapon of a new movement for equality between the sexes. Together, all these people and more can write, and enact, a brand new gender narrative. They can define an equality that will embrace a multiplicity of gender differences while finally rejecting the monotony of a sexual hierarchy that continues to elevate male over female. In the process, they have a real chance to eliminate the remaining social roles for a subordinate "second sex."

There is of course no guarantee that something like this is bound to happen. That depends upon enough people everywhere recognizing the possibilities within their own contexts and being prepared to take the lead. But the opportunity for achieving full equality between the sexes has never been more real.

Chapter 3
Ways Women Lead

Judy B. Rosener

Editors' Introduction While Mary Hartman helped us see the importance of continually rethinking our response to the issues that women face, Judy Rosener frames the problems and opportunities that women encounter in organizations in a very specific way. Her response is one that emphasizes the unique contributions that women leaders make within organizations. In her now classic article on women leaders we find a demonstration that a transformative collaborative model of leading is both more typical of women leaders and actually very effective, particularly in large organizations. As the book progresses, we shall see that the strategy of emphasizing women leaders' "unique" leadership style also has its dangers, as it tends to strengthen gender stereotypes. We however include this perspective here because we want to trace the various possible responses to the changing situation of women within organizations, and consider its costs and benefits before offering new perspectives. Rosener's article does offer us some crucial insights into alternative leadership models that may be more appropriate responses to contemporary organizational dynamics. Although Rosener barely touches on it, a transformational leader is more comfortable in a complex environment of a large multinational corporation, and that style of leadership, in turn, is more conducive to leadership success in global companies.

Women managers who have broken the glass ceiling in medium-sized, nontraditional organizations have proven that effective leaders don't come from one mold. They have demonstrated that using the command-and-control style of managing

J.B. Rosener (✉)
The Paul Merage School of Business, University of California, Irvine, CA 92697-3125, USA
e-mail: jbrosene@uci.edu

others, a style generally associated with men in large, traditional organizations, is not the only way to succeed.

The first female executives, because they were breaking new ground, adhered to many of the "rules of conduct" that spelled success for men. Now a second wave of women is making its way into top management, not by adopting the style and habits that have proved successful for men but by drawing on the skills and attitudes they developed from their shared experience as women. These second-generation managerial women are drawing on what is unique to their socialization as women and creating a different path to the top. They are seeking and finding opportunities in fast-changing and growing organizations to show that they can achieve results – in a different way. They are succeeding because of – not in spite of – certain characteristics generally considered to be "feminine" and inappropriate in leaders.

The women's success shows that a nontraditional leadership style is well suited to the conditions of some work environments and can increase an organization's chances of surviving in an uncertain world. It supports the belief that there is strength in a diversity of leadership styles.

In a recent survey sponsored by the International Women's Forum, I found a number of unexpected similarities between men and women leaders along with some important differences. (For more on the study and its findings, see "The IWF Survey of Men and Women Leaders.") Among these similarities are characteristics related to money and children. I found that the men and women respondents earned the same amount of money and the household income of the women is twice that of the men. This finding is contrary to most studies, which find a considerable wage gap between men and women, even at the executive level. I also found that just as many men as women experience work-family conflict (although when there are children at home, the women experience slightly more conflict than men).

But the similarities end when men and women describe their leadership performance and how they usually influence those with whom they work. The men are more likely than the women to describe themselves in ways that characterize what some management experts call "transactional" leadership.[1] That is, they view job performance as a series of transactions with subordinates – exchanging rewards for services rendered or punishment for inadequate performance. The men are also more likely to use power that comes from their organizational position and formal authority.

The women respondents, on the other hand, described themselves in ways that characterize "transformational" leadership – getting subordinates to transform their own self-interest into the interest of the group through concern for a broader goal. Moreover, they ascribe their power to personal characteristics like charisma, interpersonal skills, hard work, or personal contacts rather than to organizational stature.

Intrigued by these differences, I interviewed some of the women respondents who described themselves as transformational. These discussions gave me a better picture of how these women view themselves as leaders and a greater understanding of the important ways in which their leadership style differs from the

traditional command-and-control style. I call their leadership style "interactive leadership" because these women actively work to make their interactions with subordinates positive for everyone involved. More specifically, the women encourage participation, share power and information, enhance other people's self-worth, and get others excited about their work. All these things reflect their belief that allowing employees to contribute and to feel powerful and important is a win–win situation – good for the employees and the organization.

Interactive Leadership

From my discussions with the women interviewees, several patterns emerged. The women leaders made frequent reference to their efforts to encourage participation and share power and information – two things that are often associated with participative management. But their self-description went beyond the usual definitions of participation. Much of what they described were attempts to enhance other people's sense of self-worth and to energize followers. In general, these leaders believe that people perform best when they feel good about themselves and their work, and they try to create situations that contribute to that feeling.

Encourage participation. Inclusion is at the core of interactive leadership. In describing nearly every aspect of management, the women interviewees made reference to trying to make people feel part of the organization. They try to instill this group identity in a variety of ways, including encouraging others to have a say in almost every aspect of work, from setting performance goals to determining strategy. To facilitate inclusion, they create mechanisms that get people to participate and they use a conversational style that sends signals inviting people to get involved.

One example of the kinds of mechanisms that encourage participation is the "bridge club" that one interviewee, a group executive in charge of mergers and acquisitions at a large East Coast financial firm, created. The club is an informal gathering of people who have information she needs but over whom she has no direct control. The word bridge describes the effort to bring together these "members" from different functions. The word club captures the relaxed atmosphere.

Despite the fact that attendance at club meetings is voluntary and over and above the usual work demands, the interviewee said that those whose help she needs make the time to come. "They know their contributions are valued, and they appreciate the chance to exchange information across functional boundaries in an informal setting that's fun." She finds participation in the club more effective than memos.

Whether or not the women create special forums for people to interact, they try to make people feel included as a matter of course, often by trying to draw them into the conversation or soliciting their opinions. Frieda Caplan, founder and CEO of Frieda's Finest, a California-based marketer and distributor of unusual fruits and vegetables, described an approach she uses that is typical of the other women

interviewed: "When I face a tough decision, I always ask my employees, "What would you do if you were me?" This approach generates good and introduces my employees to the complexity of management decisions."

Of course, saying that you include others doesn't mean others necessarily feel included. The women acknowledge the possibility that their efforts to draw people in may be seen as symbolic, so they try to avoid that perception by acting on the input they receive. They ask for suggestions before they reach their own conclusions, and they test – and sometimes change – particular decisions before they implement them. These women use participation to clarify their own views by thinking things through out loud and to ensure that they haven't overlooked an important consideration.

The fact that many of the interviewees described their participatory style as coming "naturally" suggests that these leaders do not consciously adopt it for its business value. Yet they realize that encouraging participation has benefits. For one thing, making it easy for people to express their ideas helps ensure that decisions reflect as much information as possible. To some of the women, this point is just common sense. Susan S. Elliott, president and founder of Systems Service Enterprises, a St. Louis computer consulting company, expressed this view: "I can't come up with a plan and then ask those who manage the accounts to give me their reactions. They're the ones who really know the accounts. They have information I don't have. Without their input I'd be operating in an ivory tower."

Participation also increases support for decisions ultimately reached and reduces the risk that ideas will be undermined by unexpected opposition. Claire Rothman, general manager of the Great Western Forum, a large sports and entertainment arena in Los Angeles, spoke about the value of open disagreement: "When I know ahead of time that someone disagrees with a decision, I can work especially closely with that person to try to get his or her support."

Getting people involved also reduces the risk associated with having only one person handle a client, project, or investment. For Patricia M. Cloherty, senior vice president and general partner of Alan Patricof Associates, a New York venture capital firm, including people in decision making and planning gives investments longevity. If something happens to one person, others will be familiar enough with the situation to "adopt" the investment. That way, there are no orphans in the portfolio, and a knowledgeable second opinion is always available.

Like most who are familiar with participatory management, these women are aware that being inclusive also has its disadvantages. Soliciting ideas and information from others takes time, often requires giving up some control, opens the door to criticism, and exposes personal and turf conflicts. In addition, asking for ideas and information can be interpreted as not having answers.

Further, it cannot be assumed that everyone wants to participate. Some people prefer being told what to do. When Mary Jane Rynd was a partner in a Big Eight accounting firm in Arizona (she recently left to start her own company – Rynd, Carneal & Associates), she encountered such a person: "We hired this person from an out-of-state CPA firm because he was experienced and smart – and because it's always fun to hire someone away from another firm. But he was just too

cynical to participate. He was suspicious of everybody. I tried everything to get him involved – including him in discussions and giving him pep talks about how we all work together. Nothing worked. He just didn't want to participate."

Like all those who responded to the survey, these women are comfortable using a variety of leadership styles. So when participation doesn't work, they act unilaterally. "I prefer participation," said Elliott, "but there are situations where time is short and I have to take the bull by the horns."

Share power and information. Soliciting input from other people suggests a flow of information from employees to the "boss." But part of making people feel included is knowing that open communication flows in two directions. These women say they willingly share power and information rather than guard it and they make apparent their reasoning behind decisions. While many leaders see information as power and power as a limited commodity to be coveted, the interviewees seem to be comfortable letting power and information change hands. As Adrienne Hall, vice chairman of Eisaman, Johns & Laws, a large West Coast advertising firm, said: "I know territories shift, so I'm not preoccupied with turf."

One example of power and information sharing is the open strategy sessions held by Debi Coleman, vice president of information systems and technology at Apple Computer. Rather than closeting a small group of key executives in her office to develop a strategy based her own agenda, she holds a series of meetings over several days and allows a larger group to develop and help choose alternatives.

The interviewees believe that sharing power and information accomplishes several things. It creates loyalty by signaling to coworkers and subordinates that they are trusted and their ideas respected. It also sets an example for other people and therefore can enhance the general communication flow. And it increases the odds that leaders will hear about problems before they explode. Sharing power and information also gives employees and coworkers the wherewithal to reach conclusions, solve problems, and see the justification for decisions.

On a more pragmatic level, many employees have come to expect their bosses to be open and frank. They no longer accept being dictated to but want to be treated as individuals with minds of their own. As Elliott said, "I work with lots of people who are bright and intelligent, so I have to deal with them at an intellectual level. They're very logical, and they want to know the reasons for things. They'll buy in only if it makes sense."

In some cases, sharing information means simply being candid about work-related issues. In early 1990, when Elliott hired as employees many of the people she had been using as independent contractors, she knew the transition would be difficult for everyone. The number of employees nearly doubled overnight, and the nature of working relationships changed. "I warned everyone that we were in for some rough times and reminded them that we would be experiencing them together. I admitted that it would also be hard for me, and I made it clear that I wanted them to feel free to talk to me. I was completely candid and encouraged them to be honest with me. I lost some employees who didn't like the new relationships, but I'm convinced that being open helped me understand my employees better, and it gave them a feeling of support."

Like encouraging participation, sharing power and information has its risks. It allows for the possibility that people will reject, criticize, or otherwise challenge what the leader has to say or, more broadly, her authority. Also, employees get frustrated when leaders listen to – but ultimately reject – their ideas. Because information is a source of power, leaders who share it can be seen as naive or needing to be liked. The interviewees have experienced some of these downsides but find the positives overwhelming.

Enhance the self-worth of others. One of the byproducts of sharing information and encouraging participation is that employees feel important. During the interviews, the women leaders discussed other ways they build a feeling of self-worth in coworkers and subordinates. They talked about giving others credit and praise and sending small signals of recognition. Most important, they expressed how they refrain from asserting their own superiority, which asserts the inferiority of others. All those I interviewed expressed clear aversion to behavior that sets them apart from others in the company-reserved parking places, separate dining facilities, pulling rank.

Examples of sharing and giving credit to others abound. Caplan, who has been the subject of scores of media reports hailing her innovation of labeling vegetables so consumers know what they are and how to cook them, originally got the idea from a farmer. She said that whenever someone raises the subject, she credits the farmer and downplays her role. Rothman is among the many note-writers: when someone does something out of the ordinary, she writes them a personal note to tell them she noticed. Like many of the women I interviewed, she said she also makes a point acknowledging good work by talking about it in front of others.

Bolstering coworkers and subordinates is especially important in businesses and jobs that tend to be hard on a person's ego. Investment banking is one example because of the long hours, high pressures, intense competition, and inevitability that some deals will fail. One interviewee in investment banking hosts dinners for her division, gives out gag gifts as party favors, pass out M&Ms at meetings, and throws parties "to celebrate ourselves." These things, she said, balance the anxiety that permeates the environment.

Rynd compensates for the negativity inherent in preparing tax returns: "In my business we have something called a query sheet, where the person who reviews the tax return writes down everything that needs to be corrected. Criticism is built into the system. But at the end of every review, I always include a positive comment – your work paper technique looked good, I appreciate the fact that you got this done on time, or something like that. It seems trivial, but it's one way to remind people that I recognize their good work and not just their shortcomings."

Energize others. The women leaders spoke of their enthusiasm for work and how they spread their enthusiasm around to make work a challenge that is exhilarating and fun. The women leaders talked about it in those terms and claimed to use their enthusiasm to get others excited. As Rothman said, "There is rarely a person I can't motivate."

Enthusiasm was a dominant theme throughout the interviews. In computer consulting: "Because this business is on the forefront of technology, I'm sort of

evangelistic about it, and I want other people to be as excited as I am." In venture capital: "You have to have a head of steam." In executive search: "Getting people excited is an important way to influence those you have no control over." Or in managing sports arenas: "My enthusiasm gets others excited. I infuse them with energy and make them see that even boring jobs contribute to the fun of working in a celebrity business."

Enthusiasm can sometimes be misunderstood. In conservative professions like investment banking, such an upbeat leadership style can be interpreted as cheerleading and can undermine credibility. In many cases, the women said they won and preserved their credibility by achieving results that could be measured easily. One of the women acknowledged that her colleagues don't understand or like her leadership style and have called it cheerleading. "But," she added, "in this business you get credibility from what you produce, and they love the profits I generate." While energy and enthusiasm can inspire some, it doesn't work for everyone. Even Rothman conceded, "Not everyone has a flame that can be lit."

Paths of Least Resistance

Many of the women I interviewed said the behaviors and beliefs that underlie their leadership style come naturally to them. I attribute this to two things: their socialization and the career paths they have chosen. Although socialization patterns and career paths are changing, the average age of the men and women who responded to the survey is 51 - old enough to have had experiences that differed because of gender.

Until the 1960s, men and women received different signals about what was expected of them. To summarize a subject that many experts have explored in depth, women have been expected to be wives, mothers, community volunteers, teachers, and nurses. In all these roles, they are supposed to be cooperative, supportive, understanding, gentle, and to provide service to others. They are to derive satisfaction and a sense of self-esteem from helping others, including their spouses. While men have had to appear to be competitive, strong, tough, decisive, and in control, women have been allowed to be cooperative, emotional, supportive, and vulnerable. This may explain why women today are more likely than men to be interactive leaders.

Men and women have also had different career opportunities. Women were not expected to have careers, or at least not the same kinds of careers as men, so they either pursued different jobs or were simply denied opportunities men had. Women's career tracks have usually not included long series of organizational positions with formal authority and control of resources. Many women had their first work experiences outside the home as volunteers. While some of the challenges they faced as managers in volunteer organizations are the same as those in any business, in many ways, leading volunteers is different because of the absence of concrete rewards like pay and promotion.

As women entered the business world, they tended to find themselves in positions consistent with the roles they played at home: in staff positions rather than in line

positions, supporting the work of others, and in functions like communications or human resources where they had relatively small budgets and few people reporting directly to them.

The fact that most women have lacked formal authority over others and control over resources means that by default they have had to find other ways to accomplish their work. As it turns out, the behaviors that were natural and/or socially acceptable for them have been highly successful in at least some managerial settings.

What came easily to women turned out to be a survival tactic. Although leaders often begin their careers doing what comes naturally and what fits within the constraints of the job, they also develop their skills and styles over time. The women's use of interactive leadership has its roots in socialization, and the women interviewees firmly believe that it benefits their organizations. Through the course of their careers, they have gained conviction that their style is effective. In fact, for some, it was their own success that caused them to formulate their philosophies about what motivates people, how to make good decisions, and it takes to maximize business performance.

They now have formal authority and control over vast resources, but still they see sharing power and information as an asset rather than a liability. They believe that although pay and promotion are necessary tools of management, what people really want is to feel that they are contributing to a higher purpose and that they have the opportunity as individuals to learn and grow. The women believe that employees and peers perform better when they feel they are part of an organization and can share in its success. Allowing them to get involved and to work to their potential is a way of maximizing their contributions and using human resources most efficiently.

Another Kind of Diversity

The IWF survey shows that a nontraditional leadership style can be effective in organizations that accept it. This lesson comes especially hard to those who think of the corporate world as a game of survival of the fittest, where the fittest is always the strongest, toughest, most decisive, and powerful. Such a workplace seems to favor leaders who control people by controlling resources, and by controlling people, gain control of more resources. Asking for information and sharing decision-making power can be seen as serious disadvantages, but what is a disadvantage under one set of circumstances is an advantage under another. The "best" leadership style depends on the organizational context.

Only one of the women interviewees is in a traditional, large-scale company. More typically, the women's organizations are medium-sized and tend to have experienced fast growth and fast change. They demand performance and/or have a high proportion of professional workers. These organizations seem to create opportunities for women and are hospitable to those who use a nontraditional management style.

The degree of growth or change in an organization is an important factor in creating opportunities for women. When change is rampant, everything is up for

grabs, and crises are frequent. Crises are generally not desirable, but they do create opportunities for people to prove themselves. Many of the women interviewees said they got their first break because their organizations were in turmoil.

Fast-changing environments also play havoc with tradition. Coming up through the ranks and being part of an established network is no longer important. What is important is how you perform. Also, managers in such environments are open to new solutions, new structures, and new ways of leading.

The fact that many of the women respondents are in organizations that have clear performance standards suggests that they have gained credibility and legitimacy by achieving results. In investment banking, venture capital, accounting, and executive placement, for instance, individual performance is easy to measure.

A high proportion of young professional workers – increasingly typical of organizations – is also a factor in some women's success. Young, educated professionals impose special requirements on their organizations. They demand to participate and contribute. In some cases, they have knowledge or talents their bosses don't have. If they are good performers, they have many employment options. It is easy to imagine that these professionals will respond to leaders who are inclusive and open, who enhance the self-worth of others, and who create a fun work environment. Interactive leaders are likely to win the cooperation needed to achieve their goals.

Interactive leadership has proved to be effective, perhaps even advantageous, in organizations in which the women I interviewed have succeeded. As the work force increasingly demands participation and the economic environment increasingly requires rapid change, interactive leadership may emerge as the management style of choice for many organizations. For interactive leadership to take root more broadly, however, organizations must be willing to question the notion that the traditional command-and-control leadership style that has brought success in earlier decades is the only way to get results. This may be hard in some organizations, especially those with long histories of male-oriented, command-and-control leadership. Changing these organizations will not be easy. The fact that women are more likely than men to be interactive leaders raises the risk that these companies will perceive interactive leadership as "feminine" and automatically resist it.

Linking interactive leadership directly to being female is a mistake. We know that women are capable of making their way through corporations by adhering to the traditional corporate model and that they can wield power in ways similar to men. Indeed, some women may prefer that style. We also know from the survey findings that some men use the transformational leadership style.

Large, establishing organizations should expand their definition of effective leadership. If they were to do that, several things might happen, including the disappearance of the glass ceiling and the creation of a wider path for all sorts of executives – men and women – to attain positions of leadership. Widening the path will free potential leaders to lead in ways that play to their individual strengths. Then the newly recognized interactive leadership style can be valued and rewarded as highly as the command-and-control style has been for decades.

By valuing a diversity of leadership styles, organizations will find the strength and flexibility to survive in a highly competitive, increasingly diverse economic environment.

The IWF Survey of Men and Women Leaders

The International Women's Forum was founded in 1982 to give prominent women leaders in diverse professions around the world a way to share their knowledge with each other and with their communities and countries. The organization now has some 37 forums in North America, Europe, Asia, Latin America, and the Middle East. To help other women advance and to educate the public about the contributions women can and are making in government, business, and other fields, the IWF created the Leadership Foundation. The Foundation commissioned me to perform the study of men and women leaders on which this article is based. I conducted the study with the help of Daniel McAllister and Gregory Stephens (Ph.D. students at the Graduate School of Management at the University of California, Irvine) in the spring of 1989.

The survey consisted of an eight-page questionnaire sent to all the IWF members. Each respondent was asked to supply the name of a man in a similar organization with similar responsibilities. The men received the same questionnaire as the IWF members. The respondents were similar in age, occupation, and educational level, which suggests that the matching effort was successful. The response rate was 31%.

The respondents were asked questions about their leadership styles, their organizations, work-family issues, and personal characteristics. The following are among the more intriguing findings, some of which contradict data reported in academic journals and the popular press:

- The women earn the same amount of money as their male counterparts. The average yearly income for men is $136,510; for women it is $140,573. (Most other studies have shown a wage gap between men and women.)
  The men's household income (their own and their spouse's) is much lower than that of the women – $166,454 versus $300,892 (only 39% of the men have full-time employed spouses, as opposed to 71% of the women.)
- Both men and women leaders pay their female subordinates roughly $12,000 less than their male subordinates with similar positions and titles.
- Women are more likely than men to use transformational leadership – motivating others by transforming their self-interest into the goals of the organization.
- Women are much more likely than men to use power based on charisma, work record, and contacts (personal power) as opposed to power based on organizational position, title, and the ability to reward and punish (structural power).
- Most men and women describe themselves as having an equal mix of traits that are considered "feminine" (being excitable, gentle, emotional, submissive,

sentimental, understanding, compassionate, sensitive, dependent), "masculine" (dominant, aggressive, tough, assertive, autocratic, analytical, competitive, independent), and "gender-neutral" (adaptive, tactful, sincere, conscientious, conventional, reliable, predictable, systematic, efficient).

- Women who do describe themselves as predominately "feminine" or "gender-neutral" report a higher level of followership among their female subordinates than women who describe themselves as "masculine."
- Approximately 67% of the women respondents arc married. (Other studies report that only 40–50% of women executives are married.)
- Both married men and married women experience moderate levels of conflict between work and family domains. When there are children at home, women experience only slightly higher levels of conflict than men, even though they shoulder a much greater proportion of the child care – 61% of the care versus 25% for the men.

Note

1. Transactional and transformational leadership were first conceptualized by James McGregor Burns in Leadership (New York, NY: Harper & Row, 1978) and later developed by Bernard Bass in Leadership and Performance Beyond Expectations (New York, NY: Free Press, 1985).

Part II
Transformational Leadership and Systems Thinking

Chapter 4
Women Leaders in a Globalized World

Patricia H. Werhane

Editors' Introduction Patricia H. Werhane takes Rosener's analysis of a transformational style of leadership one step further in presenting us with a new perspective on what may be needed in terms of leadership within contemporary organizational contexts. By drawing on her extensive expertise in the role that mental models play in moral imagination, Werhane makes it clear that ethical leadership has to be understood from more systemic perspective. Werhane introduces the reader to systems and systems thinking as a methodology for organizational thinking and leadership that challenges the traditional firm-centered stakeholder models and the hierarchical leadership paradigms those models perpetuate. An acknowledgement of the multidirectional influences of various stakeholders and other organizational dynamics precipitates a rethinking of leadership roles and characteristics. From a systemic perspective, leaders must have the ability to relocate themselves and their firm away from the center of the stakeholder map to various other positions, in order to be morally responsive.

Introduction

According to Robert Sapolsky, a leading expert in the study of primates, until fairly recently it was thought that "[c]ertain species seemed simply to be that way they were, fixed products of the interplay of evolution and ecology, and that was that."

P.H. Werhane (✉)
Darden School, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, VA 22903, USA;
Institute for Business and Professional Ethics, DePaul University, Chicago, IL 60604, USA
e-mail: WerhaneP@darden.virginia.edu; pwerhane@depaul.edu

(Sapolsky, 2006, p. 105). This was a conclusion thought particularly applicable to primates, and in his work, to baboons. As he writes,

> Hierarchies among baboons are strict, as are their consequences. Among males, high rank is typically achieved by a series of successful violent challenges . . .Male baboons, moreover, can fight amazingly dirty. [and]. . .the victorious male is to subject the other to a ritualized gesture of dominance . . . . A baboon group, in short, is an unlikely breeding ground for pacifists . . .. [P]rimate species with some of the most aggressive and stratified social systems have been seen to cooperate and resolve conflicts – but not consistently, not necessarily for benign purposes, and not in a cumulative way that could lead to some fundamentally non-Hobbesian social outcomes . . .. At least that was the lesson until quite recently (Sapolsky, 2006, p. 108).

In the early 1980s, "Forest Troop," a group of savanna baboons Sapolsky was studying contracted tuberculosis and all males in the Troop who had foraged at a garbage dump died. "The result was that the Forest Troop was left with males who were less aggressive and more social than average, and the troop now had double its previous female-to-male ratio" (Sapolsky, 2006, p. 115).

As a result, and this still persists after 20 years, in this troop "there remained a hierarchy among the Forest Troop males, but it was far looser than before . . . . aggression was [and is] less frequent,. . . [a]nd rates of affiliative behaviors, between males, and between males and females has soared." (115). Even when male newcomers from other [presumably aggressive] savanna baboon troops join the Forest Troop (a common practice among baboons to prevent genetic inbreeding) these males are "socialized into nonaggressive behavior patterns.". . . in other words, new males find out that in Forest Troop, things are done differently. And they adapt accordingly. According to Sapolsky, this sort of behavior, until documented by careful study, would have been thought of as "nearly as unprecedented as baboons sprouting wings" (Sapolsky, 2006, p. 115).

This article will defend a very simple thesis. In a diverse globalized "flat" world with expanding economic opportunities and risks, we will need to revisit and revise our mindsets about free enterprise, corporate governance, and leadership. That we can change our mindsets and world view is illustrated by studies of primate behavior, in particular, the Forest Troop savanna baboons, and the kind of leadership necessary in a global economy is, interestingly, exemplified by women.

The Globalized New World

In a recent book, Friedman (2005) has developed persuasive arguments that "[g]lobalization has now shifted into warp drive . . . " (Wright, 2005) That is, free enterprise has not only infiltrated most of the corners of the earth, but jobs, ideas, goods, and services, like the internet, are now global. This is not simply that one's telephone, computer, and flight information are outsourced to many other parts of the world or a chat room is accessed by people from all parts of the globe. On a flight recently I met a Peruvian software expert who was heading for Argentina to write code for an Indian high-tech company that markets its products in over 50 countries

in the world. An X-ray taken in a Chicago hospital is likely to be sent electronically to a physician in India to be read and analyzed. Cell phones have infiltrated the poorest and most remote regions of the planet.

> The hardware in a Dell Inspiron 600 m laptop comes from factories in the Philippines, Costa Rica, Malaysia, China, south Korea, Taiwan, Germany, Japan, Mexico, Thailand, Singapore, Indonesia, India, and Israel; the software is designed in America and elsewhere. The corporations that own or operate these factories are based in the United States, China, Taiwan, Germany, South Korea, Japan, Ireland, Thailand, Israel, and Great Britain. And Michael Dell [CEO of Dell] personally knows their CEOs . . . (Wright, 2005).

In Thomas Friedman's words, "the world [of the twenty-first century] is flat" (Friedman, 2005, p. 213). If this well-documented conclusion is even partly accurate, there is no longer an "over there". The global organization is thus embedded in a complex adaptive set of global political, economic, and cultural networks. What we once called "externalities" are part of an interrelated networked global system in which businesses operate. A company can no longer "outsource" environmental degradation or dumping in less developed countries (even with the permission of that country) without that action affecting the global environment and receiving media attention. That conclusion is widely understood and accepted today. But globalization also means that one cannot outsource underpaid labor, product or service quality, issues of diversity, disregard of cultural or religious differences, or even corporate social responsibilities. If, for example, the clothes we wear are made under subhuman labor conditions as defined in the country of origin, one cannot dismiss that as someone else's problem. It is ours. Cultural differences are not merely opportunity costs even when one is operating in remote and poor regions. These differences have to do with human relationships, with cultural conflicts as well as consensus, and one cannot ignore them.

When Exxon/Mobil began drilling for oil in Chad and running a pipeline through Cameroon they could not ignore the environmental side effects of this enterprise. So they partnered with the World Bank and operated under the guidelines of the Bank's 2000 page study of that ecosystem. Exxon-Mobil could not avoid dealing with governments commonly ranked as two of the most corrupt nations, according to Transparency International (2005). So again, they partner with the World Bank to keep pressure on how oil royalties are used by the governments of Chad and Cameroon. Nor could ExxonMobil dismiss the fact that the pipeline ran through Pygmy and Bantu traditional tribal territories. As a result, the company works closely with NGOs to try to mitigate the side effects of pipeline construction. They have tried to accommodate many traditional, regional, and tribal practices heretofore often ignored in similar sorts of operations (Mead et al., 2003; Ussem, 2002).

Notions such as "the home office" or "the home country" begin to make less sense; these are becoming virtual or at least, multi-location places. Management, too, is becoming global. I recently visited a division of a Swiss company in Argentina whose general manager was Scottish. They manufacture parts of their products all over the world and assemble them in various other locations.

But what does globalization have to do with women and women corporate leaders? Let us begin with the data. Although women have been in management training

and in MBA programs in significant numbers since the 1970s, in 2006 there were merely eight women CEOs in the U.S. Fortune 500 publicly held companies. In 1995 there were no women in the largest global companies; in 2006 there were eight women leading these companies, five of which are companies of United States origin. According to three, 2006 studies of women leaders the addition of women to executive positions and corporate boards, both in the United States and globally, is moving at glacial speed (Francis and Case, 2006; Helfat et al., 2006; Singh and Vinnicombe, 2006) such that it may take until the next century to see a gender balance in corporate leadership. This is despite the fact that, according to one of the studies, "firms with higher percentages of women in senior management outperform financially, women are responsible for 83% of direct consumer spending, and women represent more than 50% of the educated talent pool" (Francis and Case, 2006, p. ii). It is easy to speculate why this is the case and to complain about discrimination, unequal opportunities and treatment, glass ceilings, etc. Rather than take on that set of arguments, however, we will use this data as background to argue that in a transforming global economy leadership styles, we see exemplified in women best fits the kind of global governance most appropriate for a flat world.

Prevailing and Worn-Out Mindsets

It is common in the leadership literature to define leaders as ". . . individuals who significantly influence the thoughts, behaviors, and/or feelings of others" (Gardner and Laskin, 1995, p. 6). But in a global multicultural economy where interaction is between managers from various cultures and perspectives, this leader–follower model may be outdated. Global leadership might better be thought of as "a process by which [diverse groups of people] are empowered to work together synergistically toward a common vision and common goals . . . " (Astin and Leland, 1991, p. 8, quoted in Adler, 1997, p. 174). In this model, leadership is an interactive, dynamic, and mutually interrelational process between leaders and managers, where each participant contributes to the vision and progress toward change in the company. The most effective global leaders will be those who are not only visionary, but who are used to working with a diverse population collaboratively rather than in a traditional leadership–follower dynamic. This sort of leader thinks and acts across cultures just as in the United States marketplace we think and act across state borders, without thinking about those borders as "borders" at all. The vision and goals these leaders share with their managers are not merely personal aspirations or derived from a particular nationality, religion, or ethnic origin. Rather, these evolving shared corporate goals, developed from managerial interactions that at the same time take into account cultural differences.

Thus, in a globalized economy, many of the operative mindsets in management may need reconception. In a recent article, the late Ghoshal (2005) contended that a series of what he calls "worn-out mindsets" dominate management and managerial thinking, at least in North America and the United Kingdom. These mindsets, he contends, have a pernicious effect of contaminating management teaching,

literature, and practice in ways that are both false and dangerous. Some of the most popular include notions from agency theory that describe individuals as primarily individual rational utility maximizers where self-interest and opportunistic behavior drive management decision-making. Such managers, of course, cannot be trustworthy on their own, thus one needs to spell out principal-agency relationships, wherein managers must be placed in carrot-stick relationships so as to insure that they pursue the proper corporate aim, which should be a preoccupation to maximize shareholder value. This model often perpetuates a hierarchical reward–punishment management focus, rules-based compliance, and reward (i.e., pay) for performance. The result, Ghoshal concludes, is the following.

> Combine agency theory with transaction costs economics, add in standard versions of game theory and negotiation analysis, and the picture of the manager that emerges is . . . the ruthlessly hard-driving strictly top-down, command-and-control focused, share-holder-value-obsessed, win-at-any-cost business leader (Ghoshal, 2005, p. 85).

Ghoshal, of course, clearly (and I suspect, deliberately) exaggerates the state of management education and management performance. In most management education today a teams approach is a prevailing model for forward-thinking education. Stakeholder theory has challenged the preoccupation with profits not only in academia but in many companies as well, and "stakeholder" language permeates annual corporate reports. Still, there remains a not insignificant focus on managerial and company self-interest and principal-agent issues and an at least implicit preoccupation with profit maximization as a primary goal, goaded by the demand for quarterly performance, all of which affect management activities. There are still multinational and global companies that think about cultural difference merely as opportunity costs, and there remains a tendency to define "human resources" as human capital, similar to natural resources. The relatively new Sarbanes Oxley legislation has created a climate of compliance rule-governed rather than principles-governed mentality that preempts corporate mission statements and values-based decision-making.

Why do these mindsets matter? As I have argued at length elsewhere (e.g., Werhane, 1999) "Our conceptual scheme(s) mediate even our most basic perceptual experiences" (Railton, 1986, p. 172). Our views of the world, of ourselves, of our culture and traditions and even our values orientations are social constructions. These points of view or mental models are socially learned, they are incomplete, and sometimes distorted, narrow, single-framed. Nevertheless, all experiences are framed ordered and organized from particular points of view. Worse, sometimes these models become self-fulfilling, that is, "reality [is] how we see and feel events, not events as they appear objectively, because we are not objective" (Nin, 1971, p. 91).

Mental models, function on the organizational and systemic levels as well as in individual cognition (Senge, 1990). As a result, sometimes, we imagine we are trapped within an organizational culture that creates mental habits that preclude creative thinking. Ghoshal's point is that management education and practice traps us in false mental models, which, he concludes, are absurdities, and "[a]bsurdities in

theory lead . . . to dehumanization of practice" (Ghoshal, 2005, p. 85). Worse, even if these alleged "absurdities" in management practices are viable in United States companies for creating economic value-added, they do not work well in global environments for companies working across various cultures and ingrained but alien traditions. Shell Oil learned that lesson well in its Nigerian operations.[1]

Since all experience is modeled – whatever our experiences are about – their content cannot be separated from the ways we frame that content. The good news, however, is that because they are learned social constructions, our mental models or mindsets are revisable both at the individual and organizational levels, just as the Forest Troop, when challenged by new circumstances, changed what appeared to be innate genetically imprinted behavior patterns.

Challenging "Worn Out Mindsets"

To demonstrate the questionability of what Ghoshal calls "worn out mindsets" we can simply go back to the writings of the "father" of free enterprise, Adam Smith. Smith begins his first book, The Theory of Moral Sentiments, with the following:

> How selfish soever man may be supposed, there are evidently some principles in his nature, which interest him in the fortune of others, and render their happiness necessary to him, though he derives nothing from it except the pleasure of seeing it . . .. The greatest ruffian, the most hardened violator of the laws of society, is not altogether without it (Smith, 1759; 1976, p. I.i.1.I).

Smith argues that human beings by nature are both self-interested and interested in others. Human beings are not merely motivated by their own interests, but also have interests in maximizing the well-being of others, or at a minimum, not inflicting more pain. This is not merely sentimentalism, according to Smith. While all my interests are mine, in the obvious sense that they originate in myself, I am not the only object of these interests. Thus rational beings have genuine interests in others as well as themselves as objects of concern and aggrandizement. Your own self-interest is not always the primary motivating force, and even so, being self-interested is not necessarily bad so long as one is not merely selfish and unconcerned with how one's actions affect others. Agency theory, then, may exaggerate the importance of monitoring principal–agent relationships in every case, because at least some managers will be interested in the firm and its well-being for its own sake despite their own personal gains or losses. Notice, however, that predicting or proposing that we all are or should be self-interested rational utility maximizers affects our thinking about what constitutes or should constitute "good management" as well as our own behavior. If we promulgate that mindset, it will become reality.

Many successful companies are not merely profit maximizers. In their landmark study of successful companies, defined by long-term returns on investment and stock price, Collins and Porras conclude,

> Contrary to business school doctrine, "maximizing shareholder wealth" or "profit maximization" has not been the dominant driving force or primary objective through the history of visionary companies. Visionary companies pursue a cluster of objectives, of which making money is only one – and not necessarily the primary one. Yes they seek profits, but they are equally guided by a core ideology-core values and a sense of purpose beyond just making money. Yet paradoxically, the visionary companies make more money that the more purely profit-driven comparison companies (Collins and Porras, 1994, p. 6).

Thus even if many managers are preoccupied with shareholder wealth, according to Collins and Porras they should not be, if their aim is to survive and do well in the long-term.

Lastly, the focus on rules-based decision-making, fueled by Sarbanes Oxley is as damaging as it is problem-solving, because today often companies and their managers set aside their vision for the company and principles embedded in their mission in an effort to comply with the ever-increasing myriad of rules and regulations. But in a recent set of studies conducted by Linda Trevino and Gary Weaver, they found that in the companies they studied compliance programs without ethics programs are less effective at compliance than companies with ethics programs. Indeed, they discovered that compliance improves when accompanied with an ethics program (Trevinō and Weaver, 1999). Thus a compliance focus is less effective at rule-based behavior than a principled-based emphasis.

Some Challenging Paradigms

This counterevidence to what Ghoshal depicts as "absurd' managerial mindsets, whether or not he has exaggerated their prevalence, seems to require an appeal to other models. Three of these we will explore are,

- stakeholder theory,
- systems thinking,
- female leadership paradigms.

Stakeholder Theory(s)

Rather than focus merely on returns for shareholders, stakeholder theory argues that companies have obligations to create value added for all their primary stakeholders, usually listed as shareholders, employees and managers, customers, suppliers, and the communicates in which the company operates. The argument is based on instrumental and rights-based arguments. From an instrumental point of view stakeholder well-being is a necessary component for creating stakeholder value-added. Companies cannot operate without taking into account various stakeholders, because their activities, survival and prosperity depends, in different ways, upon these stakeholders just as these groups of individuals and organizations depend on
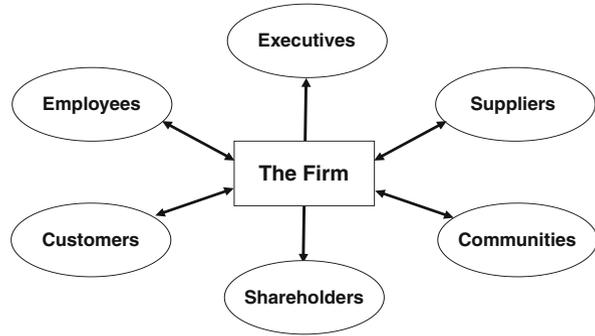
the corporation for their well-being. From a more rights-based perspective, the company and its stakeholders are all individuals or groups of individuals and they exist in mutual reciprocal relationships with each other. Thus those relationships are of equal value, and shareholders do not take priority (although they are equal participants) just because of fiduciary obligations created by their capital input. Figure 4.1 illustrates at least one version of this theory (Freeman, 2002).

There are at least two weaknesses with this wheel-and-spoke depiction of stakeholder relationships and corporate governance. First, the central preoccupation is always on the corporation. The depiction of stakeholders with the corporation in the center draws our primary attention to the company and then to its relationships. This creates a mental model that implicitly prioritizes the corporation while the stakeholders appear like satellites circling the company rather than as equal players, despite claims to the contrary. It is also an abstract model – names and faces of the stakeholders remain anonymous and the depiction of each remains vague. Although stakeholder relationships are relationships between sets of individuals, the diagram does not depict these relationships as such. Let me illustrate. Suppose we are trying to depict the vast array of interrelationships of a MNC such as Exxon/Mobil as it drills oil in Chad and pipes that oil through Cameroon. This company is engaged in a complex partnership or alliance with various companies, a variety of indigenous people including Pygmies, various governments (e.g., U.S., Chad, and Cameroon), the World Bank, always interested in such investments, environmental agencies and other NGOs, its expatriates and local employees, shareholders and customers, etc. Notice what happens if I merely exchange which stakeholder is in the center. Suppose I put Pygmies in the center.

Already that simple move changes our focus and our thinking. We are now taking these indigenous people into account not merely as strange tribes somewhere in Africa. If I further tweak the diagram and put a picture of actual Pygmies in the center, we now begin to realize that these are real people, and that they matter and matter deeply in this drilling (Figs. 4.2 and 4.3).
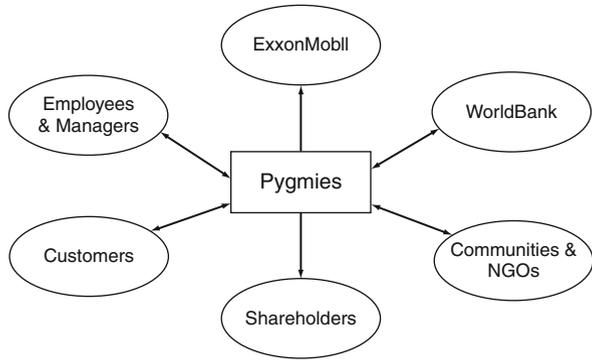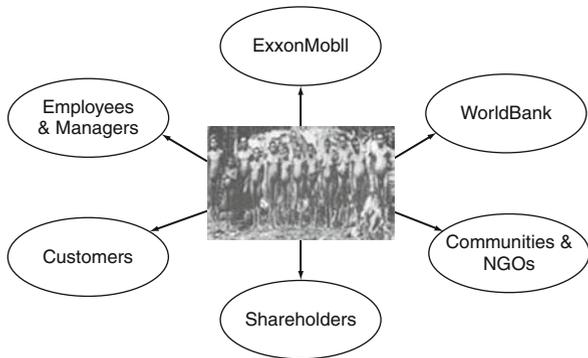
Still, it is uncertain whether this approach adequately depicts the myriad of
interrelationships that Exxon/Mobil must take into account as a global corporation
operating in a variety of environments. And why should any particular stakeholder
be featured in the center, if, as the theory suggests, each has equal, although not
identical, rights and responsibilities. Figure 4.4 better depicts ExxonMobil's situa-
tion. What it suggests, further, is that in a global economy, a systems approach is
perhaps a more adequate way of thinking about corporate governance.

Systems and Systems Thinking

- A system is a complex of interacting components together with the networks of
  relationships among them that identify an entity and/or a set of processes (Laszlo
  and Krippner, 1998, p. 51).
- A truly systemic view of considers how a set of individuals, institutions and pro-
  cesses operates in a system involving a complex network of interrelationships,
  an array of individual and institutional actors with conflicting interests and goals,
 and a number of feedback loops (Wolf, 1999, p. 1675).
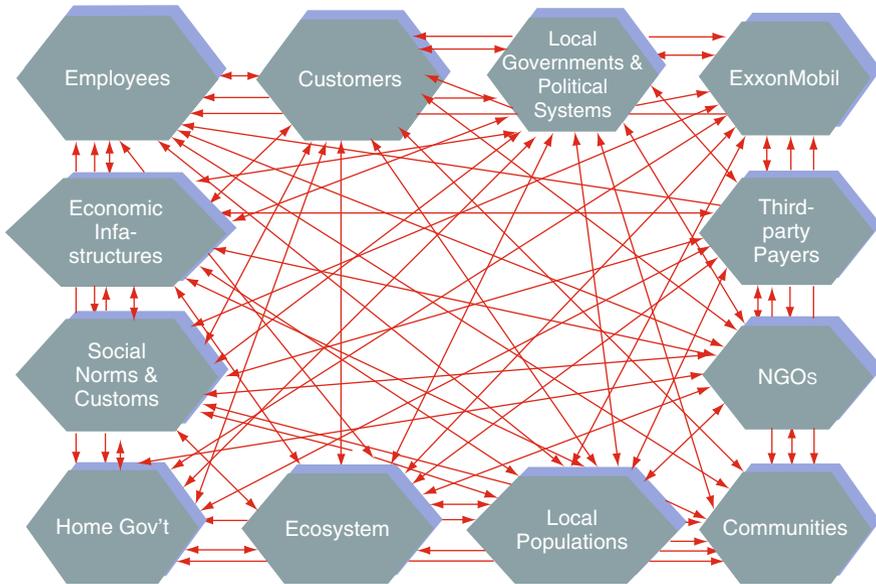
Fig. 4.4 A systems perspective on the stakeholder model

A systems approach presupposes that most of our thinking, experiencing, practices and institutions are interrelated and interconnected. Almost everything we can experience or think about is in a network of interrelationships such that each element of a particular set of interrelationships affects some other components of that set and the system itself, and almost no phenomenon can be studied in isolation from other relationships with at least some other phenomenon.

Systems are connected in ways that may or may not enhance the fulfillment of one or more goals or purposes: they may be micro (small, self-contained with few interconnections), mezzo (within health-care organizations and corporations), or macro (large, complex, consisting of a large number of interconnections). Corporations are mezzo-systems embedded in larger political, economic, legal, and cultural systems. Global corporations are embedded in many such systems. These are all examples of "complex adaptive systems," a term used to describe open interactive systems that able to change themselves and affect change in their interactions with other systems, and as a result are sometimes unpredictable (Plsek, 2001). What is characteristic of all types of systems is that any phenomenon or set of phenomena that are defined as part of a system has properties or characteristics that are, altered, lost or at best, obscured, when the system is broken down into components. For example, in studying corporations, if one focuses simply on its organizational structure, or merely on its mission statement, or only on its employees or customers, one obscures if not distorts the interconnections and interrelationships that characterize and affect that organization in its internal and external relationships.

Since a system consists of networks of relationships between individuals, groups, and institutions, how any system is construed and, how it operates, affects and is

affected by individuals. The character and operations of a particular system or set of systems affect those of us who come in contact with the system, whether we are individuals, the community, professionals, managers, companies, religious communities, or government agencies. An alteration of a particular system or corporate operations within a system (or globally, across systems) will often produce different kinds of outcomes. Thus part of moral responsibility is incurred by the nature and characteristics of the system in which a company operates (Emanuel, 2000; Werhane, 2002).

Adopting a systems approach Mitroff and Linstone in their book, The Unbounded Mind, argue that any organizational action needs to be analyzed from what they call a Multiple Perspective method. Such a method postulates that any phenomenon, organization, or system or problems arising for or within that phenomenon of system should be dealt with from a variety of disparate perspectives, each of which involves different world views where each challenges the others in dynamic exchanges of questions and ideas (Mitroff and Linstone, 1993, Chapter 6).[2]

Returning to the ExxonMobil example, the alliance model in Fig. 4.4 illustrates a systems approach to this complex operation that takes into account various stakeholders and different but equal constituents.

An Alternative View of Leadership in a Global Economy

Given a systems approach to corporate governance as at least one viable approach to global management calls for thinking carefully about what we expect of global business leaders managing in multiple environments. While there are no definitive models for this, it might be useful to examine some models of leadership that are less hierarchical and that do not depend on a traditional leader–follower relationship. In what follows I shall describe one study of leadership that may give us fresh insights to how one should lead in a global business environment. During 2004 and 2005, and on as an ongoing set of research projects, Lisa Gundry, Margaret Posig, Lili Powell, Laurel Ofstein, Jane Carlson, and I conducted a study of a cross-section of executives and entrepreneurships, all of whom are American women business leaders. We chose women from a variety of enterprises, financial services, manufacturing, transportation, communication, food production and services, and even one woman who heads a large labor union. This was a qualitative study, a small sample, and the selection bias was to seek out women who were admired by their colleagues and co-workers. Moreover, what we found applies or can apply equally to many male leaders. Nevertheless there are some lessons to be learned from this study and some leadership skills, style, and values-orientation that, I would argue, fit well in a flattened world not merely governed by self-interest, preoccupation with shareholder value added, and a mindset that different and difficult cultural settings are merely opportunity costs.

What we found, in summary, was the following (see Werhane et al., 2006 for a more complete description of this study). First, these women are all very intelligent

and well-informed, and they know it. But not all had MBAs, and one did not finish 8th grade. They are extremely knowledgeable about their profession or business, and it is their view that they have to be so informed to succeed. They are absolutely self-confident about themselves and their abilities and about the abilities of other women as well.

Each has what we have termed a "Survive and Thrive" mentality. They are determined to succeed, and they do. Although many were the first woman in their company or even in their field, for example, the woman president of the Illinois AFL-CIO, they did not complain about that. Their first worry was their own talent and whether they were up to the tasks required by leading in these environments. So they lead as if those problems do not exist, while at the same time recognizing the importance of mentoring and networking with other women.

Some of the leaders in this study appear to be what Northouse and others have called "contingent leaders." That is they have happened to be at the right place at the right time with talents that matched the situation (Northouse, 2004, Chapter 6). More of the women in our study, however, appear to be situational leaders, adapting and readapting themselves to new and changing situations (Northouse, 2004, Chapter 5). Indeed, some of these women actively pursued change working to reengineer their companies or starting new entrepreneurial ventures.

The women we have included in our study are models of a leadership style that Judy Rosener has labeled "nontraditional" or "transformational" (Rosener, 1990, p. 119). They exhibit what James MacGregor Burns calls "transforming leaders." Burns defines transforming leadership as "a relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents ....[This] occurs when one or more persons engage with others in such a way that leaders and followers raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality" (Burns, 1978, p. 3).

Rosener suggests that one of the distinctive and characteristic features of women in leadership positions is their ability to engage in interactive leadership relationships with their managers and employees and a determination to empower others. Rosener does imply that men do not do this, but suggests that empowerment is almost a mantra for women in leadership positions. All speak of building value-added in their organizations through a participatory inclusive style of leading their employees as colleagues rather than as subordinates or followers. Indeed, the terms "subordinate" and "follower" seldom surfaced in the interviews we conducted.

Unlike leaders in hierarchically structured organizations, these women do not view their authority as a matter of power. They do not think of themselves as persons in superior positions of formal authority even when they find themselves in leadership positions in traditionally hierarchically ordered companies. These women are not transactional leaders who view leadership as a series of transactions between managers and employees, a trade of promotion or salary for performance, or a "punishment" of demotion or firing for poor performance. Their interactions with managers and employees are seldom transactional exchanges of rewards or

demotions for superior or inferior performance. Rather, they see leadership as an ongoing process, envisioning themselves as team leaders, as inspirational rather than directive, as participative rather than hierarchical, working to coordinate and balance their interests and those of their employees, and transforming these into shared corporate goals. This is usually translated into forms of interactive and participatory leadership that empowers employees while achieving corporate ends. Thus leadership is thought of as a two-way interaction where both managers and employees are motivated and sometimes even changed (Couto, 1994). As a result, these women were not afraid of hiring or working with managers who are smarter or more capable than they, nor of seeking out and encouraging their successors.

Values-based leaders create or propound values for their instrumental worth, and they align their employees and shareholders to accept and work for those values. Ethical leadership goes further in at least three ways. Ethical leaders assume that personal, professional and organizational values are congruent. The values embedded in the organizational mission and direction are worthwhile not only instrumentally but for their own sake. They are community or global standards that have moral worth even if the company in question fails to achieve them. An ethical leader, under this rubric, not only embodies her personal, professional and organizational values and expects the same from her employees and managers, shareholders, and the organization, but continually tests these values against societal norms, organizational consistency and outcomes (Freeman et al., 2005). The women we studied by and large were what we would call ethical leaders. They literally practiced the leadership style they "preached," working to embody their personal values in their professional and social lives.

Finally, most of the leaders we studied in this small sample seem to care more about the sustained success of their organization than their own legacy. Jim Collins sees that as a trait of what he called Level 5 Leadership, where the future of the organization preempts personal glory (Collins, 2001). Unlike the leaders Collins describes in his study, however, the women we studied were not humble. They had achieved success, they were very proud of that and of their capabilities as business leaders. This was not because they were women, but because they had created and embodied a viable and successful leadership style that worked well in diverse environments.

Global Leadership in the Twenty-First Century

Let us recall our definition of global leadership as "a process by which [diverse groups of people] are empowered to work together synergistically toward a common vision and common goals . . . " (Astin and Leland, 1991, p. 8). Given the thesis that the world is flat, and the argument that I made, it follows that global leaders must be multicultural systems thinkers, if not by background at least by the leadership skills they exhibit. In such a world one must be adaptable to new situations, flexible, and inclusive and collaborative, or failure is inevitable. At the same time, according to Nancy Adler, "the CEO of a global company cannot change her message for each

of the countries and cultures in which her company operates. Global leaders, unlike domestic leaders, address people worldwide . . . . a fundamental distinction is that global leadership is neither domestic nor multidomestic: it focuses on cross-cultural interaction. Thus global leaders must articulate and communicate a vision which, in and of itself, is global . . . and compelling to people from around the world" (Adler, 1997, p. 175).

In a flat world, too, transparency and trust are crucial, because there are virtually no secrets anyway. This was brought home most clearly when a global oil trading company dumped 250 tons of what turned out to be toxic sludge in Abidjan, Ivory Coast in September 2006. Within a few days this dumping was cited across the world (Polgreen and Simons, 2006, p. 1).

Such leaders must be visionary and open-minded because they are challenged with new ideas, some worthwhile, others less so, every day in every encounter. A hierarchical model of leader–follower is not ideal in global companies, simply because of the diversity of cultures and challenges requires collaboration and team effort across many traditional barriers and religious divides. Ideally, the best global leaders are not merely values-driven but are what we have called "ethical leaders," who embody their values in all that they do and promote. These are all characteristics of the women we studied.

Conclusion

The Forest Troop savanna baboons were challenged by changes in the male–female population that allowed less dominant males to be sought after as mates. That phenomenon, in turn, changed the social relationships and culture of this troop. By analogy, the globalized flat world has changed the dynamics of local and multinational business. This new world requires behavioral and social modifications in managerial leadership. These global challenges can be taken on by women and men who adapt the leadership style and values we found in women leaders we studied. It is to a company's peril to ignore this way of leading in a flat world and to ignore the possibility of women as well as men leading the major global corporations in this new century.

Notes

1. The section on "systems thinking" was taken, in part, from an earlier article by this author, "Moral Imagination and Systems Thinking" (Werhane, 2002; see also Werhane, 2007, forthcoming).
2. Shell Oil had to withdraw from its drilling operations in the Ogoni region of Nigeria because of endless unrest in the region including sabotaging of pipelines. Shell claimed to have invested $100 million in environmental projects to little avail (Newburry and Gladwin, 2002, pp. 522–540).

References

Adler, N.J. (1997). Global Leadership: Women Leaders. *Management International Review* 37:171–196.

Astin, H.S. and C. Leland (1991). Women of Influence, Women of Vision. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Burns, J.M. (1978). Leadership. New York, NY: HarperCollins Publishers.

Collins, J. (2001). Level 5 Leadership: The Triumph of Humility and Fierce Resolve. *Harvard Business Review* 79(1):67–76.

Collins, J. and J. Porras: (1994). Built to Last. New York, NY: Harper-Business.

Couto, R.A. (1994). The Transformation of Transforming Leadership. In J.T. Wren (ed.), *Leader's Companion*. New York, NY: Free Press, pp. 102–107.

Emanuel, L. (2000). Ethics and the Structures of Health Care. *Cambridge Quarterly* 9:151–168.

Francis, C. and D. Case (eds.) (2006). The Chicago Network 2006 Census: Action Required! Chicago: The Chicago Network.

Freeman, R.E. (2002). Stakeholder Theory of the Modern Corporation, In T. Donaldson, P. Werhane and M. Cording (eds.), Ethical Issues in Business, 7th edn. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, pp. 38–49.

Freeman, R.E., K. Martin, B. Parmar, M.P. Cording and P.H. Werhane: (2005). Leading Through Values and Ethical Principles. In R. Burke and C. Cooper (eds.), Inspiring Leaders. London/New York, NY: Routledge, pp. 149–174.

Friedman, T.L. (2005). The World Is Flat. New York, NY: Farrar, Strauss and Giroux.

Gardner, H. and E. Laskin (1995). Leading Minds. New York, NL: Basic Books.

Ghoshal, S. (2005). Bad Management Theories Are Destroying Good Management Practices. *Academy of Management Learning and Education* 4:75–91.

Helfat, C., D. Harris and P.J. Wolfson: (2006). The Pipeline to the Top: Women and Men in the Top Executive Ranks of U.S. Corporations. *Academy of Management Perspectives* 20:42–64.

Laszlo, A. and S. Krippner (1998). Systems Theories: Their Origins, Foundations and Development. In J. Scott (ed.), Systems Theories and A Priori Aspects of Perception. Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp. 47–74.

Mead, E., A. Wicks and P.H. Werhane: (2003). Exxon-Mobil in Chad and Cameroon. University of Virginia E-0202. Charlottesville, VA: Darden Publishing Company.

Mitroff, I. and H. Linstone: (1993). The Unbounded Mind. New York, NY/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Newbury, W.E. and T.N. Gladwin (2002). Shell and Nigerian Oil, In T. Donaldson, P.H. Werhane and M. Cording(eds.), Ethical Issues in Business, 7th edn. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, pp. 522–540.

Nin, A. (1971). In G. Stuhlmann (ed.). Diaries of Anaïs Nin: 1944–1947, vol. IV. New York, NY: Harcourt.

Northouse, P. (2004). Leadership Theory and Practice, 3rd edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Plsek, P.(2001). Redesigning Health Care with Insights from the Science of Complex Adaptive Systems, in Crossing the Quality Chasm: A New Health System for the 21st Century. Washington, DC: National Academy Press, pp. 309–323.

Polgreen, L. and M. Simons: (2006). Global Sludge Ends in Tragedy for Ivory Coast. *New York Times* September 28, CLV, 1, 12.

Railton, P. (1986). Moral Realism. *Philosophical Review* 95:168–175.

Rosener, J. (1990). Ways Women Lead. *Harvard Business Review* November–December:119–125.

Sapolsky, R.M. (2006). A Natural History of Peace. *Foreign Affairs* January/February, 85:104–120.

Senge, P. (1990). The Fifth Discipline. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Singh, V. and S. Vinnicombe: (2006). Female FITSE Index and Report 2006. Cranfield: Cranfield School of Management.

Smith, A. (1759; 1976). In A.L. Macfie and D.D. Raphael (eds.), The Theory of Moral Sentiments. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Transparency International (2005). http://www.ti.org (retrieved 11/1/06).

Trevinõ, L. and G. Weaver (1999). Compliance and Values Oriented Ethics Programs: Influence on Employees Attitudes and Behavior. *Business Ethics Quarterly* 9:315–335.

Ussem, J. (2002). Exxon's African Adventure. *Fortune* 146, April 15th:102–114.

Werhane, P.H. (1999). Moral Imagination and Management Decision-Making. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Werhane, P.H. (2002). Moral Imagination and Systems Thinking. *Journal of Business Ethics* 38:33–42.

Werhane, P.H. (2007). Mental Models, Moral Imagination and Systems Thinking in the Age of Globalization. *Journal of Business Ethics* 78:463–474.

Werhane, P.H., M. Posig, L. Gundry, E. Powell, J. Carlson and L. Ofstein: (2006). Women Leaders in Corporate America: A Study of Leadership, Values and Methods. In M.F. Karsten (ed.), Gender, Race, and Ethnicity in the Workplace, vol. I. Westport, CT: Praeger, pp. 1–30.

Wolf, S. (1999). Toward a Systemic Theory of Informed Consent in Managed Care. *Houston Law Review* 35:1631–1681.

Wright, R. (2005). Reading Between the Lines: The Incredible Shrinking Planet. What Liberals Can Learn from Thomas Friedman's New Book. http://www.slate.com/id/2116899 (retrieved October 23, 2006).

Chapter 5
Systemic Leadership: Ethical and Effective

Jane Collier and Rafael Esteban

Editors' Introduction This volume devotes a number of chapters to the possible productive interface that there may be between systemic thinking, leadership, and gender. Systems thinking help us understand the relational networks and dynamics that individuals encounter within organizations, and hence provide us with clues as to why leadership patterns emerge in specific ways. The next few chapters present us with a more theoretical overview of systems thinking and explain the notion of "systemic leadership". After we have made the claims and assumptions of this approach clear, we will move towards a more focused discussion of what systemic leadership offer both male and female leaders in various contexts. In this first theoretical exposé of systemic leadership, Collier and Esteban propose that in postindustrial economies, "systemic leadership," that is, leading from the middle of an organization and managing that system, its human participants and its paradoxes – creates solid and sustainable communities where participatory management is successfully achieved.

Introduction

Work in leadership ethics should generate different ways of conceptualizing leadership, and new ways of asking research questions" (Ciulla, 1998, p. 18). This paper responds to that challenge by attempting to develop a view of leadership appropriate to post-industrial organizations[1] in situations of rapid change. Radical change is now the most pervasive feature of organizational life. Large organizations experience continual structural change associated with delayering, mergers and

J. Collier (✉)
Cambridge Judge Business School, Cambridge University, Cambridge CB2 1AG, UK
e-mail: j.collier@jbs.cam.ac.uk

acquisitions, and joint ventures. Smaller companies, particularly those in the information technology sector, grapple with new technologies and fast-changing market conditions. Not-for-profit organizations face continual challenges to their identity and viability as a result of changing social, economic and political environments. It therefore no longer seems appropriate to characterise such organizations as discrete isolated entities. They are more usefully understood as "open systems" (Scott, 1998) nested within a fast-changing global systemic environment, shaping and in turn being shaped by that environment. In this climate of change organizations everywhere have found that survival requires a flexibility which allows continuous organizational renewal as practices and procedures continually adapt to changing circumstances (Senge, 1990; Kanter et al., 1992). Hierarchical organizational forms and bureaucratic control systems can be experienced as hindrances to that renewal, and are frequently abandoned in favour of flatter and more flexible ways of working that allow all organizational members to exercise their creativity and contribute to organizational survival.

It is in this context that this paper considers the nature of leadership. In organizational environments where change creates uncertainty and unpredictability understandings of leadership such as deciding what has to be done, developing strategy and vision, or having the final say, no longer make sense. Effective responsiveness to changing environmental and technological conditions requires entrepreneurial decision-taking across the organization, managerial autonomy, and the freedom to take risks and make mistakes. No one person has the knowledge or the overview to be the leader: leadership qualities of competence, judgement and decision-taking are needed throughout the organization (Ghoshal and Bartlett, 1998; Wheatley, 1999; Stacey, 1996; Senge, 1997; Bennis, 1999). In traditional hierarchical organizations purposes are formulated and pursued by those who control the organization, but in post-industrial corporate contexts there is shared responsibility, and this implies shared purposes and a shared commitment to pursue the common good.

What kind of organizational model supports this diffused view of leadership? We surely have to discard the hierarchical command and control models which form the basis of traditional organization theory. More metaphorical theoretical understandings (Hassard and Pym, 1990) which emphasise structure, function, negotiation, power, or symbolic construct also fail to reflect the reality and fluidity of organizational change situations. For these reasons theorists wishing to describe organizations in post-industrial situations borrow "systems" metaphors from biology and from physics (Flood and Jackson, 1991; Brown and Eisenhardt, 1998; Wheatley, 1999), and these metaphors allow us to theorise the organization in ways which clarify what leadership in these organizations entails.

Post-industrial organizations can be "redescribed"[1] as *complex adaptive* systems. They are complex because they are the result of multiple interconnecting relationships, so that the way they respond to their environment has the effect of creating new connections and thus increasing their complexity. They are adaptive in the sense that they develop fit to the forces of change in environments and technologies while retaining the coherence of their own purpose. They are systemic in that they

survive by exchanging energy, information and materials with the wider ecologies of which they are a part (Collier and Esteban, 1999, pp. 177–178).

Leadership in "Chaotic" Organizations

Complex adaptive systems are by definition self-organizing since complexity cannot be organized, and it is by means of self-organization that chaotic order emerges. In organizational terms this means firstly that organizing is the achievement of the members of the organization, so that the organization has no "reified existence independently of this process" (Hosking, 1988), and secondly that the process is participative in an operational sense. In the natural world the processes of self-organization are fed by energy, and the more turbulent the environment the more energy is needed to sustain self-organization (Anderson, 1999). In organizations the organizing process gains energy from outside in that it is driven by product, competitive and global innovations, and it gains energy internally by means of new ideas, improvisations and strategies. The organization is therefore emergent, characterised by "the unanticipated arising of new higher-level patterns or structures functioning according to new laws and consisting of new properties" (Goldstein, 1998, p. 1). It is continually created and recreated by self-organizing processes, and this emergence creates the newness, difference and self-renewal essential to sustainability. But survival is not the only objective, the organization must also go forward; hence management literature speaks of these organizations as not merely adaptive, but as generative in the sense that they continually find new ways of looking at the world which generate innovation and continual organizational renewal (Kezborn, 1998; Kets de Vries, 1996). We shall adopt this nomenclature.

Leadership in these generative organizations is the systemic capability, diffused throughout the organization and nurtured by its members, of finding organizational direction, of generating and maintaining continual renewal by encouraging, harnessing and directing creative and innovative capabilities, while simultaneously holding in tension the processes of responsiveness to the environment on the one hand, and the maintenance of internal integrity of purpose on the other. Systemic leadership exists throughout the organization; it is grounded in the freedom of organizational members to be creative, and to generate processes and practices by which creativity can be translated into organizational learning, and into ethical and effective choices (Krantz, 1990; Edgeman and Scherer, 1999; Edgeman and Dahlgaard, 1998).[2] This view conceptualises the nature of leadership not in terms of the person of the leader, not as structurally defined or imposed, but as an ongoing direction-finding process, which is innovative and continually emergent.

It may be argued that this view bears little relation to the various understandings of leadership in the literature which speak of actions or characteristics of "leaders" (Bass, 1990; Burns, 1978; Rost, 1991; Northouse, 1991). However, the notion of systemic leadership is coherent with the two strands of leadership studies which have been dominant in the last decade – the relational aspect of leadership in terms of qualities of collaboration, stewardship, trust and care (Bennis and Nanus, 1985;

Kouzes and Posner, 1995; Block, 1993; Greenleaf, 1977), and the role of leadership in influencing direction and ensuring quality, performance and customer focus in organizational change situations (Dering, 1998). Furthermore, this view of leadership is reflected in the new softer focus, which is emerging from the work of consultants, and others involved with change organizations in turbulent environments. Warren Bennis talks about the "end of leadership" and its replacement with diverse creative alliances (Bennis, 1999). It is "the way in which human beings create new realities... It is really quite important that we begin thinking about leadership communities – diverse people, working collaboratively in the service of something they care about" (Fulmer and Keys, 1998, p. 39). And in the knowledge era which is now upon us "leadership in the future will be distributed among diverse individuals and teams who share the responsibility for creating the organization's future" (Senge, 1997, p. 30). However, while these views support the notion of systemic leadership, they do not offer detailed descriptive or normative accounts of its processes. We now develop these aspects.

Dynamics of Systemic Leadership

Systemic leadership is the task of every member of the organization. However, there is a distinction to be made between systemic leadership and shared or collective leadership. Organizational members do not all lead at the same time, nor do they collectively participate in every decision. The leadership dynamic is asymmetric: people have different capabilities, and roles and responsibilities will shift between different people at different times (Kelly and Allison, 1998). We think of systemic leadership as analogous to lightening which moves across the organizational landscape, touching different people and energizing them at different times. The process of systemic leadership is grounded in three descriptors.

Influence and Intention

Systemic leadership is a relational and hence political process based on "mutual influencing, bargaining, coalition building" (Barker, 1997, p. 351). People collaborate to realise their shared aspirations, but since values and ideals will always differ' reciprocal interaction will involve "constructive conflict" (Kets de Vries, 1996). Rost advances a supporting construct of leadership as "an influence relationship among leaders and their collaborators who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purpose" (Rust, 1993, p. 99). Rost's view emphasises the multidirectional nature of the influence process as it shifts within the organization; it also highlights the fact that the leadership process "intend" outcomes coherent with mutual purpose. Since systemic leadership involves all members of the organization intended outcomes represent a "common good", but because the links between purposes, actions and outcomes are never stable in chaotic situations, the "common good" (Burns, 1978; Barker, 1997, p. 351) has itself to be seen as an emergent outcome of systemic leadership.

Openness and Communication

Maintaining the tension between the processes of responding to environmental demands and organizational purposing hinges on the communicative capability of the organization. There must be a completely free flow of information and maximum openness; apart from the few things which need to remain confidential everything can and should be openly discussed (Fairtlough, 1999). Sharing information generates dialogue and questioning and thus potentiates learning. However, openness has to be not merely participative but also reflective in that people have to be prepared to challenge their own convictions and presuppositions, and if necessary dare to dissent from accepted positions. Deep openness is difficult to practice; it can expose vulnerabilities and thus provoke hostility, but it also nurtures trust because people recognise that the process of selforganization seeks to build on capability strengths rather than highlight weaknesses, so that mistakes are sources of growth rather than occasions for blame. People then learn from one another rather than privatizing their successes and hiding their errors.

Autonomy and Accountability

Although autonomy as a value has to be seen in the context of the needs of the group, each person has the obligation to become a fully responsible autonomous agent, committed to the project and the practices of systemic leadership. As autonomous agents people have the power of judgement and decision and the moral obligation to respect, trust and understand those with whom they work. Organizational agents must accept colleagues as they are: they must respect and affirm them as human persons rather than on the basis of status or achievement. They must recognise the right of others to create their own views of reality, to interpret experience in their own way, and to express their views in dialogue and debate. They must understand the capabilities of others and support their efforts. They must also recognise that others are uniquely responsible for their own performance, and therefore can be held accountable for it.

Community and Systemic Leadership

The generative quality of systemic leadership as it "grows" creativity and fosters organizational learning changes the basis of relationship between the organization and its members from one of contract to one of community (Dallmayr, 1978), to "a social configuration in which our enterprises are defined as worth pursuing and our participation is recognisable as competence" (Wenger, 1998, p. 5). The *source* of integration shifts from goals to values as people come together and share mutually agreed purposes so that they can "achieve consensus, assume responsibility, work for the common good and build community" (Rost, 1991, p. 124). Generative

organizations become "agencies of community" (SeIznick, 1992, p. 231) in a way which reaches beyond the boundaries of the organization to customers and suppliers, local communities, consultants, academia, and others touched by the activities of the company (Brown and Duguid, 1991).

Systemic leadership thus nurtures community. In this it is deeply ethical because it is the process of belonging to a community which is constitutive of identity (Wenger, 1998, p. 191). Participants in processes of shared leadership will realise identification within the organizational community in three ways. Firstly they will identify through engagement; they will invest themselves in what they do and in their relations with others. Secondly they will identify through imagination. They will see themselves as part of the organizational drive for excellence and efficiency in the turbulent environmental context (although it also has to be said that stress or overload may generate a sense of dissociation or detachment). Thirdly, and perhaps most significantly, they will identify through alignment of purposes, allegiance to the organizational ethos, and compliance to group or organizational norms (Wenger, 1998, pp. 192–193). Within the context of the routines and procedures, habits and rules by which the organization is maintained, the generative organization functions as a "community-of-communities" (Brown and Duguid, 1991). We focus on three aspects of these communities, each of which has its archetype in ethical theory.

Communities of Commitment

Organizational members share commitment in communities of commitment. Research suggests that we can think of the focus of commitment in terms of compliance, identification and internalisation (Becker, 1993). People commit to the project, and in chaotic organizations where there is unpredictability this commitment can be defined in very wide terms. On the other hand, people have to be confident that their compliance will not be abused, that the human and ethical face of systemic leadership will ensure that they are not sent to Hong Kong for 6 months at 2 days notice! People also commit to the relationships and associations they have with others and with the group; they adopt attitudes and behaviours which identify them with their colleagues. Real deep commitment enhances shared meanings and understandings, and hence underpins reciprocity (Kelly and Allison, 1998, p. 75). And finally, commitment allows people to internalise the goals and values of the organization so that they become congruent with their own value systems.

However, the commitment demanded is not only to the good of the organization or of its members. The commitment is also to achieve the purpose of the organization as a means to the achievement of the common good. "The nature of the commitment required to build learning organizations goes beyond people's typical commitment to their organizations. It encompasses commitment to the changes needed in the larger world and to seeing our organizations as vehicles for bringing about such changes" (Kofnan and Senge, 1993, p. 6). This gives a deeply ethical slant to the way in which we understand the generative organization. Learning in

generative organizations is needed not simply to ensure survival, but also because such organizations have a responsibility to cultivate their ability to bring about the kind of change which makes the world a better place to live in.

Communities of Discernment

Shared leadership develops a vision of the "good" but in its efforts to realize that vision it is continually called upon to make judgements and decisions which are morally "right". These communities represent a unique demonstration of a Habermasian "discourse ethics" communication framework within which moral argumentation can take place. Although composed of separate and different people, as a community of selves with shared purposes and commitments leadership communities have that sense of solidarity which is a precondition for rational collective moral choice, and a communicative openness which predisposes to effective moral discourse. They are used to working in a situation where all participate fully, all can speak openly, all are listened to, and all have sufficient trust to assent to the general consensus and to the consequences and side effects that the consensus may have for the welfare of individual participants (Habermas, 1993). The argument here is not that shared leadership communities necessarily always make right moral choices, it is rather that their constitution makes it more likely and more possible that they function as communities of discernment.

The background to discernment is constituted by a context of generative conversations in which decisions are examined in the light of the organization's history and traditions, its "text" (Sonenschein and Collier, 1999). Reading this text is an interpretative process: participants in this "community of inquiry" connect with each other in a spirit of dialogue, they appeal to what they consider to be shared understandings to defend their own particular interpretations as to whether a given decision can be justified. It is in these ongoing conversations that organizational moralities develop, as people enquire into the systemic consequences of their actions rather than simply their local effects (Kofnan and Senge, 1993, p. 16). The subject matter of these conversations is always the stories told to illustrate the moral principles embedded in the "text", framed as "context" for the particular issue under discussion. Conversations are continuous, and moralities are never cast in concrete: the search for "the right" is hermeneutic in that meanings and interpretations change in the ongoing conversational process.

Communities of Practice

Communities of practice are the working fellowships bound by shared interests and tasks, where overt and tacit work practices and procedures form the structures which allow people to give meaning to what they do (Lave and Wenger, 1991; Wenger, 1998).[3] Participation in shared enterprises and the continual articulation of

experience serve to cement the community structures within which people interpret and reinterpret, and in the process "create their own personal histories of becoming" (Wenger, 1998, p. 5). It is in communities of practice that people learn on the job, so that as well as generating the knowledge which renews the organization these communities support and enrich the development of each member of that community (Liedtka, 1999, p. 7). Communities of practice are the backbone of the entrepreneurial and innovative side of organizational life: they generate the continual newness and difference necessary for organizational renewal. Creativity begins with the person, but its translation into learning happens in the context of everyday practice, as new ways of doing and responding are found. Systemic leadership supports the creativity and the knowledge ability of practice (Wenger, 1998, p. 243) and sustains the interconnectedness of communities of practice so that what is created and learnt in the context of practice becomes institutionalized and legitimated.[4]

Communities of practice not only foster excellence, but also sustain virtue. Alasdair MacIntyre identifies "practice" as the context within which virtue gains meaning in every historical understanding of virtue. By practice he means... any coherent and complex form of socially established co-operative human activity through which goods internal to that form of activity are realised in the course of trying to achieve those standards of excellence which are appropriate to, and partly definitive of, that form of activity, with the result that human powers to achieve excellence, and human conceptions of the ends and goods involved, are systematically extended (MacIntyre, 1985, p. 187).

Virtues are the qualities necessary to sustain and "make excellent" the relationships necessary to collaboration in practice (Collier, 1998, p. 630).[5] MacIntyre distinguishes the "goods" associated with shared practice as "goods of excellence" and "goods of effectiveness" (MacIntyre, 1988). Goods of excellence, those internal to the practice, are to be attained only in the context of a specific practice, whereas goods of effectiveness external to the practice are material and instrumental goods which can be achieved in other ways. Although MacIntyre does not distinguish between practices which are worth doing for their own sake and those which are purposive, as are corporate practices, it is clear that the virtues necessary to sustain purposive practices must include those which sustain the achievement of those purposes as well as those which sustain the doing of practice (Miller, 1994). The prime virtue here is that of justice both in its procedural and in its substantive sense. Procedural justice sustains practice, substantive justice provides the criteria by which practice may be assessed. Systemic leadership sustains communities of practice so that goods internal and external to organizational practice can contribute to the survival and growth of human and organizational capabilities.

Paradoxes of Systemic Leadership

Systemic leadership is characterised not only by community, but also by paradox, since the very nature of generative organizations is paradoxical (Cameron, 1986).

By paradox we mean: ... an idea involving two opposing thoughts or propositions which, however contradictory, are equally necessary to convey a more imposing, illuminating, life-related or provocative insight into truth than either factor can muster in its own right. What the mind seemingly cannot think it must think: what reason is reluctant to express it must express (Slaate, 1968, p. 4). The important thing about paradox is that although it is inherently contradictory it is not resolved by abandoning one aspect in favour of another. In other words, paradoxes should not generate "either-or" outcomes, they must be managed by the emergence of a "both-and" mode of existence. In generative organizations, for instance, we find the simultaneous existence of loose and tight coupling (Orton and Weick, 1990), specialization and generalization (Lawrence and Lorsch, 1967), continuity and change of personnel, adherence to past strategies and search for new directions, conflict and harmony, and other similar paradoxical configurations (Cameron, 1986, p. 545). The ultimate paradox is that it is the acceptance and management of these tensions and contradictions which ensures effectiveness in these organizations (Peters and Waterman, 1982, p. 100). Paradox also characterises human interactions in these organizations. There is research evidence that workgroups face multiple inherent paradoxes, and that they must accept, confront and manage them if they are to be successful (Smith and Berg, 1987). The less able are groups to internalise and live with their paradoxes, the more likely they are to become entangled in stalemate and paralysis. The success of systemic leadership is contingent on the way its inherent paradoxes are managed. We identify the most significant of these as follows: "trading forms" (switching between leading and supporting) is initiated (Hatch, 1999). In both of these examples synergy in systemic leadership is achieved not by compromise, not by the resolution of conflict, but by working with the paradox and keeping both aspects in play rather than opting for one or other of the alternatives.

Unity-Diversity

Systemic leadership works with unity of purpose, but with a diversity of ideas and interests, so that conflict is inevitable. Although the dynamics of systemic leadership need to take account of the emotions and apprehensions that conflict triggers (SeIznick, 1992, p. 237), and although conflict disrupts and may cause injury, it may play an essential role in the emergence of creative solutions and group solidarity. Its suppression may lead to frustration and to the perpetuation of disagreement. The avoidance of conflict by means of confrontation or compromise blocks the potential gains to be achieved by means of conflict-management strategies which focus on the common task rather than on individual differences, thus allowing congruence to emerge. It is only in the process of playing that a string quartet develops the synergy associated with congruence, and each performance demonstrates a new variant of that (Murnighan and Conlon, 1991).

Asymmetry-Mutuality

The process of systemic leadership relies on the principle of mutuality, on the existence of a level playing field where every member has equal opportunity to exercise influence, enjoys equal regard, and feels able to express ideas and to use initiative. On the other hand, it is also clear that the process is asymmetric in that the weight of influence will be shifting and unequal as different people assume different roles with different responsibilities at different times (Barker, 1997). Asymmetries of influence, however temporary, are unavoidable. So also are asymmetries of competence. Systemic leadership must confront the implications of these inequalities while at the same time making it possible for all the members to act out their commitment to the purpose and the project, because generating emergence requires the ongoing responsible participation of all involved.

Discipline-Creativity

Ideas are the lifeblood of generative organizations, but they cannot all be implemented. There has to be a system for collecting and appraising ideas, for choosing the most promising and seeing that their development is resourced. This has to be managed in a disciplined way which does not discourage or suppress enthusiasm and inventiveness (Amabile, 1998). Organizations which do this most successfully have systems whereby people with ideas are helped to formalise them, champion them through committees, and bring them to the status of full research project (Fairtlough, 1999). If systemic leadership ensures that this is done in a way which is fully competent, manifestly just and openly fair then organizational effectiveness is enhanced.

Creation-Destruction

Developing new perspectives means shattering old paradigms and changing old processes and practices. Existing work patterns, organizational structures and power positions may have to be destroyed. The simultaneous existence of creation and destruction in the generative organization is analogous to a chrysalis process of continual disintegration and regeneration. This is not only a messy process, it is also painful in human terms. It produces anxiety and fear and creates tensions between the participants. Emotional attachments to the known and the familiar are strong, and people feel deeply hurt when existing certainties and expectations are shattered by corporate change and renewal. If trust is to flourish anxieties must be managed so that people feel safe enough to collaborate. One way of doing this is to introduce empathetic processes of dialogue in disparate groups of people, so that in communication with others fears are gradually calmed and trust can grow. Once trust prevails creativity can begin to grow in a "climate of generativity" which accepts that destruction and creation form one synergistic process (Kets de Vries, 1996, p. 36).

Conclusion: Systemic Leadership Is Ethical and Effective

Systemic leadership is good leadership in the ethical sense; it creates community, encourages autonomy and creativity and intends the common good in its purposes and practices. It is also good leadership in that it fosters emergence and organizational renewal, thus ensuring the success and the effectiveness of generative organizations. Each of these "goods" of systemic leadership is implicate in the other. Organizations in turbulent environments, whether they be business or not-for-profit, will not survive unless the commitment and the dedication of all those involved is enabled by the processes of what we have called systemic leadership. People will not flourish unless they are freed to realise their potential, and are supported and affirmed by those around them in a stimulating and challenging work environment. However, each of these goods, the moral good and the technical good (Ciulla, 1998, p. 13) has to be pursued in the context of the other; in other words, each constrains as well as enables the other. Organizational effectiveness has to be pursued in the context of a wider concern and care for the good of all those affected by organizational operations, and this concern may suggest limits to what can be achieved. On the other hand, organizational objectives and available resources provide boundaries to the degree to which the organization can achieve the common good. The challenge is to optimize effectiveness in the context of the ethical constraints, and simultaneously to optimize the common good in the context of efficiency constraints. The response to this challenge is expressed in the idea of stewardship (Block, 1993), the most basic of the functions of leadership (Senge, 1990, pp. 345–352). Systemic leadership shares this stewardship, and by implication accountability for outcomes, among all the members of the organization. In doing this it allows the organization to lead the community to a better future, and hence ultimately to serve the good of that community and the wider world.

Notes

1. "Post-industrial" refers to the shift from Fordist to post-Fordist models of production. Aspects of this shift include the end of the division of labour associated with the introduction of micro-electronics, the restoration of human control over work processes, job flexibility and worker responsibility, the growth of networks both within and between firms, large and small, and increasing flexibility in organizational structures (Ruigrok and van Tulder, 1995).

    "Redescription" using a new metaphor allows the engagement not merely of the analytical range of imagination, but also calls on emotional and aesthetic capacities (Hatch, 1999, p. 76).
2. The notion of systemic leadership does not require the abandonment of the distinction between leaders and followers. Leadership and followership may be fixed or varying in terms of the persons in whom they are embodied. However, the notion of systemic leadership is deeply relational, and it "places followership and leader-follower relationships squarely at the centre of systemic leadership capacity" (Krantz, 1990, p. 52).
3. The insight which forms the basis of the "community of practice" literature is that learning is always contextual. People learn together and they learn "on the job". Wenger (1998, p. 245) makes the distinction between the "designed" structure of an organization and the "emergent" structure of practice: "the point of design for learning is to make organizations ready for the

emergent by serving the inventiveness of practice and the potential for innovation inherent in its emergent structure. Institution and practice cannot merge because they are different entities".

4. A template for this process, as it happens in the context of organizational renewal, is outlined in Crossan et al., 1999. The authors suggest a framework which gives details of the differing "levels" which constitute the move from individual creativity to organizational learning, and of the way in which the "process" moves from individual intuition and interpretation to group interpretation and integration, and ultimately to organizational integration and institutionalization of knowledge.

5. These virtues are those we have already identified as sustaining systemic leadership openness, trust, respect, supportiveness, commitment, cooperation and judgement.

References

Amabile, T. (1998). How to kill creativity. *Harvard Business Review* 76(September/October): 77–87.

Anderson, P. (1999). Complexity theory and organization science. *Organization Science* 10(3):216–232.

Barker, R.A. (1997). How can we train leaders if we do not know what leadership *is? Human Relations* 50(4):343–362.

Bass, B.M. (1990). *Bass & Stogdill's Handbook of Leadership*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Becker, T. (1993). Foci and bases of commitment: Are they distinctions worth making. *Academy of Management Review* 35(1):232–238.

Bennis, W. (1999). The end of leadership: Exemplary leadership is impossible without full inclusion, initiatives and co-operation of followers. *Organizational Dynamics* 28(1):71–80.

Bennis, W. and B. Nanus (1985). *Leaders: The Strategiesfor Taking Charge*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.

Block, P. (1993). *Stewardship: Choosing Service over Self-Interest*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.

Brown, J.S. and P. Duguid (1991). Organizational learning and communities of practice: Towards a unified view of working, learning and innovation. *Organization Science* 2(1):40–57.

Brown, S.L. and K. Eisenhardt (1998). *Competing on the Edge; Strategy as Structured Chaos*. Harvard: Harvard Business Press.

Burns, J.M. (1978). *Leadership*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.

Cameron, K. (1986). Effectiveness as paradox: Consensus and conflict in conceptions of organizational effectiveness. *Management Science* 32(5):539–553.

Ciulla, J.B. (1998). Leadership ethics: Mapping the territory. In Ciulla, J.B. (ed.), *Ethics: The Heart of Leadership*. Westport, CT: Quorum Books, pp. 3–26.

Collier, J. (1998). Theorising the ethical organization. *Business Ethics Quarterly* 8(4):621–654.

Collier, J. and R. Esteban (1999). Governance in the participative organization: Freedom, creativity and ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics* 21:173–188. Also as Judge Institute of Management Studies Working Paper 3/99.

Crossan, M.M., H.W. Lane and R.E. White (1999). An organizational learning framework: From intuition to institution. *Academy of Management Review* 24(3):522–537.

Dallmayr, F.R. (ed.) (1978). *From Contract to Community: Political Theory at the Crossroads*. New York, NY: Marcel Dekker, Inc.

Dering, N. (1998). Leadership in quality organizations. *Journal for Quality and Participation* 21(1):32–35.

Edgeman, R.L. and J.J. Dahlgaard (1998). A paradigm for leadership excellence. *Total Quality Management* 9(4/5):75–79.

Edgeman, R.L. and F. Scherer (1999). Systemic leadership via core value deployment. *The Leadership and Organization Development Journal* 20(2):94–97.

Fairtlough, G. (1999). Classical and romantic: Blending discipline and creativity in young companies, talk given at the Judge Institute of Management Studies, Cambridge, November 23, 1999.

Flood, R.L. and M.C. Jackson (1991). *Critical Systems Thinking*. Chichester: Wiley.

Fulmer, R.M. and J.B. Keys (1998). A conversation with Peter Senge: New developments in organizational learning. *Organizational Dynamics* 27:33–42.

Ghoshal, S. and C.A. Bartlett (1998). *The Individualized Corporation*. London: Heinemann.

Greenleaf, R.X. (1977). *Servant Leadership*. New York, NY: Paulist Press.

Habermas, J. (1993). *Justification and Application*, Translated by Ciaran Cronin. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Hassard, J. and Pym, D. (eds.) (1990). *The Theory and Philosophy of Organizations*. London: Routledge.

Hatch, M.A. (1999). Exploring the empty spaces of organizing: How improvisational jazz helps redescribe organizational structure. *Organization Studies* 20(1):75–100.

Hosking, D.M. (1988). Organizing, leadership and skilful process. *Journal of Management Studies* 25(2):147–166.

Kanter, R.M., B.A. Stein and T.D. Jick (1992). *The Challenge of Organizational Change: How Companies Experience It and Leaders Guide It*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Kelly, S. and M.A. Allison (1998). *The Complexity Advantage*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

Kets de Vries, M.F.R. (1996). Leadership for creativity: Generating peak experiences, INSEAD Working Paper 1996/62.

Kezborn, D. (1998). The leadership factor: Leading the way towards the next millenium, Transactions of the American Association of Cost Engineers, Morgantown, VA

Koftnan, F. and P. Senge (1993). Communities of commitment: The heart of learning organisations. *Organizational Dynamics* 22(2):5–22.

Kouzes, J.M. and B.X. Posner (1995). *The Leadership Challenge: How to Keep Getting Extraordinary Things Done in Organizations*, 2nd edn. San Fransisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Krantz, J. (1990). Lessons from the field: An essay on the crisis of leadership in contemporary organizations. *The Journal of Applied Behavioural Science* 26(1):49–64.

Lave, J. and E. Wenger (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lawrence, P.R. and J.W. Lorsch (1967). *Organization and Environment*. Homewood, IL: Irwin.

Liedtka, J. (1999). Linking competitive advantage with communities of practice. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 8(1):5–16.

MacIntyre, A. (1985). *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 2nd edn. London: Duckworth.

MacIntyre, A. (1988). *Whose Justice, Which Rationality*. London: Duckworth.

Miller, D. (1994). Virtues, practices and justice. In S. Horton and J. Mendus (eds.), After Macintyre: *Critical Perspectives on the Work of Alistair MacIntyre*. Cambridge: Polity Press, pp. 245–264.

Murnighan, J.K. and D.D. Conlon (1991). The dynamics of intense work groups: A study of British string quartets. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 36:165–191.

Northouse, P.G. (1991). *Leadership: Theory and Practice*. London: Sage.

Orton, S.D. and K.E. Weick (1990). Loosely coupled systems: A reconceptualisation. *Academy of Management Review* 15:203–223.

Peters, T.J. and R.H. Waterman (1982). *In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best Run Companies*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.

Rost, J.C. (1991). *Leadership for the Twenty-First Century*. New York, NY: Praeger.

Ruigrok, W. and R. van Tulder (1995). *The Logic of International Restructuring*. London: Routledge.

Rust, J.C. (1993). Leadership development in the new millenium. *The Journal of Leadership Studies 1*(1):92–110.

Scott, W.R. (1998). *Organizations: Natural, Rational and Open*. London: Prentice-Hall International.

Selznick, P. (1992). *The Moral Community: Social Theory and the Promise of Community*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Senge, P.M. (1990). *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Oganisation*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Senge, P.M. (1997). Communities of leaders and learners. *Harvard Business Review* 75(5):30–32.

Slaate, H.A. (1968). *The Pertinence of the Paradox*. New York, NY: Humanities Press.

Smith, K. and D. Berg (1987). *Paradoxes of Group Life*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Sonenschein, S. and J. Collier (1999). Social criticism in organizations: Business ethics and corporate learning. *Judge Institute of Management Studies,* Working Paper 26/99.

Stacey, R.D. (1996). *Complexity and Creativity in Organisations*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler Publications.

Wenger, E. (1998). *Communities of Practice: Learning, Meaning and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wheatley, M. (1999). *Leadership and the New Science*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-KoehIer Publications.

Part III
Relational Leadership, Gender, and Complexity Leadership Theory

Chapter 6
Relational Leadership and Gender: From Hierarchy to Relationality

Mary Uhl-Bien

Editors' Introduction We devote the next three chapters to developing an understanding of how leadership traits that were typically viewed as female, now form part of a broader leadership paradigm that is emerging within knowledge economies. This new leadership paradigm is called Complexity Leadership Theory. Though Uhl-Bien and her colleagues do not make specific reference to gender in their earlier papers, it is clear that their work offers important perspectives on the functioning of women within the complex adaptive systems that have come to characterize contemporary organizations. Uhl-Bien (2006:654–676) advances the "entity" perspective on leadership by including a "relational" perspective that describes leadership as socially constructed. This moves us beyond the age of "Great Man Theory" towards an acceptance of leadership as a social change process. Leadership hence becomes more about processes than about individualistic behavior. Uhl-Bien does not stop there however. With colleagues Marion and McKelvey (2007: 298–318), she places the relational perspective within the broader context of complexity leadership theory, and explains how the interplay between different leadership roles, which they refer to as administrative, enabling and adaptive, creates leadership opportunities for both men and women. These three essays form a critical bridge between those essays in this book that emphasize the unique capacities of women, and the broader perspective that these views of female leadership traits are also socially constructed and thus open to revision and change. Relational leadership becomes embedded in a broader

M. Uhl-Bien (✉)
Institute for Innovative Leadership, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68588-0497, USA
e-mail: muhlbien@unlnotes.unl.edu

leadership theory that allows us to see the traditional archetypes of male and female leadership as modes that emerge, shift and change within the complex dynamics of organizational life. This may allow both men and women to "shift gears", and not find themselves hemmed in by gender stereotypes.

Introduction

This paper is a brief introduction to the two articles that follow, one on Relational Leadership Theory and one on Complexity Leadership Theory. Although the articles do not address gender, their themes are not gender neutral. These articles represent what Fondas (1997) and Fletcher (2004) identify in their reflections on contemporary management writings: Writers are framing managerial work in more feminine terms, but none are naming it as such. Therefore, the purpose here is to identify the gender themes in the two papers and discuss their implications from the standpoint of the feminization of leadership and management.

In identifying gender themes I draw from authors who have written about feminine traits and theorizing using a cultural analysis. Following Fondas (1997, p. 260), when I refer to the feminine it includes some or all of the following qualities:

> ... empathy, helpfulness, caring, and nurturance; interpersonal sensitivity, attentiveness to and acceptance of others, responsiveness to their needs and motivations; and orientation toward the collective interest and toward integrative goals such as group cohesiveness and stability; a preference for open, egalitarian, and cooperative relationships, rather than hierarchical ones; and an interest in actualizing values and relationships of great importance to community...

When I refer to the masculine it addresses traits culturally ascribed to men, including some or all of the following (Fondas, 1997, pp. 260–261):

> ... an ability to be impersonal, self-interested, efficient, hierarchical, tough minded, and assertive; an interest in taking charge, control, and domination; a capacity to ignore personal, emotional considerations in order to succeed; a proclivity to rely on standardized or "objective" codes for judgment and evaluation of others; and a heroic orientation toward task accomplishment and a continual effort to act on the world and become something new or other...

I begin by discussing relational leadership theory as positioning relationality in leadership research. I then identify complexity leadership as a relational leadership theory. Its adaptive function contains more feminine (relationality) elements and its administrative function contains more masculine (hierarchical) elements. I conclude by discussing the implications of relational and complexity leadership for gender and leadership.

Positioning Relationality in Leadership Research

Uhl-Bien (2006) presents a framework for the study of Relational Leadership Theory (RLT). This article describes two approaches to relationships in leadership research: an entity approach, offering a "realist" perspective, and a relational approach, offering a "constructionist" perspective. In the former, the primary focus is on individuals and their views of and participation in interpersonal relationships. In the latter, the focus is on relationality, i.e., being "in relation," and leadership as constructed in the process of relating. Relational Leadership Theory combines the two to focus on the relational dynamics involved in the generation and functioning of leadership – the relational processes through which leadership is produced and enabled.

The article was motivated by a growing sense of frustration that traditional, positivist approaches to the study of leadership were inadequate to capture the complex realities of social relating in the workplace, and that those who were exploring these realities using non-positivist ontologies and epistemologies were being ignored in mainstream leadership research. The predominant approach to relational leadership from the positivist perspective is leader-member exchange (LMX) theory (Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995). While this theory has been tremendously beneficial in highlighting the importance of high quality leader-member (actually manager-subordinate) relationships in the workplace, it is less informative about the relational dynamics and contexts in which these relationship are generated and emerge. This is due to its positivist assumptions and the associated study of LMX theory using a 7-item (or 12-item MDM, Liden and Maslyn, 1998) measure assessing perceptions of relationship quality. While it is possible LMX could be studied using richer methodologies (and some studies have done so), for the most part LMX research means research using an LMX measure.

Approaches that study relational dynamics from a constructionist perspective, such as Hosking (Hosking, 1988; Hosking et al., 1995), Fairhurst (Fairhurst and Grant, 2010), Ospina (Ospina et al., in press) and others (Drath, 2001), focus on the multiple realities of self and others as coevolving, i.e., as constructed "in relation." Constructionist ontologies represent process theories of leadership – they adopt methods that analyze the nature of communication and social interactions among people (e.g., qualitative methods). They see sociality from the standpoint of *inter*dependence, rather than independence, and examine the influential acts of organizing that contribute to the structuring of interactions and relationships. These approaches move away from hierarchical foundations for defining leadership, arguing that social order is negotiated, found acceptable, implemented and renegotiated. In so doing, they change the focus in leadership from hierarchical control to *relationality*.

As described by Bradbury and Lichtenstein (2000), relationality acknowledges the subjective and interdependent nature of organizational life. Fletcher (2004) describes relationality, and its associated focus on interdependencies, collective achievement, collaboration and mutuality, as belonging to feminine discourse. In highlighting relationality in leadership theory, Uhl-Bien (2006) unwittingly

advances a framework more amenable to feminine discourse. Fletcher (2004) warns, however, that this feminine nature puts it at risk of being silenced or ignored in mainstream research and practice. Interestingly, that is what happened in relational leadership. The "relationality" discourse on relational leadership (Hosking, 1988; Hosking et al., 1995) was not acknowledged in mainstream leadership literature, while the more "hierarchical" leader-member (manager-subordinate) exchange (LMX) approach dominated.

In the article (Uhl-Bien, 2006) I tried to bring this issue to light, though I didn't recognize it as a gender issue, by placing relationality front and center in relational (e.g., LMX) leadership research. My hope was that leadership research would acknowledge both perspectives, and that these two literatures would speak to one another. At the time I saw the issue as largely ontological and epistemological – having to do with the realist versus constructionist ontologies that predominate in North American v. European views.[1]

From a feminist lens, we could interpret realism (entity) as more masculine in orientation and constructionist (relationality) as more feminine. Much of American leadership discourse is realist and does not discuss gender other than perhaps as a control in analyses or a variable of interest. Constructionist ontologies and epistemologies are more common in European traditions of leadership research, and European management and leadership scholars are more open to and aware of "gendered discourse," largely due to the prevalence of critical theory in their work (Collinson, 2011).

While the issue can be viewed from a gender lens, I still see the problem as largely methodological. Realist relational research, including LMX, *theorizes* relationality (a feminine discourse). LMX talks about leadership as a relationship and as a mutual influence process; it acknowledges that leadership is generated in the interactions (e.g., interdependencies) between leaders and followers. It also acknowledges leadership relationships extending beyond hierarchical manager-subordinate dyads (e.g., peers, network relationships). Graen (2007), drawing from this relational research, has even written on women's advantage in the knowledge era. The problem is the methods are not matched to the theory. The survey method approach cannot accommodate relationality, and the predominant focus on hierarchy (e.g., manager-subordinate relationships), individuals (i.e., individual views of the relationship), independence rather than *inter*dependence (i.e., individual *perceptions* rather than interdependent *processes*), and linearity instead of nonlinearity (linear regression statistics), all signal a "non-feminine" (more masculine?) method (Plowman and Smith, forthcoming).[2]

From this perspective, I believe leadership research and practice is amenable to relationality and its more feminine discourse *if* we can get over the methods hurdle. What this would require is more awareness of the issue and more training in ontologies and epistemologies that recognize relationality and methods appropriate to its study. Fortunately, these methods are available (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000) and the value of using richer, relational methods in management research has been well documented. Unfortunately, positivism and survey methods are very heavily entrenched in leadership research (Bryman, 2004; Bryman, 2011).

Complexity Leadership: A Relational Form of Leadership

The second article presents a framework for the study of Complexity Leadership Theory (CLT). Using Fletcher's (2004) terminology, complexity leadership is a post-heroic model of leadership – it depends less on the heroic actions of a few individuals at the top and more on collaborative leadership practices distributed throughout an organization. While complexity leadership recognizes the importance of hierarchy and bureaucracy for accomplishing business results, it uses a lens of complex adaptive systems in complexity theory to draw attention to adaptive leadership processes occurring throughout organizations. With adaptive leadership, it sees beyond position and authority to a view of leadership as a complex interactive dynamic, generated in and from collective action in organizational contexts.

CLT is a relational form of leadership – it assumes the primacy of relations. It identifies leadership as interdependent and constructed in relation, focuses on processes, and recognizes the importance of history in these constructions. Consistent with Uhl-Bien (2006), it sees leadership as a social influence process through which emergent coordination (i.e., evolving social order) and change (i.e., new values, attitudes, approaches, behaviors, ideologies, etc.) are constructed and produced.

CLT differs from other relational approaches in that it focuses more on the interactive dynamics of complexity than the socioemotional dynamics of traditional constructionist approaches (e.g., power, identity, emotion, communication). It doesn't discount the socioemotional; it just doesn't *focus* on them. Instead, complexity leadership theory seeks to add new understanding by identifying the social mechanisms (Hedström and Swedberg, 1998) that comprise interactive dynamics of complexity, and investigating how leadership interacts with these dynamics to produce adaptability for the firm (Uhl-Bien and Marion, 2011).

By advancing beyond hierarchical control and heroic leadership to a focus on relationality and dynamic interaction, complexity leadership again incorporates a gendered dialogue into leadership research. As will be described next, this dialogue includes both the masculine and the feminine.

Complexity Leadership and Gender

Complexity Leadership Theory identifies three forms of leadership: administrative, adaptive, and enabling. Administrative leadership is a managerial form of leadership associated with the administrative function of the organization. Adaptive leadership is an informal and emergent form of leadership associated with the adaptive function of the organization. Enabling leadership acts in the interface between the other two, helping foster the adaptive function as well as loosen up the administrative function to allow for overall adaptability and fitness for the firm.

The administrative function operates in organizational hierarchies (i.e., bureaucracy) to meet the administrative needs of the organization (e.g., planning, control, directing, coordinating) and generate business results (Uhl-Bien and Marion, 2009, 2010). This is the (masculine) form of leadership we have long recognized in

management theory. Returning to the descriptions provided at the beginning of the article, performing the administrative leadership function largely requires "masculine" traits:

- An ability to be impersonal and potentially tough-minded and a proclivity to rely on standardized or "objective" codes for judgment and evaluation of others (e.g., human resource decision-making including hiring/firing, layoffs, performance appraisal; strategic decision-making).
- The ability to be efficient, hierarchical, and take charge, ignoring personal and emotional considerations to succeed.
- A heroic orientation toward task accomplishment – i.e., the hierarchical role of the strategic leader(s) as (s)he sets out to create vision and strategic direction and alignment for the firm.

Adaptive leadership is an informal, relational leadership process. It occurs in intentional interactions of interdependent human agents (individuals or collectives) as they work to generate and advance novel solutions in the face of adaptive needs of the organization (Uhl-Bien and Marion, 2009). As described in the article that follows, it produces new ideas, innovation, adaptability, and change for the organization. It comprises the *adaptive* function of the organization.

Because the adaptive function of CLT is clearly relational, it is feminine in nature. Again, returning to the feminine descriptors at the beginning of this paper, adaptive leadership is oriented to the collective interest. It is egalitarian and focuses on cooperative relationships rather than hierarchical ones. Moreover, it is interested in actualizing values and relationships of great importance to the community (i.e., its adaptive and innovative nature; its focus on addressing adaptive challenges).

Adaptive leadership is not purely feminine, however. It has masculine components. Adaptive leaders may be assertive and reflect a "heroic orientation to act on the world" in their work to meet adaptive challenges. Complexity talks about interactive dynamics as being generated by local, *self*-interested agents. Therefore, adaptive leadership acknowledges and emphasizes the importance of self-interest, a component typically attributed to masculinity. I would say, however, that the self-interest of adaptive leaders is often to meet the adaptive challenge, which likely comprises the larger interest (i.e., self-interest in adaptive leadership is often equated with the interest of the larger community, cf. Heifetz, 1994).

While these traits can be considered masculine (Fondas, 1997), the key difference is that adaptive leadership is more bottom-up (i.e., emergent) than top-down (i.e., hierarchical). It emanates from within the organization and operates based on informal relational influence (personal power) rather than authority systems and structures (position power). It is motivated by meaning (e.g., fulfilling the responsibilities associated with relationships) rather than by being "on top," or "in charge" (cf. Fondas, 1997 description of female v. male values). From research on tempered radicals we know women willingly and passionately engage in these types of behaviors (Meyerson and Scully, 1995).

For this reason, I see adaptive leadership as a mix of feminine and masculine. It is not "soft" in the traditional sense of femininity. While it is definitely interactive and collaborative, and recognizes that relationality is the best and only way to meet adaptive challenges, it may not be nurturing, caring or empathetic. It can, in fact, be tough, passionate and assertive. It is interpersonally sensitive, but not in the sense of "feel-good" – rather, in the sense of being relationally attuned in order to influence and make connections (i.e., relational skills, Fletcher, in press; Regine and Lewin, 2003).

With its focus on adaptive (and enabling) leadership, I see complexity leadership theory as a "feminine-friendly" framework for the workplace. It is more satisfactory to the relational needs of women (connection, building, growing) while maintaining a sense of professionalism in femininity that goes beyond traditional, nurturing mothering views of the female. In other words, it moves us past the stereotypes of women that come from domestic views to a model of femininity from a workplace view. Because the focus is on an adaptive function that is emergent and bottom-up, it takes women beyond the "mothering" role that can emanate from being in hierarchical roles (manager as mother) and into a connective role in terms of enabling linkages and fostering interconnectivity (Lipman-Blumen, 1996). Moreover, its focus on meaning and relational interaction (e.g., addressing adaptive challenges, networking, relationship-building, relational intelligence) instead of hierarchical dominance and ego fulfillment (e.g., being on top, in charge, charismatic heroism) may make it more fulfilling to women's needs for more cooperative, partnership models rather than the masculine ethos of ranking and subjugating (Eisler, 1987; Fondas, 1997).

This view is consistent with Fletcher (in press) who identifies relational leadership practice not as soft but as relationally competent:

> . . . I have found that leaders have difficulty reflecting critically on their own practice, partly because they have internalized stereotypical (gender-linked) notions of caring behavior (and what that looks like in practice) that have little to do with creating high quality, growth-in-connection relational interactions in the service of the work.

When leaders follow traditional gender stereotypes they often fall into relational malpractice: focusing exclusively on others and their needs, afraid to move ahead with decisions, and worrying about other's expectations in order to be liked and accepted. When leaders act in ways consistent with effective relational practice they think fluidly about self and other (e.g., fluid expertise), focus on process as well as task, let the nature of the work determine when to get input, and think about the needs of the work rather than the self or career in determining the appropriate action (Fletcher, in press).

In sum, complexity leadership includes both the masculine and the feminine. The traditional elements of administrative leadership and its focus on business results represent the more masculine managerial model with which we are all familiar, but which is a necessary part of operating in a hierarchical (bureaucratic) system. The relational elements of the adaptive function introduce a much more feminine-friendly relationality framework into organizational and managerial leadership.

Conclusion

While the two articles that follow do not discuss gender, they certainly have gender implications. As I describe here, relational leadership theory conveys a strong feminine discourse. It fits with Fletcher's discussions of women and relational leadership based on her work with the Stone Center Relational Cultural Theory (RCT) (Fletcher, in press), and suggests a "more feminine" ontology and epistemology that is relational and connectionist (e.g., relationality).

Complexity leadership theory is also feminine, but not purely – it retains masculine elements. Its administrative components are clearly more masculine (hierarchical managerial roles and focus on business results); its adaptive components are more relational (feminine), though it does retain masculine traits, even in its adaptive function. Complexity leadership adds to leadership a form of feminism that is more professionally rather than domestically derived (cf. Fletcher's in press discussion of relational practice and malpractice as it relates to gender), and that is accessible and desirable to women *and* men. I believe it satisfies women's needs for connection and meaning (rather than dominance, authority and ego gratification) while retaining enough masculinity to satisfy the business needs of the organization. I see it as not the feminization of management and leadership (which would imply the de-masculinization) but as making leadership more "feminine-friendly."

Returning to my earlier points, I believe the field is open and interested in new approaches like relational and complexity leadership and to more feminine-friendly workplaces. What I think they are not open to is anything that feels too soft. Much of the work on the femininization of the workplace (empathy, caring, relational) can come across that way if it does not include the cautions noted by Fletcher (in press). As Fondas (1997, p. 271) points out in her review, management writers struggle with language around these issues of hard and soft:

> Notice that managers do not simply have concern for teams and their work; they must have a "hard-line" concern. Without the adjective "hard-line," the role might be seen as somehow too focused on concern and caring. Indeed, the author later stated that he inserted "hard-line" because the managers insisted their behavior be seen as "realistic" and "hard," not exclusively people oriented or "soft." Caring, concern, and being exclusively people oriented tend to be counted as "women's work" not "real" work.

But the reality is that much of what needs to be done in managerial and leadership positions is "hard"; not all decisions can be caring. This is why management writers struggle with the issue – because it is the reality of the workplace – and why our model includes both the administrative and the adaptive leadership functions. We recognize that organizations are places where both the feminine (relationality) and the masculine (hierarchy) play a part.

Relational leadership does not mean soft – it means adding relationality (e.g., fostering interconnectivity, creating linkages, dynamic interaction). It fits with the Connectionist Era in which we are living. If we allow models of feminine as soft (based on domestic stereotypes) to prevail and do not morph it into a model of feminine as connectionist (e.g., Fletcher, in press; Lipman-Blumen, 1996), the message

will not be taken seriously. Moreover, if we advocate the feminine at the expense of the masculine, we are guilty of what got us here in the first place.

The greatest challenge I see for this work (and its gender implications) is in providing rigorous theoretical models and a solid body of rich empirical evidence. With evidence, there is a chance; without it, there is none. To be able to build this evidence requires pushing ourselves out of our positivist mindsets (survey research, linear methods) and into approaches that allow us to identify and understand issues of relationality.

Complexity (and relational) leadership are offered to address this challenge. With complexity leadership we provide a model that incorporates both the feminine and the masculine, and a rigorous theoretical framework for driving empirical work using relational methodologies. My hope is that by identifying theories such as complexity leadership, and advancing the research findings into practice, we can create more meaningful and productive (adaptive) workplaces and help stop "The Leaking Pipeline" that is causing women to find higher-level leadership positions unfulfilling and not worth the effort.[3]

Notes

1. For further discussion see Uhl-Bien and Ospina (in press); for an illustration of the distinctions, see the difference between the North American leadership journal *The Leadership Quarterly* from the British-based leadership journal, *Leadership*.
2. I believe the issue is largely due to the positivist training of the scholars conducting this work. North American leadership research is heavily populated with researchers trained in I/O Psychology and OB – both of which emphasize positivist approaches. Most of these researchers never get exposed to issues of ontology and epistemology, and are unaware their methods are positivist. They see their work as rigorous good "science" ("rigorous" methodologies incorporating issues of psychometrics, validity, reliability, etc.) and the work of constructionists as too "soft" (positivism doesn't understand there are alternative forms of rigor in constructionist methodologies). Therefore, while researchers trained in positivism may see the ideas in constructionism approaches as interesting, they don't know how to translate them into practical ways for them to conduct research (according to their methods), so they end up not considering them.
3. See "The leaking pipeline: Where are our female leaders? 79 Women share their stories." March, 2008, Global Human Capital, Gender Advisory Council, PriceWaterhuoseCoopers. (http://www.pwc.com/gx/en/women-at-pwc/the-leaking-pipeline.jhtml)

References

Bradbury, H. and B. Lichtenstein (2000). Relationality in organizational research: Exploring the "space between". *Organization Science* 11(5):551–564.
Bryman, A. (2004). Qualitative research on leadership: A critical but appreciative review. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13(4):397–419.
Bryman, A. (2011). Research methods in the study of leadership. In A. Bryman, D. Collinson, K. Grint, B. Jackson and M. Uhl-Bien (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Leadership*. London: Sage 15–28.

Collinson, D. (2011). Critical leadership studies. In A. Bryman, D. Collinson, K. Grint, B. Jackson and M. Uhl-Bien (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Leadership*. London: Sage 179–193.

Drath, W. (2001). *The Deep Blue Sea: Rethinking the Source of Leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass and Center for Creative Leadership.

Eisler, R. (1987). The Chalice and *the Blade*. San Francisco, CA: HarperSanFrancisco.

Fairhurst, G. and D. Grant (2010). The social construction of leadership: A sailing guide. *Management Communication Quarterly* 24(2):171–210.

Fletcher, J.K. (2004). The paradox of postheroic leadership: An essay on gender, power, and transformational change. *The Leadership Quarterly* 15:647–661.

Fletcher, J.K. (in press). The relational practice of leadership. In M. Uhl-Bien and S. Ospina (eds.), *Advancing Relational Leadership Theory: A Conversation among Perspectives*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishers.

Fondas, N. (1997). Feminization unveiled: Management qualities in contemporary writing. *Academy of Management Review* 22(1):257–282.

Graen, G. (2007). *Jessica's Web: Women's Advantage in the Knowledge Era*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishers.

Graen, G.B. and M. Uhl-Bien (1995). Relationship-based approach to leadership: Development of leader-member exchange (LMX) theory of leadership over 25 years: Applying a multi-level multi-domain perspective. *Leadership Quarterly* 6:219–247.

Hedström, P. and R. Swedberg (1998). *Social Mechanisms: An Analytical Approach to Social Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heifetz, R.A. (1994). *Leadership Without Easy Answers*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Hosking, D.M. (1988). Organizing, leadership, and skilful process. *Journal of Management Studies* 25(2):147–166.

Hosking, D.M., Dachler, H.P. and Gergen, K.J. (eds.) (1995). *Management and Organization: Relational Alternatives to Individualism*. Brookfield, CT: Avebury.

Liden, R.C. and J.M. Maslyn (1998). Multidimensionality of leader-member exchange: An empirical assessment through scale development. *Journal of Management* 24:43–72.

Lipman-Blumen, J. (1996). *Connective Leadership: Managing in a Changing World*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Meyerson, D.E. and M.A. Scully (1995). Tempered radicalism and the politics of ambivalence and change. *Organization Science* 6(5):585–600.

Ospina, S., E. Foldy, W. El Hadidy, J. Dodge, A. Hofmann-Pinilla and C. Su (in press). Social change leadership as relational leadership. In M. Uhl-Bien and S. Ospina (eds.), *Advancing Relational Leadership Theory: A Conversation Among Perspectives*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishers.

Plowman, D.A. and Smith, A.D. (Forthcoming). The gendering of organizational research methods: Evidence of gender patterns in qualitative research. *Qualitative Research in Organization & Management*.

Regine, B. and R. Lewin (2003). Third possibility leaders: The invisible edge women have in complex organizations. *Learning Organization* 10(6):347–352.

Uhl-Bien, M. (2006). Relational leadership theory: Exploring the social processes of leadership and organizing. *The Leadership Quarterly* 17:654–676.

Uhl-Bien, M. and R. Marion (2009). Complexity leadership in bureaucratic forms of organizing: A meso model. *The Leadership Quarterly* 20:631–650.

Uhl-Bien, M. and R. Marion (2011). Complexity leadership theory. In A. Bryman, D. Collinson, K. Grint, B. Jackson and M. Uhl-Bien (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Leadership*. London: Sage 466–480.

Uhl-Bien, M., R. Marion and B. McKelvey (2007). Complexity leadership theory: Shifting leadership from the industrial age to the knowledge era. *The Leadership Quarterly* 18(4):298–318.

Uhl-Bien, M. and S. Ospina (in press). *Advancing Relational Leadership Theory: A Conversation Among Perspectives*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishers.

Chapter 7
Relational Leadership Theory: Exploring the Social Processes of Leadership and Organizing

Mary Uhl-Bien

> We consider the relational perspective and [the approaches within it]. . . to be at the forefront of emerging leadership thrusts. . .. The relational focus is one that moves beyond unidirectional or even reciprocal leader/follower relationships to one that recognizes leadership wherever it occurs; it is not restricted to a single or even a small set of formal or informal leaders; and, in its strongest form, functions as a dynamic system embedding leadership, environmental, and organizational aspects (Hunt and Dodge, 2000, p. 448)

While the concept of relationship-oriented behavior has been around since the earliest formal studies of leadership in organizations (Stogdill and Coons, 1957), the term *relational leadership* is surprisingly new (Brower et al., 2000; Drath, 2001; Murrell, 1997; Uhl-Bien, 2003, 2005). Because of this, its meaning is still uncertain. In traditional management discourse, the term relational means that "an individual likes people and thrives on relationships" (Lipman-Blumen, 1996, p. 165). Traditional research on leadership examines behavioral styles that are relationship-oriented (Likert, 1961), meaning considerate and supportive (Stogdill et al., 1962) or leadership behaviors focused on developing high quality, trusting, work relationships (Brower et al., 2000; Graen and Scandura, 1987; Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000).

In recently developing discourse (Drath, 2001; Hosking, 2007; Murrell, 1997), however, the term relational is being used to describe something quite different for leadership – a view of leadership and organization as human social constructions that emanate from the rich connections and interdependencies of organizations and their members (cf., Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000; Hosking et al., 1995). In contrast to a more traditional orientation, which considers relationships from the standpoint of individuals as independent, discrete entities (i.e., individual agency) (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000; Hosking et al., 1995), a "relational" orientation starts with processes and not persons, and views persons, leadership and other relational realities as *made* in processes (Hosking, 2007).

The more traditional orientation, which can be called an *entity* perspective because it focuses on individual entities, is consistent with an epistemology of an objective truth and a Cartesian dogma of a clear separation between mind and nature

M. Uhl-Bien (✉)
Institute for Innovative Leadership, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68588-0497, USA
e-mail: muhlbien@unlnotes.unl.edu

(Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000). It assumes that: (a) individuals have a "knowing mind," (b) individuals have access to the contents of their mind (mind contents and knowledge are viewed as properties of entities, as individual possessions), and (c) these entities can be distinguished from other entities (i.e., people) and the environment (Dachler and Hosking, 1995). As such, the "knowing" individual is understood as the architect and controller of an internal and external order which makes sense with respect to the array of their personal "possessions" (their mind contents) (Dachler and Hosking, 1995). This view approaches relationship-based leadership by focusing on *individuals* (e.g., leaders and followers) and their perceptions, intentions, behaviors, personalities, expectations, and evaluations relative to their relationships with one another (e.g., Hollander, 1978; Lord et al., 1999; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000). Dachler and Hosking (1995) call this approach a "subject-object" understanding of relationships: "Social relations are enacted by subjects to achieve knowledge about, and influence over, other people and groups" (p. 3).

The second, and less well-known, *relational* perspective views knowledge as socially constructed and socially distributed, not as "mind stuff" constructed or accumulated and stored by individuals: "That which is understood as real is differently constructed in different relational and historical/cultural settings" (Dachler and Hosking, 1995, p. 4). Taking a relational orientation means recognizing that organizational phenomena exist in interdependent relationships and intersubjective meaning: "... [K]nowing occurs between two subjects or phenomena simultaneously, therefore we must attend to the multiple meanings and perspectives that continuously emerge..." (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000, p. 552). From this perspective, knowing is always a process of relating; relating is a constructive, ongoing process of meaning making – an actively relational process of creating (common) understandings on the basis of language; meaning can never be finalized, nor has it any ultimate origin, it is always in the process of making; and meanings are limited by socio-cultural contexts (Dachler and Hosking, 1995). Applied to leadership (Dachler and Hosking, 1995; Hosking, 2007), a relational orientation does not focus on identifying attributes of individuals involved in leadership behaviors or exchanges, but rather on the social construction processes by which certain understandings of leadership come about and are given privileged ontology (cf., Meindl, 1995).

In the sections below I review leadership theory relative to these two perspectives. As we will see in this discussion, although both *entity* and *relational* approaches view leadership as a social process, what they mean by process, particularly with respect to their ontology and epistemology, is quite different. The former views relational processes as centered in individuals' perceptions and cognitions as they engage in exchanges and influence relationships with one another, while the latter views persons and organizations as ongoing multiple constructions *made "in"* processes and not the *makers "of"* processes (Hosking, 2000). As will be described later in the article, these different ontologies result in very different ways of conceptualizing and operationalizing relational leadership, with the former adopting primarily a variable-based approach and the latter more of a constructionist approach.

Following this review, I present an overarching framework for the investigation of relational leadership. I identify relational leadership as a social influence process through which emergent coordination (i.e., evolving social order) and change (e.g., new values, attitudes, approaches, behaviors, and ideologies) are constructed and produced. This perspective does not restrict leadership to hierarchical positions or roles. Instead it views leadership as occurring in relational dynamics throughout the organization; as will be discussed below, it also acknowledges the importance of context in the study of these relational dynamics (cf., Osborn et al., 2002). Since space does not permit a detailed discussion, I provide some examples of the kinds of questions raised by a Relational Leadership Theory (RLT) framework, and discuss how these questions could be addressed and tested considering the potential contributions of both entity and relational perspectives. I suggest that we are best served not by arguing over whether entity or relational offers the "best" way, but rather by considering how our perspectives will be informed if we view these issues from multiple orientations (cf., Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004; Hosking, 2007).

The Entity (Individual Reality) Perspective

As described above, entity perspectives assume individual agency – that "organizational life is viewed as the result of individual action" (Hosking et al., 1995, p. x). Individuals are thought of as "entities," with clear separation between their internal selves and external environments. These individuals are seen as possessing "the capacity to reason, to learn, to invent, to produce, and to manage" which serves as the basis for assumptions that "the 'reality' of management is understood as individual creation and control of order" (Hosking et al., 1995, p. x). Studies that align with this perspective explain relationships on the basis of the properties and behaviors of interacting individuals or organizations (Dachler and Hosking, 1995).

The predominant entity perspectives exploring relational leadership issues are the "relationship-based" approaches to leadership research (Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995). From this perspective, leadership can be seen as a two-way influence relationship between a leader and a follower aimed primarily at attaining mutual goals (Brower et al., 2000; Graen and Scandura, 1987; Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1991, 1995; Hollander, 1978, 1979). In relationship-based approaches, the focus is on interpersonal relationships, most often among leader-member dyads (Graen and Scandura, 1987; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000), but also leadership relationships that occur between a leader and a group (Hollander, 1964; Howell and Shamir, 2005) or among triads (Offstein et al., 2006) or larger collectivities (Graen and Graen, 2006; Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995; Balkundi and Kilduff, 2005). Relationship-based perspectives view relationships in a traditional sense of the word – a relationship as *a particular type of connection existing between people related to or having dealings with each other* (American Heritage Dictionary, 2000) – and relational processes are considered relative to individual characteristics that leaders and followers bring to their interpersonal exchanges.

Leader-Member Exchange Theory

The most prominent relationship-based approach is leader-member exchange (LMX) theory (Gerstner and Day, 1997; Graen et al., 1982; Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995; Liden et al., 1997). According to Graen and Uhl-Bien (1995), the central concept of LMX theory is that leadership occurs when leaders and followers are able to develop effective relationships (partnerships) that result in incremental influence (i.e., leadership, see Katz and Kahn, 1978) and thus gain access to the many benefits these relationships bring (Gerstner and Day, 1997). The theory describes how effective leadership relationships develop (Liden et al., 1997; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000) among dyad "partners" (e.g., leaders and members, teammates, peers) to generate bases of leadership influence (Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1991, 1995), as well as demonstrates the benefits of these leadership relationships for organizational outcomes (Gerstner and Day, 1997).

LMX is an entity perspective because it focuses on the properties and behaviors of individuals as they engage in interactions with one another (cf., Dachler and Hosking, 1995). Uhl-Bien et al. (2000) describe the relationship development process as beginning with two individuals, who engage in an interaction or exchange sequence (a series of interactions). The nature of these interactions depends on several things:

> First, it depends on the characteristics each individual brings to the relationship, including their personal, physical, and psychological makeup that remains relatively stable and disposes them to approach interpersonal situations in a certain way (Phillips and Bedeian, 1994). Second, it depends on the individuals' expectations of the exchange, which are developed based on past experience, outside information about the other, and implicit leadership theories or "schemas" (Lord and Maher, 1991). Third, it depends on their assessment of and reaction to the exchange both while it is occurring and in retrospect (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961; Jacobs, 1971; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000, pp. 146–147)

In accordance with Dachler and Hosking (1995), this is a "subject-object" understanding of relationships and an entity perspective: "When a person is understood as a knowing individual s/he is being viewed as a subject, distinguishable from the objects of nature. The latter implicitly are viewed as passive, as knowable and malleable only by the subject" (p. 3). In this case, the subject is the individual, and the object is the relationship, which lies in the mind of the individual: "Relations are considered only from the point of view of the entity [the individual] considered as the subject in that relationship" (Dachler and Hosking, 1995, p. 3).

Hollander's Relational Theory

Another prominent relationship-based approach to leadership is that provided by Hollander (1964, 1978). Hollander was one of the earliest scholars to adopt a focus on leadership as a relational process (Hollander, 1958), a two-way influence and social exchange relationship between leaders and followers (Hollander, 1979). According to Hollander and Julian (1969), (1) leadership is a process involving an

influence relationship (2) the leader is one among other participants in this relation-ship, and (3) there are "transactions" (i.e., exchanges) that occur between leaders and followers, basic to which is the belief that rewards will be received for benefits given (cf., Homans, 1974; Jacobs, 1971).

Hollander's model is relational and focuses on process, but considers this process from the standpoint of individuals – making it an entity approach. For example, in the idiosyncrasy credit (IC) model of innovative leadership, leaders are given latitude for innovative behavior in a "credit-building" process that is a function of the followers' perceptions of the leader's competence and loyalty displays that engender follower trust in the leader (Hollander, 1958, 1979, 1992).

> The essential point of the IC model is that leadership is a dynamic process of interpersonal evaluation: Individuals earn standing in the eyes of present or eventual followers and then have latitude for associations, including innovations associated with the leader role, that would be unacceptable for those without such status (Hollander, 1992, pp. 72–73)

Moreover, while Hollander (1995) says that leadership is "a shared experience, a voyage through time" and the leader is not a sole voyager, he also says that "a major component of the leader-follower relationship is the leader's perception of his or her self relative to followers, and how they in turn perceive the leader" (p. 55). Hence, consistent with an entity perspective, this model describes processes that are located in the perceptions and cognition of the individuals involved in the relationship.

Charismatic Relationships

A third entity perspective of relationship-based leadership is offered in views of charisma as a social relationship between leaders and followers (Jermier, 1993; Klein and House, 1995; Kark and Shamir, 2002; Howell and Shamir, 2005; Shamir, 1991; Weierter, 1997). This work began by considering the qualities of followers that lead them to identify with (Shamir, 1991) and react to leaders as charismatic (Shamir et al., 1993; Klein and House, 1995). It progressed into a consideration of the relationships that foster the perception of the leader as charismatic. For example, Weierter (1997) suggested that objective social forces define and set the potential for charismatic relationships and provide the framework within which subjective relationships are possible. Within his framework, different characteristics of followers (e.g., self-monitoring and self-concept clarity) establish the role of personal charisma and the charismatic message of the leader in varying types of charismatic relationships (socialized, personalized, and social contagion) and affect the extent to which the charismatic relationship is maintained or re-created.

Building on Weierter (1997) and others, Howell and Shamir (2005) integrate self-identity theory with two types of charismatic relationships – socialized and per-sonalized – to develop propositions about how followers' self-concepts influence the type of relationship they form with the leader. They consider how followers may affect various stages of the charismatic relationship process, including susceptibility to charismatic leadership, responses to charismatic influence, empowerment of the leader, and consequences of the relationship.

Relational and Collective Self

A similar perspective to the one just described is offered in work applying social cognition and identity to leadership (Hogg, 2001; Lord et al., 1999; Shamir et al., 1993; van Knippenberg et al., 2004). This work focuses on *social* self-concept – the extent to which individuals define themselves in terms of their relationships to others (Andersen and Chen, 2002; Brewer and Gardner, 1996; Lord et al., 1999). Within social self-concept are two distinct constructs: *relational self*, which emanates from relationships with significant others, and *collective self*, which is based on identity with a group or social category.

Relational Self. According to Brewer and Gardner (1996), "At the interpersonal level, the *relational self* is the self-concept derived from connections and role relationships with significant others" (p. 84). It is defined in terms of relationships with others in specific contexts – the sense that the self is construed from the responses and satisfaction of the other person in the relationship. Self-worth comes from the feeling that one is behaving appropriately and acceptably with respect to the other (Brewer and Gardner, 1996). This idea is further developed by Andersen and Chen (2002), who describe the self as "relational – or even entangled – with significant others" which "has implications for self-definition, self-evaluation, self-regulation, and most broadly, for personality functioning, expressed in relation to others" (p. 619).

Andersen and Chen (2002) suggest that an individual's overall repertoire of relational selves stem from all of his or her relationships, and serves as a major source of the interpersonal patterns the individual enacts and experiences in the course of everyday interpersonal life. Specifically, each individual has a relational self that is an embodiment of the unique self one experiences in relation to given significant others (i.e., a "significant-other representation"); when a significant-other representation is activated, the relevant relational self is activated accordingly. This infuses the working self-concept with knowledge that is a reflection of the self in relation to the significant other, setting into motion a "transference" of the significant-other representation to the individual who triggered it (Andersen and Chen, 2002).

In a specific application of these concepts to leadership, Ritter and Lord (2006) explore the issue of transference in leader-follower relationships by examining whether representations of relationships with former leaders that are cognitively stored by followers influence the perceptions of an incoming leader. In two studies, they demonstrate the existence of leader transference, with findings showing that leader effects on motivation and performance differ for individuals encountering a new leader who is similar versus one who is non-similar to previous leaders. Variables transferred from a similar leader are more likely to influence regulatory aspects of follower self-identity and goal setting than non-transferred variables.

Based on these results, the authors suggest that because transferred variables include information regarding how we see and feel about ourselves, the motivation to maintain positive self-views or eliminate negative self-views may be the underlying mechanism driving subsequent judgments and behavioral responses. The findings imply that leader transference processes may serve as a very early bias

in the formation of such relationships, such that followers of leaders who activate a negative significant-other representation may be quickly turned off to relationship development attempts, while followers of a new leader who triggers a positive significant-other representation may be predisposed to form a beneficial exchange relationship with that leader (Ritter and Lord, 2006).

Consistent with Ritter and Lord (2006), van Knippenberg et al. (2004) call for more research on *relational self-construal*, or the extended sense of self that is based on the individual's role relationships with the leader. Such relational self-construal "renders mutual benefit and mutual interest more salient, and motivates the individual to take the other's interest to heart" (van Knippenberg et al., 2004, p. 828). Variables of interest for relational leadership based on self-construal might include motivations (self-interest versus other-interest, cf., Uhl-Bien and Maslyn, 2003), affect (cf., Boyd and Taylor, 1998), and evaluations (i.e., whether feedback is reinforcing of relational self-worth or disconfirming, Lord et al., 1999). Moreover, van Knippenberg et al. (2004) suggest that personal identification with the leader may motivate followers to be loyal to the leader, and cause followers to experience the leader's interest as a shared interest, enhancing leadership effectiveness. Relational self-construal may also play a role in dyadic leadership processes, offering a different perspective to relationship development and formation than the role-making (Graen and Scandura, 1987) or social exchange (Liden et al., 1997; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000) explanations currently offered by LMX theory.

Collective Self. Contrary to *relational* self-identities, which emanate from relationships with significant others, *collective* social identities do not require personal relationships among members (Brewer and Gardner, 1996). Instead they come from identification with a group, an organization, or a social category. At the collective level, identification implies "a psychological 'merging' of self and group that leads individuals to see the self as similar to other members of the collective, to ascribe group-defining characteristics to the self, and to take the collective's interest to heart" (van Knippenberg et al., 2004, p. 828). This results in a "depersonalized" sense of self, "a shift towards the perception of self as an interchangeable exemplar of some social category and away from the perception of self as a unique person" (Turner et al., 1987, p. 50, as quoted in Brewer and Gardner, 1996, p. 83). Important at this level are the cognitive processes that help reinforce and promote the collective welfare of the group (Lord et al., 1999).

Hogg (2001) uses the concept of collective self to develop what he called a "Social Identity Theory of Leadership." Recognizing gaps in prior leadership theorizing that neglects consideration of the effects of larger social systems within which individuals are embedded, he offers a view of leadership as a "relational property" within a group: "Leaders exist because of followers and followers exist because of leaders" (Hogg, 2001, p. 185). Considering that *leader* and *follower* are interdependent roles embedded within a social system bounded by common group or category membership, he presents a model of leadership dynamics grounded in social identity cognitive processes of "self-categorization" and "depersonalization." Specifically, he proposes that leaders emerge, maintain their position, and are effective as a result of basic social cognitive processes among group members that cause

them to: (a) conceive of themselves in terms of an ingroup (i.e., self-categorization or identification with an ingroup prototype) (b) cognitively and behaviorally assimilate themselves to the ingroup prototypical features (i.e., cognitive and behavioral depersonalization, which produces normative or stereotypic attitudes and behavior), and (c) to perceive others through the lens of ingroup and outgroup prototypes rather than as unique individuals (i.e., perceptual depersonalization of others, producing homogenization) (Hogg, 2001). The implication is that if leadership is produced by these social psychological processes, then for an individual to be effective as a leader he/she must display the prototypical or normative characteristics of an ingroup member.

While the concepts of collective identity and collective self in the preceding paragraphs may sound like they more closely approximate a *relational* than *entity* perspective, they are included here because the processes described are primarily considered to occur in the "minds" of the individuals involved in the collectivity rather than in the social dynamic. In this way they appear more consistent with a *constructivist* (e.g., entity) than a *constructionist* (i.e., "relational") perspective. As described by Bouwen and Hosking (2000), in a social *constructivist* perspective, "internal" processes are understood to be influenced by social relations, whereas social *constructionism* centers communication processes as the vehicle in which self and world are in ongoing construction.

Social Networks

More recently, relationship-based leadership theory has begun to move beyond a focus on manager-subordinate exchanges to consider other types of leadership relationships that can occur in the broader organization (Balkundi and Kilduff, 2005; Graen and Graen, 2006; Offstein et al., 2006; Sparrowe and Liden, 1997, 2005; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000). Although these approaches consider relationships in the context of larger collectivities, they are still entity perspectives in that they focus on individual perceptions of relational quality and relational ties, rather than a socially constructed reality (Hosking et al., 1995).

In a much overdue integration of social network theory and leadership, Balkundi and Kilduff (2005) describe the key role that networks play in either supporting or negating the actions of individual leaders (whom they define as individuals who may or may not hold formal supervisory positions, cf., Bedeian and Hunt, 2006). According to Balkundi and Kilduff (2005), network theory has four core principles: the importance of relations between organizational actors; actors' embeddedness in social fields; the social utility of network connections (i.e., social capital); and the structural patterning of social life (Kilduff and Tsai, 2003). Building upon these principles, and particularly the importance of understanding interactions between actors rather than a focus solely on the attributes of actors, they present a model that allows one to "zoom" in and out (Ibarra et al., 2005) between individual level cognitions and the larger collectivities in which individual leaders function and interact. This model uses as a starting point cognitions in the minds of leaders,

and then expands to consider the broader social structure of the organization and the interorganizational realm (Balkundi and Kilduff, 2005).

This approach is an entity perspective because of its grounding in "cognitions in the mind of the leader" (p. 944), though at times the language used to describe the theoretical underpinnings sounds more *relational*:

> An early treatment of network research on organizations stated that "the social network approach views organizations in society as a system of objects (e.g., people, groups, organizations) joined by a variety of relationships" (Tichy et al., 1979, p. 507), whereas a more recent survey represented organizational network research as a movement "away from individualist, essentialist and atomistic explanations toward more relational, contextual, and systemic understandings" (Borgatti and Foster, 2003). The importance of understanding relationships as constitutive of human nature was stated as follows in a recent book: "Human beings are by their very nature gregarious creatures, for whom relationships are defining elements of their identities and creativeness. The study of such relationships is therefore the study of human nature itself" (Kilduff and Tsai, 2003, p. 131). Our network approach locates leadership not in the attributes of individuals but in the relationships connecting individuals. (Balkundi and Kilduff, 2005, p. 942)

Despite the relational tone in this quote, network theory has still not approached the *relational* (social reality) perspective described by Hosking and others (Hosking, 1988; Dachler, 1992). From a relational orientation, network theory would focus on the dynamic interactions through which relational networks are enacted, including those that occur between people as well as those between people and other social constructions (e.g., constructions of natural and "man-made" things and events, such as markets, fair trade, etc.) (cf., Hosking, 2007). Until now, network theory has appeared to be concerned with description (e.g., who talks to whom, who is friends with whom) and taxonomy (e.g., friendship network, advice network, ego network) of relational links, focusing primarily on "mapping" network interconnections (e.g., identifying the number and types of links that occur among individual actors), rather than on how relational processes emerge and evolve – e.g., how these interpersonal relationships develop, unfold, maintain, or dissolve in the context of broader relational realities (including other social constructions).

LMX-MMX Sharing Network Theory. In another integration of network theory and leadership, Graen (2006) offers a transformation of LMX theory to what he is now calling the "new LMX-MMX theory of Sharing Network Leadership" (p. 277). In this extension, he moves into what Graen and Uhl-Bien (1995) called "Stage 4" LMX research: expansion of dyadic partnerships to group and network levels. Building upon earlier work viewing organizations as systems of interdependent dyadic relationships, or *dyadic subassemblies* (Graen and Scandura, 1987), this approach recognizes the importance of both formal and informal influences on individual, team and network flows of behavior (cf., Katz and Kahn, 1978). Describing two different types of working relationships, he calls for researchers to move beyond the more limited focus on manager-subordinate relationships to consider informal leadership that occurs outside formal reporting relationships – to address both LMX and MMX, with "LMX being vertical and MMX is every direction but vertical" (p. 276).

Triads. Consistent with Graen's (2006) extension of LMX theory, Offstein et al. (2006) propose extending LMX research beyond the dyad by introducing the triadic level of analysis. Using recently developed statistical models from network analysis (such as *p∗*), they develop a theoretical framework that not only allows for ways to identify and analyze triads but also go beyond network theory to explain why particular triads form and how they function. Specifically, they develop and explore the constructs of competitive and collaborative interdependence and introduce the notion of multiplexity within LMX triads, which suggests that the structure of a triad may be predicated on the content and nature of the relations that exist (Offstein et al., 2006). They suggest that triads are formed and exist to fulfill either competitive or collaborative motives, and depending on which of these tensions dominates, the management and outcomes of those triads are distinctly different. Moreover, they draw from Simmel (1950), Heider's (1958) balance theory, and Krackhardt's (1999) concept of Simmelian ties to describe how triad interactions differ from those in dyads, due to the more complex interactive dynamics that accompany the introduction of an additional person to the relational exchange.

Rost's Postindustrial Leadership

Finally, another perspective that sees leadership as relationship-based, and also considers these relationships in the broader context of the organization, is Rost's (1991, 1995) definition of "postindustrial" leadership. Rost (1995) defines leadership as not what leaders do but what leaders and collaborators do *together*:

> Leadership is an influence relationship wherein leaders and collaborators influence one another about real changes that reflects their mutual purposes. Leaders compete with other leaders for collaborators. Collaborators develop a relationship with leaders of their own choosing, not necessarily those who have authority over them. Leaders and collaborators may change places. There may be a number of leadership relationships in one organization, and the same people are not necessarily the leaders in these different relationships. The intended changes reflect the purpose or vision that leaders and collaborators have for an organization. That purpose is usually not static but is constantly changing as leaders and collaborators come and go, as the influence process works its effects on both leaders and collaborators, and as circumstances, environment, and wants and needs impact on the relationship and the organization. (Rost, 1995, p. 134)

In this way, Rost (1995) sees leadership as a multidirectional influence relationship (i.e., it can act in any direction, not just from top down) in which leaders and collaborators are the actors in the relationship: "If leadership is what the relationship is, then both collaborators and leaders are all doing leadership. There is no such thing as followership" (p. 133). He does not suggest that all actors in the relationship are equal in influence (he says this can almost never be the case); the influence patterns are inherently unequal, and reflect intended real changes that reflect the mutual purposes of the leaders and collaborators. Moreover, he sees these relationships as operating within a larger context of the organization in which multiple influence relationships are interacting with one another.

Summary of Entity Perspectives

In sum, *entity* perspectives approach relational leadership from the standpoint of relationships lying in individual perceptions, cognition (e.g., self-concept), attributes, and behaviors (e.g., social influence, social exchange). They view leadership as an influence relationship in which individuals align with one another to accomplish mutual (and organizational) goals. These perspectives assume and center a realist ontology. They presume an individually constituted reality, which conveys a view of leadership as a more individually-based, causal set of factors in the design and development of organizations (Dachler, 1992). Moreover, they have primarily focused on leadership as manager-subordinate exchanges under the condition of already "being organized" (Hosking and Morley, 1988). Emerging work in relationship-based leadership, however, is beginning to call for expansion of relationship-based approaches beyond the manager-subordinate dyad (Balkundi and Kilduff, 2005; Graen, 2006; Offstein et al., 2006; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000), as well as recognition that leadership can occur in any direction (Rost, 1991, 1995) and that leadership is a relational property of a group (Hogg, 2001).

In contrast to *entity* approaches, *relational* perspectives (Hosking et al., 1995) see leadership as a fundamentally social-relational process of organizational design and change (Dachler, 1992). According to Dachler and Hosking (1995), because the focus in the individual *entity* perspective is on properties and behaviors of interacting individuals or organizations, *relational processes* are left largely untheorized: "What usually gets ignored are the social processes by which leadership is constructed and constantly in the making" (p. 15). Relations, "are given little explanatory power beyond an unexplicated view that influence results from relationships between certain properties possessed by interacting entities" (Dachler and Hosking, 1995, pp. 3–4). To explain what they mean by this, I turn next to a discussion of "relational" (multiple realities) perspectives.

The "Relational" (Multiple Realities) Perspective

A relational perspective assumes that social reality lies in the context of relationships – it "takes as primary the nexus of relations…, rather than focusing on discrete, abstracted phenomena" (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000, p. 551). Such a perspective is skeptical of the validity of mental models or inner representations – rather, it assumes that any formulations of thoughts and assumptions have to be understood in the context of ongoing conversations and relations (Holmberg, 2000):

> Whereas more traditional approaches… emphasize the interplay between the outer world and how this is represented in the minds of actors in ways that lead to more or less effective behaviour, a relational understanding is an opportunity to focus on processes in which both the actor and the world around him or her are created in ways that either expand or contract the space of possible action. (p. 181)

Relational perspectives do not adopt traditional organizational and management language of "structures" and "entities"; instead, they view organizations as elaborate

relational networks of changing persons, moving forward together through space and time, in a complex interplay of effects between individual organizational members and the system into which they enter (Abell and Simons, 2000; cf., Sayles, 1964). In this way, organizations change as a result of the "co-ordination" of people's language and actions in relation to each other *at all levels* and to the ever-changing larger socioeconomic environment (Abell and Simons, 2000). Moreover, power is not a commodity, concentrated within certain individuals, but is distributed throughout the social field (Foucault, 1977).

Applied to leadership, a relational perspective changes the focus from the individual to the collective dynamic (e.g., to combinations of interacting relations and contexts). It sees an appointed leader as one voice among many in a larger coordinated social process (Hosking, 2007). "Within a relational perspective appointed leaders share responsibility with others for the construction of a particular understanding of relationships and their enactment... leaders and those with whom they interact are responsible for the kinds of relationships they construct together" (Dachler and Hosking, 1995, p. 15). Whereas entity approaches focus their attention on the quality and type of interpersonal relationships that occur among interacting individuals and groups, relational perspectives emphasize the *relational* (i.e., "*in relation to*") – they view multiple realities of self and other as coevolving, or constructed "in relation" (Hosking, 2007).

Relational Constructionism

The most prominent work on relational perspectives in leadership is that of Hosking, Dachler, and colleagues (Dachler, 1988, 1992; Dachler and Hosking, 1995; Hosking, 1988; Hosking and Fineman, 1990; Hosking and Morley, 1988; Hosking et al., 1995). Calling for a change in leadership research strategy that switched attention from leaders, as persons, to leadership as process, Hosking (1988) argued that "*we need to understand leadership, and for this, it is not enough to understand what leaders do* [emphasis added]" (p. 147). Instead, we must focus on processes – the influential acts of organizing that contribute to the structuring of interactions and relationships. In these processes, interdependencies are organized in ways which, to a greater or lesser degree, promote the values and interests of the social order; definitions of social order are negotiated, found acceptable, implemented and renegotiated (Hosking, 1988).

Similarly, Dachler (1992) argued that the main focus of leadership, management and organization research would be better directed at *social processes* rather than specific content issues (e.g., leader behaviors, contents of employee motivation), since such content issues are "not 'facts of an objective organizational reality', but an emergent reflection of socially constructed realities in constant change" (p. 171; cf., Rost, 1991). Both Hosking (1988) and Dachler (1992) see leadership as a process of organizing that breaks down the traditional distinction between "leadership of people" and "the management of organization." Rather than searching for traits, behavioral styles, or identifying particular types of leaders or people management

techniques, a relational ontology raises different questions for leadership. For example, it asks how the processes of leadership and management in organizations emerge – e.g., how realities of leadership are interpreted within the network of relations; how organizations are designed, directed, controlled and developed on the bases of collectively generated knowledge about organizational realities; and how decisions and actions are embedded in collective sense-making and attribution processes from which structures of social interdependence emerge and in turn reframe the collectively generated organizational realities (see Dachler, 1992, p. 171).

The key difference between relational and entity perspectives is that relational perspectives identify the basic unit of analysis in leadership research as *relationships*, not individuals. However, relationships have a quite different meaning from entity perspectives:

> By relationships we do not refer to the still dominating paradigmatic conception of basically instrumental and influence-based notions of interpersonal, intra-group, inter-group and other forms of relationships that are still for the most part implied in current theories and practice of relational phenomena.... Relationships are inherently communicative... [They are] subject to multi-meanings since they are produced and heard by others within a multitude of interdependent contexts.... [and] *embedded*... in complex multiple and simultaneously activated relational networks. (Dachler, 1992, p. 173)

As described by Hosking (2007), the reference to relating should not be construed as a reference to one person communicating in face-to-face relations with another. *Relational* researchers are not speaking of inter-personal or intrapersonal processes between already known actors, but instead of the "relating of written and spoken language, as well as the relating of nonverbal actions, things, and events" (Hosking, 2007).

Consistent with this idea, the focus of relational perspectives is on processes of interaction, conversation, narrating, dialoguing, and multiloguing (Dachler and Hosking, 1995). As described by Abell and Simons (2000), relational perspectives adopt a narrative metaphor that engenders:

> A shift in our understanding of organizations as "things" towards experiencing them more as an array of stories, always in the act of construction whose meaning and relevance is context-dependent. Meaning is constantly negotiated and renegotiated in the relational act of conversation, deriving its meaning within the context of its particular sociocultural location. The world is seen as being brought into being via our collaborative "storying" of our experience, implying that as humans, we can actively intervene in constructing the societies and organizations we'd like to see emerge (p. 161).

Hence, in a relational constructionist perspective, what is and how we know it are viewed as ongoing achievements constructed in sequences of acts/events (Hosking, 2000).

Sayles (Lateral Relationships)

Although not purely a *relational* approach, Sayles (1964) description of organizations as systems in which the actions of the manager are embedded not only in

an organizational and environmental context but within a dynamic and unfolding history of role-bounded interpersonal relationships (Osborn, 1999) are more consistent with relational orientations than traditional entity perspectives. As described by Sayles, because the manager does not have a neatly bounded job but rather is placed in the middle of a stream of relationships, much, if not most of a manager's time is spent on lateral relationships (Ashforth, 1999). Management is an iterative and messy interpersonal process in which planning and decision-making are not separate managerial activities but rather a social process that is shaped by interactions with others (Stewart, 1999). "To the outsider, the organization may appear to be a stable monolith, but to the insider it more closely resembles a loosely coupled federation of departments" (Ashforth, 1999, p. 22). The organization is actively held together not by its policies and rules and procedures, but the web of interpersonal relationships that is built through ongoing interaction: "The one enduring objective [of managers] is the effort to build and maintain a predictable, reciprocating system or relationship" (Sayles, 1964, p. 258 as quoted in Ashforth, 1999, p. 23).

Drath and Murrell's "Relational Leadership"

The relational perspective is consistent with what Drath (2001) and Murrell (1997) individually refer to as *Relational Leadership*. According to Drath (2001), leadership is not personal dominance (the more traditional leader-centric models) or interpersonal influence (the two-way influence process described by LMX and Hollander's exchange theory) but rather a process of *relational dialogue* in which organizational members engage and interact to construct knowledge systems together. Leadership is generated by bringing in increasing numbers of increasingly responsible people to produce an unfolding of ever more involving and complex knowledge principles. This *relational dialogue* enhances the capacity of a system to accomplish leadership tasks at various levels of complexity. In this way, "the very idea of leadership – what it is and how it works and even how people even know it when they see it – is in the process of changing. … Nothing less than a revolution of mind is required, a shift in order of thought, a reformation of how leadership is known" (Drath, 2001, p. 124).

Murrell (1997) sees leadership as shared responsibility: "Leadership is a social act, a construction of a "ship" as a collective vehicle to help take us where we as a group, organization or society desire to go" (p. 35). He describes a model of relational leadership in which the focus is broadened to include "more parties to the process than just the leader," and "more than just the leader-follower exchange relationship" (p. 39). His approach moves past what he calls the hero myth that focuses on the behaviors and characteristics of the individual leader to understanding the collective act of leadership (Murrell, 1997):

> Relational leadership puts the emphasis of study squarely on human processes of how people decide, act, and present themselves to each other. In this study it is possible to

see relationships other than those built from hierarchy and those in which nurturing and supporting roles could be legitimized as means of influence. It is also possible... to envision transformational phenomenon where the social change process occurs well outside the normal assumptions of command and control. (p. 39)

Similar to Drath's (2001) view, Murrell states that by looking more deeply into the relational dynamics of organizations we may be on the verge of a completely new way of seeing leadership. He argues that by studying leadership that occurs relationally, researchers have an opportunity to account for many more of the social forces working to influence group and organizational behavior.

Summary of Relational Perspectives

In summary, relational perspectives view leadership as the processes by which social order is constructed and changed (Hosking and Morley, 1988). In a relational perspective, self and other are not separable but coevolving in ways that need to be accounted for in leadership research (cf., Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000). As described by Hosking (2007), a relational discourse does not view process as "intra" or "interpersonal" or as individual cognitions and acts, but rather as "local-cultural-historical" processes that are moving constructions of what is "real and good" (see also Gergen, 1994). Because of this, relational perspectives do not seek to identify attributes or behaviors of individual leaders but instead focus on the communication processes (e.g., dialogue, multilogue) through which relational realities are "made" (Hosking et al., 1995). They share an emphasis on communication and on language as a means of communication (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004); they see dialogue as a dialectical movement between and among human (and nonhuman) phenomena in which true interaction or real meaning emerges in the "space between" (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000). A relational perspective views leadership as social reality, emergent and inseparable from context (Dachler and Hosking, 1995; Hosking, 1988) – an iterative and messy social process that is shaped by interactions with others (Sayles, 1964).

Comparing Entity and Relational Perspectives of Relational Leadership

In comparing these two approaches, we can see common themes emerging across entity and relational perspectives that have important implications for leadership research and practice. The most basic underlying theme is the emphasis of both perspectives on relationships, though the meaning of relationship differs across the perspectives. Entity perspectives (e.g., relationship-based leadership) emphasize the importance of interpersonal relationships, while relational perspectives (e.g., relational constructionism) emphasize the importance of "relating" and relatedness (i.e., the processes and condition of being in relation to others and the larger social system in constructing the meaning and reality of leadership). The former focuses

primarily on leadership in conditions of already "being organized" while the latter considers leadership as "a process of organizing" (Dachler, 1992; Hosking and Morley, 1988).

A second theme is the call for leadership to be considered as separate from management and beyond the manager-subordinate dyad (Balkundi and Kilduff, 2005; Dachler, 1992; Graen, 2006; Hosking, 1988; Uhl-Bien, 2003). Relational leadership approaches allow for consideration of leadership relationships more widely than the traditional focus on the manager-subordinate dyad (Balkundi and Kilduff, 2005; Graen, 2006; Offstein et al., 2006; Seers, 2004; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000). Views of leadership as relational recognize leadership "wherever it occurs" (Hunt and Dodge, 2000) and do not fall into the common practice (Bedeian and Hunt, 2006) of using the terms *leader* and *manager* interchangeably (Drath, 2001; Hosking and Morley, 1988; Murrell, 1997; Rost, 1991; Uhl-Bien, 2005). Relational leadership also breaks down the distinction between leader and follower (Rost, 1995). It sees leadership not as management, or managers and subordinates, but instead as an interactive process engaged in by *participants* (Hosking, 1988; Hosking and Morley, 1988), *collaborators* (Rost, 1995), or *partners* (Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000).

A third theme is the need to better understand the context in which leadership is embedded. Work on relational and collective self (Brewer and Gardner, 1996; Ritter and Lord, 2006; Van Knippenberg et al., 2004) recognizes that self-concepts are constructed in the context of interpersonal relationships and larger social systems. Social identity theory of leadership (Hogg, 2001) offers a framework for how group members, acting in relation, engage in social psychological processes that determine whether another will be recognized as a leader of the group (cf., Meindl, 1995). Social constructionism sees leadership as embedded in context – person and context are interrelated social constructions made in ongoing local-cultural-historical processes (Dachler, 1988; Dachler and Hosking, 1995; Hosking, 2007). Moreover, network theory and extensions of LMX into networks recognize that dyadic relationships are part of a larger system of interacting relationships that comprise organizations and social systems (Balkundi and Kilduff, 2005; Graen and Graen, 2006; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000).

Despite these similarities, there are also key differences between these approaches (see Table 7.1). These differences lie primarily in the philosophical underpinnings and methodologies used to examine leadership. In relational constructionism, no attempt is made to raise one approach or perspective over others, nor is there any intention to suggest that there is *one true* variant of relational to constructionism (Hosking and Bouwen, 2000). Rather, the ontological emphasis is on leadership as something that cannot be known independently and outside of the scientific observer – what is seen is the leadership reality as leadership observers have constructed it (Dachler, 1988) (i.e., there are no leadership "truths," only multiple realities as constructed by participants and observers). In entity perspectives, it is assumed that there is an objective reality and the researcher's job is to uncover facts that reveal this reality; the ontological goal of knowing as completely as possible the real nature of leadership is answered through the authority of science (Dachler, 1988).

Table 7.1 Comparison of entity and relational perspectives

	Entity	Relational
Ontological assumptions	Realist (assumes an objective reality) • Views individuals in relationships as separate, independent bounded entities	Relational (assumes a social reality) • All social realities – all knowledge of self and of other people and things – are viewed as interdependent or co-dependent constructions existing and known only in relation
Approach to process	Cognitivist, Constructivist • Individuals performing internal cognitive operations (separable from external social influences) to make sense of and understand how things really are	Constructionist • Person and context are interrelated social constructions made in ongoing local-cultural-historical processes
Approach to methodology	Views relating as an individual act • These acts are reduced to one-way causal relations with feedback; therefore, the basic *unit of analysis is the individual* and studies are operationalized using individual-level variables	Assumes the *primacy of relations* • Focuses on communication as the medium in which all social constructions of leadership are continuously created and changed
View of leadership	Emphasizes the importance of interpersonal relationships • Focuses primarily on leadership in conditions of already "being organized"	Emphasizes the importance of "relating" and relatedness • Considers leadership as "a process of organizing"

As such, relational constructionism assumes a *relational ontology* (i.e., all social realities – all knowledge of self and of other people and things – are viewed as interdependent or co-dependent constructions existing and known only in relation, Hosking and Bouwen, 2000). Entity perspectives adopt a *realist ontology*, viewing individuals in relationships as separate, independent bounded entities (e.g., Dachler and Hosking, 1995; Gergen, 1994). Moreover, relational constructionism theorizes processes as *historical and social co-ordinations.* Entity perspectives adopt a *cognitivist, constructivist* approach that theorizes processes as individuals performing "internal" cognitive operations (separable from "external" social influences) to make sense of and understand how things really are (Hosking and Bouwen, 2000). In terms of methodology, relational perspectives assume the *primacy of relations* (Dachler and Hosking, 1995) and therefore focus on communication as the medium in which all social constructions of leadership are continuously created and changed. Entity perspectives view relating as an individual act, reduced to one-way causal relations with feedback; therefore, the basic *unit of analysis is the individual* (Dachler, 1988) and studies are operationalized using individual-level variables (e.g., surveys completed by individual respondents).

The difference in these approaches can be described as modern v. post-modern, but the point in illustrating these differences is not to set up a strict dichotomy or advocate one perspective over the other – in fact, quite the opposite. The intent is to

highlight the key assumptions made by each approach, as well as their strengths and weaknesses, so that we can gain a broader understanding of the issues and opportunities that each has to offer. With a better understanding, we may be able to identify ways to advance new learning and new perspectives for the study of relational leadership.

For example, if we set aside for a moment the key ontological and epistemological differences between entity and relational perspectives (e.g., whether reality lies in an individual or in a socially constructed reality) and focus on an objective of enhancing understanding about relational leadership, we can see that the biggest practical difference between the two perspectives is in how they approach, or operationalize, *process.* Entity perspectives, although they refer to process (e.g., social exchange, role-making), *never really examine* it. Approaches to study to date have been static, in the sense that if they do address process (which is rare) these examinations are limited "snapshots" of relational realities as viewed through the perceptions and reported behaviors of respondents (most often using a few variables operationalized with survey questions) (e.g., Uhl-Bien and Maslyn, 2003). Even with a greater number and more in-depth snapshots (e.g., longitudinal study), entity methodologies are limited in their ability to capture process, which requires a more dynamic examination of relational interactions as events emerge and unfold. Probably because of this, entity perspectives have done little to highlight the processes by which relationships develop to produce effective leadership – as Rousseau (1998) said, we know little about what is inside the "black box" of leader-member exchange.

Relational perspectives focus purely on process in local-historical-cultural contexts, to the extent that it is difficult to engage in meaningful theory-building in the traditional sense of the word. As noted by Bradbury and Lichtenstein (2000), relational perspectives, which are dynamic approaches, are much harder to generalize. Therefore they require new standards of validity, reliability, and trustworthiness that are often uncomfortable to entity researchers. Moreover, relational perspectives can be seen as counter to attempts to produce a more unified theory of leadership: "One reason for this may be the inherently complex and psychological assumptions of interdependence and intersubjectivity" (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000, p. 561). Meeting the requirements of interdependence (a more complex understanding of causality) and intersubjectivity (e.g., a strong sense of personal identity) may be difficult for most leadership researchers who received little exposure to these kinds of issues and methods in their research training programs (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000, p. 561).

Without an understanding of the differing assumptions of these approaches and their associated methodologies, and with a continued "parting of the ways" or a failure of entity and relational perspectives to "speak to one another," we risk replicating the current state of understanding, thereby limiting our ability to advance knowledge regarding relational leadership. Therefore, I argue along with Bradbury and Lichtenstein (2000), that a laudable goal is to *gain a measure of integration across numerous methodologies*: "Both normal, multipersonal science and relational science are necessary to generate a more complete understanding of the world" (p. 562).

With this as a background, I now turn to a discussion of *Relational Leadership Theory*. I intend Relational Leadership Theory (RLT) to represent a new framework for leadership theory and research. The objective of RLT is to enhance our understanding of the relational dynamics – the social processes – that comprise leadership and organizing. The key question asked by RLT is: What are the relational (social) processes by which leadership emerges and operates? I contend that we have little understanding currently of these relational dynamics because the vast majority of our existing studies of leadership have neglected to focus on process (Hosking, 1988; Hunt and Dodge, 2000; Hunt and Ropo, 1998; Ropo and Hunt, 2000). Therefore, RLT is, at its core, a *process theory* of leadership.

In presenting "Relational Leadership Theory" as an overarching framework for the study of the relational processes of leadership, I hope to contribute to creating what Hosking describes as a "transitional space" that includes "diverse and perhaps radically different 'paradigms" (Kuhn, 1970), "discourses" (Deetz, 2000) or "intelligibility nuclei" (Gergen, 1994)" (Hosking, 2007) that, when considered relative to one another, can help illuminate key issues that need to be explored to increase our overall understanding of relational leadership.

Toward a Framework for Relational Leadership Theory

In the opening quote of this article, Hunt and Dodge (2000) refer to relational perspectives as recognizing leadership wherever it occurs, not restricted to a single or even small set of formal or informal leaders, and in its strongest form, functioning as a dynamic system embedding leadership, environmental and organizational aspects. Hunt (2004) describes these approaches as including social network analysis (Burt, 1992), leader-member exchange (Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995), lateral and distributive approaches (Sayles, 1964; Osborn et al., 1980), and social construction views (Dachler, 1988). We see from the review above that, although these approaches can all be considered relational, what they mean by relational is quite different. Therefore, the purpose of this discussion is not to present a "unifying" framework, but rather to describe how these approaches can *engage* with one another to contribute to and advance a study of Relational Leadership Theory. By combining efforts and engaging more open dialogue and adaptive tension (Uhl-Bien et al., 2004), we hope to learn more about one of the most fundamental, but least understood, aspects of leadership: *the relational dynamics of leadership and organizing.*

Moreover, as indicated in the review above, Relational Leadership Theory is the study of both *relationships* (interpersonal relationships as outcomes of or as contexts for interactions) and *relational dynamics* (social interactions, social constructions) of leadership. These can be seen as representing the difference between leadership in the condition of "already being organized" versus the condition of leadership as "a process of organizing" (Hosking, 1988). While historically the former has tended to focus less on process (and more on identifying associations between existing variables) and the latter more on process (though in local processes more than in

broader contexts) (Hosking, 1988), in the sections below I describe how process can be considered in both perspectives. Before I do this, I offer a brief definition of relational leadership and how it can be distinguished from other types of social interactions.

Relational Leadership Theory

Relational Leadership Theory is offered as an overarching framework for the study of the relational dynamics that are involved in the generation and functioning of leadership. Contrary to other studies of leadership, which have focused primarily on the study of leadership *effectiveness*, Relational Leadership Theory focuses on the *relational processes* by which leadership is produced and enabled. It does not define leadership as holding a managerial position, nor does it use the terms *manager* and *leader* interchangeably (cf., Bedeian and Hunt, 2006; Hosking, 1988). It sees leadership as able to occur in any direction (Rost, 1991); in some variations, it may result in the breakdown of the distinction between who is leading and who is following (Rost, 1995), instead reflecting a mutual influence process (Hollander, 1978; Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1991; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000).

This is not to say that Relational Leadership Theory (RLT) precludes the study of manager-subordinate relationships. These relationships are still important to organizational functioning. However, Relational Leadership recognizes this as just one form of leadership – *managerial leadership* (cf., Uhl-Bien et al., 2004; Sjostrand et al., 2001) – and that other forms may be just as important (e.g., peer, network, upward, adaptive leadership). From a relational leadership perspective, "it is possible to see relationships other than those built from hierarchy... and to envision transformational phenomenon where the social change process occurs well outside the normal assumptions of command and control" (Murrell, 1997, p. 39). Non-hierarchical relationships that are nurturing and supporting could be legitimized as means of influence, and thus forms of leadership (cf., Fletcher, 2004; Gronn, 2002; Murrell, 1997; Pearce and Conger, 2003; Seers, 2004; Uhl-Bien, 2003). This focus breaks away from the prevailing socially constructed notion that position in an organization is necessarily a reflection of leadership. It allows us to account for more of the social forces working to influence group leadership (Gronn, 1999), and to view leadership responsibility as lying with the collective and not just the individual leader (Brown and Hosking, 1986; Fletcher, 2004; Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001; Murrell, 1997).

Once we remove leadership from the study of managers, however, the challenge is: How do we identify whether the relational process is "really" leadership? There are multiple ways in which we could address this. One is to use an approach adopted by Dachler and Hosking who identify leadership as a modified form of "status" or influence. For example, as defined by Dachler (1988), relational leadership would address the processes by which: "(1) some social order is constructed; and (2) structurally differentiated groups emerge who proceed to perceive each other's 'qualifications' within constructed realities that become operative through the relationships inherent in or constitutive of social order"(p. 270). Hosking and

Morley (1988) described leaders as those who consistently contribute certain kinds of acts to leadership processes. For example, participants are leaders when they: "(1) consistently make effective contributions to social order, and (2) are both expected and perceived to do so by fellow participants" (Hosking and Morley, 1988). This is also consistent with Hogg's social identity theory of leadership. As described by Hogg (2005): "Leadership is a relational term – it identifies a relationship in which some people are able to persuade others to adopt new values, attitudes and goals, and to exert effort on behalf of those values, attitudes, and goals" (Hogg, 2005, p. 53).

From this perspective, relational processes are leadership when the social influence that is generated contributes to the emergence of social order (i.e., emergent coordination) and new approaches, attitudes, goals, etc. (i.e., change). This perspective is consistent with the preceding review in which leadership was primarily described as some type of social influence relationship (e.g., Drath, 2001; Hollander, 1978; Graen and Uhl-Bien, 2005; Rost, 1991; Sayles, 1964), as well as with views that see leadership as change (Bryman, 1996). However, it differs in that it adds a perspective of *leadership as an outcome* (M.D. Mumford, personal communication, February, 2005) – i.e., leadership is generated in social dynamics – rather than leadership as a formal (managerial) role that drives organizational processes.

Another, but perhaps more problematic, option is to predefine what a leadership relationship is, and then measure whether characteristics of that type of relationship are perceived by members in the relationship. This is the approach used in LMX theory and Graen's (2006) new version of LMX-MMX network leadership sharing theory (2006). Although this approach is valuable for identifying types of interpersonal relational contexts in which individuals operate, as House and Aditya (1997) point out, a problem with this approach is that it is too limiting to a specific type of relationship. In other words, although it tells us about LMX relationships (or MMX, which is LMX applied to a peer), we learn little about other types of relationships that may occur in leadership interactions. Additionally, for our purposes here, we learn little about relational processes.

Therefore, in the section below, I adopt an approach more consistent with the former, and offer a general definition of *relational leadership as a social influence process through which emergent coordination (i.e., evolving social order) and change (i.e., new values, attitudes, approaches, behaviors, ideologies, etc.) are constructed and produced.* This definition should be applicable to both entity and relational perspectives, since relating is a dynamic social process that can be seen as acts of individuals (operating in a context) *or* as social constructions of interacting relationships and contexts; it can be seen as either creating (i.e., "organizing" condition) or shifting (i.e., "organized" condition) organizational processes (i.e., social order and action).

Moreover, Relational Leadership Theory as I present it here is not a *theory* in the traditional sense of the word. It is an overarching framework for a variety of methods, approaches, and even ontologies that explore the relational dynamics of leadership and organizing. As described by Fairhurst and Putnam (2004), "The function of theory, as Deetz (1992, p. 74) purported, is conception not definition. In other words, theory should direct attention and focus rather than characterize

the intrinsic nature of stable objects or mirror fixed attributes among them" (p. 8). Therefore, in the paragraphs below I attempt to direct attention and focus on potential questions that could be addressed by RLT, as well as describe some possibilities for how these can be tested considering the potential contributions of both entity and relational perspectives. In this discussion, I do not seek to identify whether entity or relational offers the "best" way to approach the study of relational leadership, but rather, how our perspectives will be informed if we view issues from multiple orientations (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004).

The discussion below is grounded in the following assumptions (cf., Hosking, 1988; Hosking and Fineman, 1990). First, leadership relationships are not restricted to hierarchical positions or roles. Instead relational leadership occurs throughout the organization: To study the leadership that occurs relationally is to "go more deeply into how human behavior is influenced at all levels" (Murrell, 1997, p. 39). Second, leadership relationships are identified by interactive dynamics that contribute to emergence or direction of social order and action. Third, relational leadership, at a collective level, gets at the "whole process by which social systems change and... the socially constructed roles and relationships developed that might be labeled leadership" (Murrell, 1997, p. 39). Finally, all relationships occur in a context and this context is important to the study of relational dynamics (cf., Osborn et al., 2002).

Exploring Relational Dynamics

The focus of Relational Leadership Theory research is a better understanding of the relational dynamics – the social processes – that comprise leadership and organizing. Relational Leadership Theory sees leadership as the process by which social systems change through the structuring of roles and relationships (Fletcher, 2004; Graen and Scandura, 1987; Seers, 2004; Senge and Kaeufer, 2001; Uhl-Bien, 2003, 2005). For example, as described by Murrell (1997):

> As leadership is shared and created jointly, so is the responsibility for structuring the organization... What this means is that people work together to define and develop their relationships not just as questions of influence and leadership, but also as questions of how to keep all of this moving and working together. How to... [work] becomes a question of how we relate to each other and work together. In answering this we lay out a structure... this structure becomes a product of the leadership relationships we envision as appropriate to our condition... [In this way] we become more consciously influencing the structure rather than only it influencing us. (p. 40)

Therefore, a key question asked by RLT is: How do people work together to define their relationships in a way that generates leadership influence and *structuring*? As noted in the quote, this question can be addressed from the standpoint of individual relationships (e.g., How do people work together to define their relationships?) and at a collective level (e.g., How do we keep all this moving and working together such that we become more consciously influencing the structure rather than only it influencing us?). In this way, relationships become both an "outcome" of

investigation (i.e., How are leadership relationships produced?) and a context for action (i.e., How do relational dynamics contribute to structuring?).

Relationships as an Outcome. As an outcome, the focus of investigation is on how leadership relationships are produced by social interactions. For example, relationships involve some type of connection or bond between an individual and another (a person, group, collectivity, organization, etc.). In some cases, social interactions produce these bonds, and in other cases they do not. However, we do not know why relational bonds form in some instances but not in others, or what factors contribute to formation of relational bonds. When social bonds (i.e., relationships) do result, they can be characterized as strong ties or weak ties (Granovetter, 1973), as well as more positive or more negative in nature (Uhl-Bien and Maslyn, 2003). Moreover, they can be motivated by instrumental or affective drives (cf., Kellett et al., 2002). Once formed, they provide a context for behaviour – they establish norms and expectations that serve as guidelines for future behavior. However, they remain dynamic, e.g., if norms are violated, the relationship is threatened and relationships can dissolve or re-form in positive or negative ways (Uhl-Bien et al., 2000). Interestingly, although there is much theorizing about how leadership relationships develop (Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1991; Hogg, 2001; Hollander, 1964; Liden et al., 1997; Offstein et al., 2006; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000), we still know very little about these processes, and this is especially true if we expand our view of leadership beyond the manager-subordinate dyad.

Research addressing questions of how and why relational bonds develop as they do in leadership could adopt more of an entity perspective, a relational perspective, or a combination of the two. For example, research could examine *constructivist* concepts of how individuals' "internal" processes relate to how they understand and respond in the development of relationships within a larger context of social relations (an entity perspective). This work could continue the focus described above on social self-concept (relational and collective) (Brewer and Gardner, 1996) and relational self-construal (van Knippenberg et al., 2004) as they function within relational processes, as well as consider how other variables identified as important antecedents in LMX research actually play out in relational dynamics (for reviews see Gerstner and Day, 1997; Liden et al., 1997; Schriesheim et al., 1999; Uhl-Bien et al., 2000). Moreover, it could consider the role of *relational skills* in leadership development (Uhl-Bien, 2003, 2005), exploring whether some individuals possess a greater understanding of how to more consciously manage exchange processes (e.g., testing and reciprocity) to develop more effective relationships in a broader range of relational situations (e.g., lower v. higher relational favorability) than others, and whether and how individuals' implicit theories of relationships play a role in relationship development processes (Uhl-Bien, 2005).

Other research could adopt a constructionist perspective and examine the "skillful processes" of relationship development (Hosking, 1988) – the interrelated social, cognitive, and political processes which reflect and effect differing values and interests of participants. As described by Hosking (1988), these processes involve and create interdependence and inequalities of influence. Leaders are those who make especially salient contributions, and are recognized as such because participants

construe their influence as compatible with the means by which they seek to satisfy their own values and interests. Research on relationships from this perspective would focus on the sense-making activities of participants (Weick, 1995), and investigate: (a) acts which influence social constructions (b) those who are perceived to make the most consistent and significant contributions, and (c) why they are perceived to do so (Hosking, 1988). This represents a view of leadership as a political process in which different participants seek to further different, sometimes conflicting values and interests. Therefore, such research would consider values and interests of participants as important reflections of "participants' constructions of their pasts, presents, and futures, along with understandings of cause-effect relationships, the conditions for acceptance or rejection of influence attempts, and distributions of resources" (Hosking, 1988, p. 154). These values and interests would be considered as central to participants' constructions of their social order and the terms in which they will "do business" (Hosking, 1988) or engage in relationship development.

A pure entity approach could pursue a research program on models like that of Uhl-Bien et al. (2000) or Barry and Crant (2000), while a pure constructionist approach would adopt a post-modern discourse that "problematizes" leadership, e.g., assuming multiple realities and examining processes to consider how leadership relationships are variously constructed in different local-cultural-historical processes (Bryman, 1996; Hosking, 2007). A combined approach would take a static model like that of Uhl-Bien et al. (2000) (see Fig. 1 in their article) or Barry and Crant (2000) and "bring it to life" by operationalizing it with a richer methodology than using only surveys (and would examine broader relationships than just the manager-subordinate dyad). "Rich" discourse analysis methodologies are available in the communication literature (see Putnam and Fairhurst, 2001, for a review) that can help "set in motion" the models by gathering information about the processes that occur among the interacting individuals (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004). Such techniques include sociolinguistics, conversation analysis, cognitive linguistics, pragmatics (including speech acts, ethnography of speaking and interaction analysis), semiotics, rhetorical and literary studies, critical discourse analysis, and postmodern studies (Fairhurst and Putnam, 2004). One could also use a combination of theoretical modeling with qualitative approaches (Bryman, 2004), grounded theory (Brown and Gioia, 2002; Parry and Meindl, 2002), case studies (Hunt and Ropo, 1998; Ropo and Hunt, 2000), etc.

Research could also examine the role of emotions in relational processes. Emotions play a key part in human interactions and dynamics (Ashkanasy et al., 2000; Humphrey, 2002; Rafaeli and Worline, 2001); therefore, future research could explore how various types of emotion are involved in leadership relationship development and, similarly, leadership emergence. As noted by Ashforth and Humphrey (1995), the literature on emotions is divided between the (a) social constructionist and symbolic interactionist and (b) naturalist and positivist views – perspectives which differ in the extent to which they see emotions as cognitively or socially mediated. These differences, consistent with those between entity and relational perspectives, imply different directions in terms of how relational leadership and

emotions could be explored. The former suggests research directions that focus on how different emotions influence the way individuals perceive and interact with others in the process of interpersonal relationship development (e.g., an entity perspective), while the latter would explore how emotion is constructed and spread (i.e., emotional contagion) in the human interactions that take place in ongoing local-cultural-historical contexts.

Relational Dynamics as a Process of Structuring. As a process of structuring, or organizing, the focus of investigation in Relational Leadership Theory would be on how relational interactions contribute to the generation and emergence of social order. In contrast to traditional leadership perspectives that view structure as the prescribed framework of the organization, directed by managerial leaders, research investigating Relational Leadership Theory as a process of structuring (Barley, 1986; Fombrun, 1986; Giddens, 1984; Weick, 2001) or organizing (Dachler and Hosking, 1995; Hosking and Fineman, 1990) would view structure as "patterned regularity of interaction," in which leadership can result from everyday practices that organizational members participate in to construct the very "rules" of organizing that they follow (Willmott, 1981, p. 470; see also Hatch, 1997; Sjostrand et al., 2001).

For example, structuration theory assumes that organizations bring people into regular interaction with one another, and these repeated interactions are the foundation of social order (Dachler and Hosking, 1995; Hatch, 1997). Although the repeated interactions generate an image that organization is solid and stable and that formal managerial leaders are "in charge" of events that occur around them (Sjostrand et al., 2001; Streatfield, 2001), in reality, structures are highly dynamic and open to many small changes because they depend on the daily reproduction of the interaction patterns that constitute them: "If interaction patterns are disrupted or changed, then the social structure is opened to change" (Hatch, 1997, p. 180). Since leadership is often considered as creating change in organizations (Bryman, 1996), the implication of structuring is that leadership not only occurs through the managerial role, but also in the "disruptions" of daily interaction patterns that effect change in structure. These changes could be intentional or not intentional (i.e., "emergent," Uhl-Bien et al., 2004).

For example, Hosking (1988) describes how order is negotiated through a process of decision-making in which one or more participants conclude that the status quo "is changing, is likely to change, or is in need of change, and takes action on that basis" (p. 156). When this occurs, individuals interpret actual and potential events in relation to values and interests and in relation to beliefs about causal connections (i.e., relationships and networks) (Hosking, 1988). As individuals make decisions about whether and how to approach changes to the status quo, the role of networking becomes important:

> The concept of "networking" here is used to refer to a major organizing activity, one which may make all the difference to whether or not changes in the *status quo* are understood and handled in ways that protect or further values and interests.... Networking helps participants to (a) build up their knowledge bases and other resources; (b) come to understand the processes through which they can promote their values and interests, and (c) translate their understandings into action. (Hosking, 1988, pp. 158–159)

Therefore, the networking of decision-makers is an important element in establishing the context for generation of social order. However, this conceptualization of networking differs from traditional social network research in that research in this area would not adopt a methodology that maps and identifies the contacts between people. Instead it would focus on the *dynamics* of relationships (weak and strong) and investigate how processes of exchange, influence, and associated values and interests play into these processes (Hosking, 1988). It would examine the nature in which order is negotiated, both within and between groups, and explore what "counts" as leadership in contributing to this process.

Moreover, although structure is most apparent when interactions occur regularly, non-repetitive interactions and even *non-interactions* among particular groups or individuals may contribute to the social structure of the organization (Hatch, 1997). We can see the importance of this in the example of a strategic reorganization in which top managers may decide to reorganize but the success of their change effort is fully reliant upon whether individuals within the organization decide to change their daily patterns of interaction (Hatch, 1997). Traditional leadership theory has considered this likelihood, but has done so from the standpoint of resistance to change in which "subordinates" are noncompliant with directives from above. A structuring perspective sees the locus of leadership as not in the top managers and the compliance of followers but, rather, in the *interactions* that constitute the social structure (see also Weick, 2001). Managerial leaders can attempt to influence these patterns of interaction, but they are only one set of players in the larger relational dynamic of structuring, and often their control is much more illusory than traditional leadership theory suggests (Sjostrand et al., 2001; Streatfield, 2001).

In sum, the above examples are intended to illustrate some of the possibilities that can be considered by Relational Leadership Theory, but avenues for exploring relational leadership dynamics offer a wide variety of opportunities for future investigation. A critical factor to understand throughout this discussion, however, is that a key difference between relational leadership study and more traditional approaches is the recognition that leadership *is* relational, and cannot be captured by examination of individual attributes alone. Because of this, relational leadership, even when entity approaches are adopted, cannot be fully explained by more traditional leadership variables that do not regard relational context: "Influence in the abstract tells us little about the progress of the system represented by 'leader-with-followers-seeking-results'" (Hollander, 1979, p. 162). For example, "Style is a *relational concept,* and fundamentally different from the idea of a trait because its effect and utility very much depend upon the *reaction of followers*" (Hollander, 1979, p. 163). Therefore, variables that are used should truly capture a relational understanding, and methodologies should provide richer insight into *process* and context than has been offered by traditional leadership approaches.

Such methodologies can be found in Bradbury and Lichtenstein's (2000) review of relationality in organizational research. For example, relational leadership research may benefit from an understanding of participatory methods. These methods are "highly interpersonal, requiring direct communication between everyone involved in the project as to the goals, means, and outcomes of this research"

(Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000, p. 558). As such, they do not presume that the researcher *knows* the best design or the most appropriate issues to explore – rather the researcher and the organizational participants work in collaboration: "Participatory methods allow participants to cooperate in generating mutually defined projects that are accomplished through the interactions between researchers and subjects (Heron, 1996). These projects often create social change in the process of research engagement..." (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000, p. 558).

Participatory methods include "insider/outsider research" (Bartunek and Louis, 1996), "appreciative inquiry" (Cooperrider and Srivasta, 1987), and "action science" (Argyris et al., 1985). In *insider/outsider research* the inside knowledge of a specific organization's practices is combined with a general knowledge of an organizational scholar; data are collected and analyzed in a fully collaborative effort between the insider and the scholar, and the result is model-driven understandings that can be better applied by organizational insiders (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000). *Appreciative inquiry* does not adopt the more traditional "problem-focused" orientation, as it can act as a constraint on human imagination and contribution to knowledge but, rather, posits that "we largely create the world which we later discover" (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000, p. 558). In this approach, the researcher enters the situation with an open mind and allows the issues to reveal themselves. *Action science* is based on consultative interactions between researcher and subjects where participants are encouraged to inquire into the set of assumptions and presuppositions that support their behaviors. "The goal is to create 'usable knowledge' (Argyris et al., 1985, p. ix) by articulating features of a science to inform how we might change the circumstances in which we live" (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000, p. 558). This approach posits that the generation and testing of propositions concerning the variables embedded in the status quo are a core concern to all.

Relational leadership exploring structuring would benefit from qualitative approaches that "uncover the invisible assumptions that generate social structures" (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000, p. 557). Overall, this type of work benefits from intensive ethnographic and interview-based methodologies (Barley, 1986; Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000; Cooren and Fairhurst, 2004). Bradbury and Lichtenstein (2000) offer some examples, including Schein's model of organizational culture (which provides analytic methods for studying assumptions and beliefs that give rise to culture) and Barley's (1986) structurationist analysis (which combines qualitative ethnographic data with quantitative analysis of coded data to see how beliefs translate into tangible organizational systems and structures).

Finally, relational leadership might also explore the role of aesthetics in leadership processes (Grint, 2005; Heron and Reason, 2001; Ropo, 2005; Strati, 2000). As defined by Taylor and Hansen (2005), the study of aesthetics is concerned with knowledge that is created from sensory experiences, e.g., how one's thoughts, feelings and reasoning around their sensory experiences might inform their cognitions. Aesthetics can serve as a means for *connection* (Taylor and Hansen, 2005), as patterns that connect mind and nature (Bateson, 1979), or provide a sense of belonging to or being a part of a social group (Sandelands, 1998). For example, aesthetics can

be sensory reactions to leadership images (Jackson and Guthey, 2007) – images that evoke a sense of connection to a depicted leader.

On a more personal level, Ropo (2005) describes aesthetic perspectives to leadership that include reactions to beauty and the presence of the living body (e.g., the body as a source of knowing, lived experiences, sensuous perceptions). It could also include senses evoked from the physical places and spaces in which humans encounter one another with emotions, multiple voices, listening, touching, and bodily presence (Ropo, 2005). As applied to relational leadership, this perspective could focus on the aesthetic qualities of either the leader or the follower (i.e., an entity view), as well as consideration of how the relationship looks and feels – e.g., the extent to which it appeals to one's aesthetic sensibilities, both consciously and unconsciously (i.e., the relational view) (B. Jackson, personal communication, September, 2006).

Conclusion

Relationships – rather than authority, superiority, or dominance – appear to be key to new forms of leadership (Drath, 2001). Yet, while relationships are at the heart of many of the new approaches emerging in the leadership literature, e.g., distributed (Gronn, 2002), distributive (Brown and Gioia, 2002), shared (Pearce and Conger, 2003), post-heroic (Fletcher, 2004), and complexity (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001), we know surprisingly little about how relationships form and develop in the workplace. Moreover, investigation into the relational dynamics of leadership as a process of organizing has been severely overlooked in leadership research (Hosking, 1988; Hosking and Fineman, 1990).

The predominant approach to the study of relationships in leadership has been LMX theory. Although LMX informs us about the value of relationships, and provides a theoretical description of how dyadic relationships form, it has likely reached stage 3 of Reichers and Schneider's "evolution of concepts" framework (Hunt and Dodge, 2000). As noted by Murrell (1997), the breakthrough in the LMX literature is in legitimizing a question of how the relationships of leaders and followers better explain or help direct leadership research. However, to contribute to understanding it would have to evolve into more sociological or social-psychology orientations and go beyond the limited focus on dyadic or leader-follower singular relationships (Murrell, 1997). To do this, we need to morph what we have learned into a next stage of evolution – into a framework for the study of Relational Leadership Theory. We need to move beyond a focus on the manager-subordinate dyad or a *measure* of relationship quality to address the question of, what are the relational *dynamics* by which leadership is developed throughout the workplace?

Such an approach opens up the possibility for relational leadership as moving toward a more "postindustrial" model of leadership (Rost, 1991) – one that is not hierarchical, can address various forms of relationships (not just dyadic and not just "leader-follower" relationships), focuses on relational dynamics (rather than a more static state of relational quality with antecedents and outcomes), and allows

us to consider leadership as a process of structuring (Giddens, 1984; Murrell, 1997). Investigating relational leadership will require richer methodologies than over-reliance on cross-sectional survey data using limited measures (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000; Bryman, 2004). It would allow us to consider *processes* that are not just about the quality of the relationship or even the type of relationship, but rather about the social dynamics by which leadership relationships form and evolve in the workplace. In this way, it moves leadership beyond a focus on simply getting alignment (and productivity) or a manager's view of what is productive, to a consideration of how leadership arises through the interactions and negotiation of social order among organizational members.

References

Abell, E. and S. Simons (2000). How much can you bend before you break: An experience of using constructionist consulting as a tool for organizational learning in the corporate world. *European Journal of Work & Organizational Psychology* 9(2):159–175.

American Heritage Dictionary (2000). *American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, 10th edn. Boston, MA: Houghton Mifflin Company.

Andersen, S.M. and S. Chen (2002). The relational self: An interpersonal social-cognitive theory. *Psychological Review* 109(4):619–645.

Argyris, C., R. Putnam and D. Smith (1985). *Action Science*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Ashforth, B.E. (1999). Leadership as an embedded process: Some insights from Sayles' *Managerial Behavior*. *The Leadership Quarterly* 10(1):21–24.

Ashforth, B.E. and R.H. Humphrey (1995). Emotions in the workplace: A reappraisal. *Human Relations* 48(2):97–125.

Ashkanasy, N.M., C. Hartel and W.J. Zerbe (eds.) (2000). *Emotions in the Workplace: Theory, Research and Practice*. Westport, CT: Quorum Books.

Balkundi, P. and M. Kilduff (2005). The ties that lead: A social network approach to leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly* 16(6):941–961.

Barley, S.R. (1986). Technology as an occasion for structuring: Evidence from observations of ct scanners and the social order of radiology departments. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 31(1):78–108.

Barry, B. and J.M. Crant (2000). Dyadic communication relationships in organizations: An attribution/expectancy approach. *Organization Science* 11(6):648–664.

Bartunek, J.H. and M. Louis (1996). *Insider/Outsider Team Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Bateson, G. (1979). *Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity*. New York, NY: E.P. Dutton.

Bedeian, A.G. and J.G. Hunt (2006). Academic amnesia and vestigial assumptions of our forefathers. *The Leadership Quarterly* 17(2):190–205.

Blau, P.M. (1964). *Exchange and Power in Social Life*. New York, NY: Wiley.

Borgatti, S.P. and P.C. Foster (2003). The network paradigm in organizational research: A review and typology. *Journal of Management* 29(6):991–1013.

Bouwen, R. and D.M. Hosking (2000). Reflections on relational readings of organizational learning. *European Journal of Work & Organizational Psychology* 9(2):267–274.

Boyd, N.G. and R.R. Taylor (1998). A developmental approach to the examination of friendship in leader-follower relationships. *The Leadership Quarterly* 9(1):1–25.

Bradbury, H. and B. Lichtenstein (2000). Relationality in organizational research: Exploring the "space between". *Organization Science* 11(5):551–564.

Brewer, M.B. and W. Gardner (1996). Who is this "we"? Levels of collective identity and self representations. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology* 71(1):83–93.

Brower, H.H., F.D. Schoorman and H.H. Tan (2000). A model of relational leadership: The integration of trust and leader-member exchange. *The Leadership Quarterly* 11(2): 227–250.

Brown, H. and D.M. Hosking (1986). Distributed leadership and skilled performamce as successful organization in social movements. *Human Relations* 39(1):65–79.

Brown, M.E. and D.A. Gioia (2002). Making things 'click': Distributive leadership in an online division of an offline organization. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13(4):397–419.

Bryman, A. (1996). Leadership in organizations. In S.R. Clegg, C. Hardy and W. Nord (eds.), *Handbook of Organization Studies*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 276–292.

Bryman, A. (2004). Qualitative research on leadership: A critical but appreciative review. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13(4):397–419.

Burt, R.S. (1992). *Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Cooperrider, D.L. and S. Srivasta (1987). Appreciative inquiry into organizational life. *Research in organizational change and development* 1:129–169.

Cooren, F. and G.T. Fairhurst (2004). Speech timing and spacing: The phenomenon of organizational closure. *Organization* 11(6):793–824.

Dachler, H.P. (1988). Constraints on the emergence of new vistas in leadership and management research: An epistemological overview. In J.G. Hunt, B.R. Baliga, H.P. Dachler and C.A. Schriesheim (eds.), *Emerging Leadership Vistas*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books/D.C. Heath and Co., pp. 261–285.

Dachler, H.P. (1992). Management and leadership as relational phenomena. In M.v. Cranach, W. Doise and G. Mugny (eds.), *Social Representations and Social Bases of Knowledge*. Lewiston, NY: Hogrefe and Huber, pp. 169–178.

Dachler, H.P. and D.M. Hosking (1995). The primacy of relations in socially constructing organizational realities. In D.M. Hosking, H.P. Dachler and K.J. Gergen (eds.), *Management and Organization: Relational Alternatives to Individualism*. Aldershot: Avebury, pp. 1–29.

Deetz, S. (1992). *Democracy in an Age of Corporate Colonization*. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

Deetz, S. (2000). Describing differences in approaches to organisation science. In P. Frost, R. Lewin and D. Daft (eds.), *Talking About Organisation Science*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Drath, W. (2001). *The Deep Blue Sea: Rethinking the Source of Leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass and Center for Creative Leadership.

Fairhurst, G.T. and L. Putnam (2004). Organizations as discursive constructions. *Communication Theory* 14(1):5–26.

Fletcher, J.K. (2004). The paradox of postheroic leadership: An essay on gender, power, and transformational change. *The Leadership Quarterly* 15(5):647–661.

Fombrun, C.J. (1986). Structural dynamics within and between organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 31(3):403–421.

Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison*. London: Allen and Lane.

Gergen, K.J. (1994). *Realities and Relationships*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Gerstner, C.R. and D.V. Day (1997). Meta-analytic review of leader-member exchange theory: Correlates and construct issues. *Journal of Applied Psychology* 82(6):827–844.

Giddens, A. (1984). *The Constitution of Society: Outline of the Theory of Structuration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Graen, G. (2006). Post Simon, March, Weick, and Graen: New leadership sharing as a key to understanding organizations. In G. Graen and J.A. Graen (eds.), *Sharing Network Leadership*, vol. 4. Greenwich, CT: Information Age, pp. 269–279.

Graen, G. and J.A. Graen (2006). *Sharing Network Leadership*, vol. 4. Greenwich, CT:Information Age.

Graen, G.B., M.A. Novak and P. Sommerkamp (1982). The effects of leader-member exchange and job design on productivity and satisfaction: Testing a dual attachment model. *Organizational Behavior & Human Performance* 30(1):109–131.

Graen, G.B. and T. Scandura (1987). Toward a psychology of dyadic organizing. In B.M. Staw and L.L. Cummings (eds.), *Research in Organizational Behavior*, vol. 9. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, pp. 175–208.

Graen, G. and M. Uhl-Bien (1991). The transformation of professionals into self-managing and partially self-designing contributors: Toward a theory of leadership-making. *Journal of Management Systems* 3(3):49–54.

Graen, G. and M. Uhl-Bien (1995). Relationship-based approach to leadership: Development of leader-member exchange (LMX) theory of leadership over 25 years: Applying a multi-level multi-domain perspective. *The Leadership Quarterly* 6(2):219–247.

Granovetter, M. (1973). The strength of weak ties. *American Journal of Sociology* 78:1360–1380.

Grint, K. (2005). *Leadership: Limits and Possibilities*. Basingstoke: Palgrave-Macmillan.

Gronn, P. (1999). *A realist view of leadership*. Paper presented at the Educational leaders for the new millenium – Leaders with soul, ELO-AusAsia On-line Conference.

Gronn, P. (2002). Distributed leadership as a unit of analysis. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13(4): 423–451.

Hatch, M.J. (1997). *Organization Theory: Modern, Symbolic, and Postmodern Perspectives*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Heider, F. (1958). *The Psychology of Interpersonal Relations*. New York, NY: Wiley.

Heron, J. (1996). Quality as primacy of the practical. *Qualitative Inquiry* 2(3):41–56.

Heron, J. and P. Reason (2001). The practice of co-operative inquiry: Research "with" rather than "on" people. In P. Reason and H. Bradbury (eds.), *Handbook of Action Research: Participative Inquiry and Practice*. London: Sage, pp. 179–188.

Hogg, M.A. (2001). A social identity theory of leadership. *Personality & Social Psychology Review* 5(3):184–200.

Hogg, M.A. (2005). Social identity and leadership. In D.M. Messick and R.M. Kramer (eds.), *The Psychology of Leadership: New Perspectives and Research*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum, pp. 53–80.

Hollander, E.P. (1958). Conformity, status, and idiosyncrasy credit. *Psychological Review* 65: 117–127.

Hollander, E.P. (1964). *Leaders, Groups, and Influence*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Hollander, E.P. (1978). *Leadership Dynamics: A Practical Guide to Effective Relationships*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Hollander, E.P. (1979). The impact of Ralph M. Stogdill and the Ohio State leadership studies on a transactional approach to leadership. *Journal of Management* 5(2):157–165.

Hollander, E.P. (1992). The essential interdependence of leadership and followership. *Current Directions in Psychological Science* 1(2):71–75.

Hollander, E.P. (1995). Ethical challenges in the leader-follower relationship. *Business Ethics Quarterly* 5(1):55–65.

Hollander, E.P. and J.W. Julian (1969). Contemporary trends in the analysis of leadership processes. *Psychological Bulletin* 71(5):387–397.

Holmberg, R. (2000). Organizational learning and participation: Some critical reflections from a relational perspective. *European Journal of Work & Organizational Psychology* 9(2): 177–188.

Homans, G.C. (1961). *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace, and World.

Homans, G.C. (1974). *Social Behavior: Its Elementary Forms*, Rev. edn. New York, NY: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich.

Hosking, D.M. (1988). Organizing, leadership, and skilful process. *Journal of Management Studies* 25(2):147–166.

Hosking, D.M. (2000). Ecology in mind, mindful practices. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology* 9(2):147–158.

Hosking, D.M. and R. Bouwen (2000). Organizational learning: Relational-constructionist approaches: An overview. *European Journal of Work & Organizational Psychology* 9(2): 129–132.

Hosking, D.M., H.P. Dachler and K.J. Gergen (eds.) (1995). *Management and Organization: Relational Alternatives to Individualism*. Brookfield, CT: Avebury.

Hosking, D. and S. Fineman (1990). Organizing processes. *Journal of Management Studies* 27(6):583–604.

Hosking, D.-M. and I.E. Morley (1988). The skills of leadership. In J.G. Hunt, B.R. Baliga, H.P. Dachler and C.A. Schriesheim (eds.), *Emerging Leadership Vistas*. Lexington, MA: Lexington Books/D. C. Heath and Co., pp. 80–106.

Hosking, D.M. (2007). Not leaders, not followers: A post-modern discourse of leadership processes. In B. Shamir, R. Pillai, M. Bligh and M. Uhl-Bien (eds.), *Follower-Centered Perspectives on Leadership: A Tribute to the Memory of James R. Meindl* (pp. 243–264). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

House, R.J. and R. Aditya (1997). The social scientific study of leadership: Quo vadis? *Journal of Management* 23:409–474.

Howell, J.M. and B. Shamir (2005). The role of followers in the charismatic leadership process: Relationships and their consequences. *Academy of Management Review* 30(1):96–112.

Humphrey, R.H. (2002). The many faces of emotional leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13:493–504.

Hunt, J.G. (2004). What is leadership? In J. Antonakis, A.T. Cianciolo and R.J. Sternberg (eds.), *The Nature of Leadership*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, pp. 19–48.

Hunt, J. and G.E. Dodge (2000). Leadership déjà vu all over again. *The Leadership Quarterly Review of Leadership* 11(4):435–458.

Hunt, J.G. and A. Ropo (1998). Multi-level leadership: Grounded theory and mainstream theory applied to the case of general motors. In F. Dansereau and F.J. Yammarino (eds.), *Leadership: The Multiple-Level Approaches*. Westport, CT: JAI Press, pp. 289–328.

Ibarra, H., M. Kilduff and W. Tsai (2005). Zooming in and out: Connecting individuals and collectivities at the frontiers of organizational network research. *Organization Science* 16(4):359–371.

Jackson, B. and E. Guthey (2007). Putting the visual into the social construction of leadership. In B. Shamir, R. Pillai, M. Bligh and M. Uhl-Bien (eds.), *Follower-Centered Perspectives on Leadership: A Tribute to the Memory of James R. Meindl* (pp. 167–186). Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Jacobs, T.O. (1971). *Leadership and Exchange in Formal Organizations*. Alexandria, VA: Human Resources Research Organization.

Jermier, J. (1993). Introduction – Charismatic leadership: Neo-weberian perspectives. *The Leadership Quarterly* 4(3-4):217–233.

Kark, R. and B. Shamir (2002). The influence of transformational leadership on followers' relational versus collective self-concept. *Academy of Management Proceedings*.

Katz, D. and R.L. Kahn (1978). *The Social Psychology of Organizations*. New York, NY: Wiley.

Kellett, J.B., R.H. Humphrey and R.G. Sleeth (2002). Empathy and complex task performance: Two routes to leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13(5):523–545.

Kilduff, M. and W. Tsai (2003). *Social Networks and Organizations*. London: Sage.

Klein, K.J. and R.J. House (1995). On fire: Charismatic leadership and levels of analysis. *The Leadership Quarterly* 6(2):183–198.

Krackhardt, D. (1999). The ties that torture: Simmelian tie analysis in organizations. *Research in the sociology of organizations* 16:183–210.

Kuhn, T.S. (1970). *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, 2nd edn. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Liden, R.C., R.T. Sparrowe, S.J. Wayne and G.R. Ferris (1997). Leader-member exchange theory: The past and potential for the future. In *Research in Personnel and Human Resources Management*, vol. 15. New York, NY/Greenwich, CT: Elsevier Science/JAI Press, pp. 47–119.

Likert, R. (1961). *New Patterns of Management*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.

Lipman-Blumen, J. (1996). *Connective Leadership: Managing in a Changing World*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Lord, R.G., D.J. Brown and S.J. Freiberg (1999). Understanding the dynamics of leadership: The role of follower self-concepts in the leader/follower relationship. *Organizational Behavior and Human Decision Processes* 78:1–37.

Lord, R.G. and K.J. Maher (1991). *Leadership and Information Processing: Linking Perceptions and Performance*. Boston, MA: Unwin Hyman.

Marion, R. and M. Uhl-Bien (2001). Leadership in complex organizations. *The Leadership Quarterly* 12:389–418.

Meindl, J. (1995). The romance of leadership as a follower-centric theory: A social constructionist approach. *The Leadership Quarterly* 6(3):329–341.

Murrell, K.L. (1997). Emergent theories of leadership for the next century: Towards relational concepts. *Organization Development Journal* 15(3):35–42.

Offstein, E.H., R. Madhavan and D.R. Gnyawali (2006). Pushing the frontier of LMX research: The contribution of triads. In G. Graen and J.A. Graen (eds.), *Sharing Network Leadership*, vol. 4. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Osborn, R.N. (1999). Sayles' managerial behavior: Its impact on understanding leadership and nuclear power safety. *The Leadership Quarterly* 10(1):13–15.

Osborn, R.N., J.G. Hunt and L.R. Jauch (1980). *Organization Theory*. New York, NY: John Wiley.

Osborn, R.N., J.G. Hunt and L.R. Jauch (2002). Toward a contextual theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13:797–837.

Parry, K. and J. Meindl (eds.) (2002). *Grounding Theory and Leadership in Research: Issues and Perspectives*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing.

Pearce, C.L. and J.A. Conger (2003). *Shared Leadership: Reframing the Hows and Whys of Leadership*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Phillips, A.S. and A.G. Bedeian (1994). Leader-follower exchange quality: The role of personal and interpersonal attributes. *Academy of Management Journal* 37(4):990–1001.

Putnam, L.L. and G.T. Fairhurst (2001). Discourse analysis in organizations. In F.M. Jablin and L. Putnam (eds.), *The New Handbook of Organizational Communication*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, pp. 78–136.

Rafaeli, A. and M. Worline (2001). Individual emotion in work organizations. *Social Science Information* 40(1):95–123.

Ritter, B.A. and R.G. Lord (2006). *Leadership transference: The impact of previous leaders on follower performance*. Working Paper.

Ropo, A. (2005). *Aesthetic perspective to leadership*. Paper presented in a professional development workshop at the National Academy of Management Meeting, Honolulu, Hawaii.

Ropo, A. and J.G. Hunt (2000). Leadership and organizational change: Some findings from a processual grounded theory study. In J.A. Wagner III (ed.), *Advances in Qualitative Organizational Research*, vol. 2. Stamford, CT: JAI Press, pp. 169–200.

Rost, J.C. (1991). *Leadership for the Twenty-First Century*. London: Praeger.

Rost, J.C. (1995). Leadership: A discussion about ethics. *Business Ethics Quarterly* 5(1): 129–142.

Rousseau, D.M. (1998). LMX meets the psychological contract: Looking inside the black box of leader-member exchange. In F. Dansereau and F.J. Yammarino (eds.), *Leadership: The Multiple-Level Approaches (Contemporary and Alternative)*. Stamford, CT: JAI Press, pp. 149–154.

Sandelands, L.E. (1998). *Feeling and Form in Social Life*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield.

Sayles, L. (1964). *Managerial Behavior: Administration in Complex Organizations*. New York, NY: McGraw Hill.

Schriesheim, C.A., S.L. Castro and C.C. Cogliser (1999). Leader-member exchange (LMX) research: A comprehensive review of theory, measurement, and data-analytic practices. *The Leadership Quarterly* 10(1):63–113.

Seers, A. (2004). Leadership and flexible organizational structures: The future is now. In G.B. Graen (ed.), *New Frontiers of Leadership*, vol. 2. Greenwich, CT: Information Age, pp. 1–31.

Senge, P. and K. Kaeufer (2001). Communities of leadership or no leadership at all. In S. Chowdhury (ed.), *Management 21c*. New York, NY: Prentice Hall, pp. 186–204.

Shamir, B. (1991). Meaning, self and motivation in organizations. *Organization Studies* 12(3): 405–425.

Shamir, B., R.J. House and M.B. Arthur (1993). The motivational effects of charismatic leadership: A self-concept based theory. *Organization Science* 4(4):577–594.

Simmel, G. (1950). *The Isolated Individual and the Dyad. The Sociology of Georg Simmel*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press, pp. 118–136.

Sjostrand, S.-E., J. Sandberg and M. Tyrstrup (eds.) (2001). *Invisible Management: The Social Construction of Leadership*. London: Thompson Learning.

Sparrowe, R. and R. Liden (1997). Process and structure in leader-member exchange. *Academy of Management Review* 22(2):522–552.

Sparrowe, R. and R. Liden (2005). Two routes to influence: Integrating leader-member exchange and social network perspective. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 50(4):505–535.

Stewart, R. (1999). Some observations concerning Sayles' managerial behavior. *The Leadership Quarterly* 10(1):17–20.

Stogdill, R.M. and A.E. Coons (1957). *Leader Behavior: Its Description and Measurement*. Columbus, OH: Ohio State University Press.

Stogdill, R.M., O.S. Goode and D.R. Day (1962). New leader behavior description subscales. *Journal of Psychology: Interdisciplinary and Applied* 54(2):259–269.

Strati, A. (2000). The aesthetic approach to organization studies. In H. Hopfl (ed.), *The Aesthetics of Organization*. London: Sage, pp. 13–34.

Streatfield, P.J. (2001). *The Paradox of Control in Organizations*. London: Routledge.

Taylor, S.S. and H. Hansen (2005). Finding form: Looking at the field of organizational aesthetics. *Journal of Management Studies* 42(6):1211–1231.

Tichy, N.M., M.L. Tushman and C. Fombrun (1979). Social network analysis for organizations. *Academy of Management Review* 4(4):507–519.

Turner, J.C., M.A. Hogg, P. Oakes, S. Reicher and M. Wetherell (1987). *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory*. Oxford, UK: Basil Blackwell.

Uhl-Bien, M. (2003). Relationship development as a key ingredient for leadership development. In S. Murphy and R. Riggio (eds.), *The Future of Leadership Development*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc., pp. 129–147.

Uhl-Bien, M. (2005). Implicit theories of relationships in the workplace. In B. Schyns and J.R. Meindl (eds.), *Implicit Leadership Theories: Essays and Explorations*. Greenwich, CT: Information Age Publishing, pp. 103–133.

Uhl-Bien, M., G. Graen and T. Scandura (2000). Implications of leader-member exchange (LMX) for strategic human resource management systems: Relationships as social capital for competitive advantage. In G.R. Ferris (ed.), *Research in Personnel and Human Resource Management*, vol. 18. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, pp. 137–185.

Uhl-Bien, M., R. Marion and B. McKelvey (2004). *Complexity leadership theory: Shifting leadership from the industrial age to the knowledge era*. Paper presented at the National Academy of Management Meeting, New Orleans, LA.

Uhl-Bien, M. and J.M. Maslyn (2003). Reciprocity in manager-subordinate relationships: Components, configurations, and outcomes. *Journal of Management* 29(4):511–532.

van Knippenberg, D., B. van Knippenberg, D. de Cremer and M.A. Hogg (2004). Leadership, self, and identity: A review and research agenda. *The Leadership Quarterly* 15(6):825–856.

Weick, K.E. (1995). *Sensemaking in Organizations*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Weick, K.E. (2001). *Making Sense of the Organization*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Weierter, S.J.M. (1997). Who wants to play "follow the leader?" A theory of charismatic relationships based on routinized charisma and follower characteristics. *The Leadership Quarterly* 8(2):171–193.

Willmott, H. (1981). The structuring of organizational structure: A note. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 26:470–474.

Chapter 8
Complexity Leadership Theory: Shifting Leadership from the Industrial Age to the Knowledge Era

Mary Uhl-Bien, Russ Marion, and Bill McKelvey

As we advance deeper in the knowledge economy, the basic assumptions underlining much of what is taught and practiced in the name of management are hopelessly out of date... Most of our assumptions about business, technology and organization are at least 50 years old. They have outlived their time. (Drucker, 1998, p. 162)

We're in a knowledge economy, but our managerial and governance systems are stuck in the Industrial Era. It's time for a whole new model. (Manville and Ober, 2003, Jan., p. 48)

According to Hitt (1998), "we are on the precipice of an epoch," in the midst of a new economic age, in which twenty-first century organizations are facing a complex competitive landscape driven largely by globalization and the technological revolution. This new age is about an economy where knowledge is a core commodity and the rapid production of knowledge and innovation is critical to organizational survival (Bettis and Hitt, 1995; Boisot, 1998). Consistent with these changes, much discussion is taking place in the management literature regarding challenges facing organizations in a transitioning world (Barkema et al., 2002; Bettis and Hitt, 1995; Child and McGrath, 2001).

Yet, despite the fact that leadership is a core factor in whether organizations meet these challenges, we find little explicit discussion of leadership models for the Knowledge Era. As noted by Davenport (2001), while it has become clear that the old model of leadership was formed to deal with a very different set of circumstances and is therefore of questionable relevance to the contemporary work environment, no clear alternative has come along to take its place. Osborn et al. (2002) argue that "a radical change in perspective" about leadership is necessary to go beyond traditionally accepted views, because "... the context in which leaders operate is both radically different and diverse. The world of traditional bureaucracy exists but it is only one of many contexts" (p. 798).

M. Uhl-Bien (✉)
Institute for Innovative Leadership, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68588-0497, USA
e-mail: muhlbien@unlnotes.unl.edu

We begin to address this shortcoming by developing a framework for leadership in the fast-paced, volatile context of the Knowledge Era (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001; Schneider and Somers, 2006). Our model extends beyond bureaucracy premises by drawing from complexity science, the "study of the behaviour of large collections of ... simple, interacting units, endowed with the potential to evolve with time" (Coveney, 2003, p. 1058). Using the concept of complex adaptive systems (CAS), we propose that leadership should be seen not only as position and authority but also as a *complex interactive dynamic – a network-based process in which a collective impetus for action and change emerges when heterogeneous agents interact in ways that produce new patterns of behavior or new modes of operating* (cf., Heifetz, 1994; Heifetz and Linsky, 2002; Parks, 2005).

Complex adaptive systems (CAS) are a basic unit of analysis in complexity science. CAS are neural-like networks of interacting, interdependent agents who are bonded in a cooperative dynamic by common goal, outlook, need, etc. They are changeable structures that emerge at multiple, overlapping hierarchies within interactive, interdependent networks of agents. Like the individuals that comprise them, they are linked with one another in a dynamic, interactive network. Hedlund (1994) describes a generally similar structure relative to managing knowledge flows in organizations that he called "*temporary constellations* of people and units" (p. 82). CAS emerge naturally in social systems (Homans, 1950; Roy, 1954). They are capable of solving problems creatively and are able to learn and adapt quickly (Carley and Hill, 2001; Carley and Lee, 1998; Goodwin, 1994; Levy, 1992).

The leadership framework we propose, which we call Complexity Leadership Theory, seeks to take advantage of the dynamic capabilities of CAS. The goal of Complexity Leadership Theory (CLT) is to explore strategies for fostering organizational and sub-unit creativity, learning, and adaptability by enabling appropriate CAS dynamics within contexts of hierarchical coordination. In CLT, leadership has two broad functions: it *structures* and *enables* conditions such that CAS are able to optimally address creative problem solving, adaptability, and learning (referring to what we will call, administrative and enabling leadership); and it is a *generative dynamic* that underlies emergent change activities (what we will call, adaptive leadership).

This leadership perspective is premised on several critical notions. First, the informal dynamic we describe is embedded in context (Hunt, 1999; Osborn et al., 2002). Context in complex adaptive systems is not an antecedent, mediator, or moderator variable; rather, it is the fabric of interactions among agents (people, ideas, etc.), hierarchical divisions, organizations, and environments. CAS and leadership are socially constructed in and from this context – a context in which patterns over time must be considered and where history matters (Cilliers, 1998; Dooley, 1996; Hosking, 1988; Osborn et al., 2002).

Second, a complexity leadership perspective requires that we distinguish between *leadership* and *leaders*. Complexity leadership is a complex interactive dynamic that is productive of adaptive outcomes (for discussion of adaptive outcomes see Heifetz,

1994), and leaders are individuals who act in ways that influence this dynamic and the outcomes. Leadership theory has largely focused on *leaders* – the actions of individuals. It has not examined the dynamic, complex systems and processes that comprise *leadership*. Because of this, earlier models have been criticized for being incomplete and impractical (Gronn, 1999; Osborn et al., 2002; see also Hunt, 1999). Rost (1991) refers to this as the problem of focusing on the "periphery" and "content" of leadership with disregard for the essential nature of what leadership is – a *process* (cf., Hunt, 1999; Mackenzie, 2006).

Third, complexity leadership perspectives help us to distinguish leadership from managerial positions or "offices" (a bureaucratic notion, see Heckscher, 1994). The vast majority of leadership research has studied leadership in formal, most often managerial, roles (Bedeian and Hunt, 2006; Rost, 1991) and has not adequately addressed leadership that occurs throughout the organization (Schneider, 2002). To address this, we will use the term *administrative leadership* to refer to formal acts that serve to coordinate and structure organizational activities, and introduce the concept of *adaptive leadership* to refer to the leadership that occurs in informal dynamics throughout the organization (cf., Heifetz, 1994; Heifetz and Linsky, 2002).

Finally, complexity leadership occurs in the face of adaptive challenges (typical of the Knowledge Era) rather than technical problems (more characteristic of the Industrial Age). As defined by Heifetz (1994; Heifetz and Laurie, 2001), adaptive challenges are problems that require new learning, innovation, and new patterns of behavior. They are different from technical problems, which can be solved with knowledge and procedures already in hand (Parks, 2005). Adaptive challenges are not amenable to authoritative fiat or standard operating procedures, but rather require exploration, new discoveries, and adjustments. Day (2000) refers to this as the difference between management and leadership development. Management development involves the application of proven solutions to known problems, whereas leadership development refers to situations in which groups need to learn their way out of problems that could not have been predicted (e.g., disintegration of traditional organizational structures).

In the sections below we lay out the dynamics we call Complexity Leadership Theory. This framework describes how to enable the learning, creative, and adaptive capacity of complex adaptive systems (CAS) within a context of knowledge producing organizations. Complexity Leadership Theory seeks to foster CAS dynamics while at the same time enabling control structures for coordinating formal organizations and producing outcomes appropriate to the vision and mission of the organization. We begin by describing the leadership requirements of the Knowledge Era and the limitations of current leadership theory for meeting these requirements. We then describe why CAS dynamics are well suited for the needs of the Knowledge Era, and how leadership can work to enable these dynamics. We conclude with a presentation of the Complexity Leadership Theory framework and a description of the three key leadership functions and roles that comprise this framework: adaptive leadership, enabling leadership, and administrative leadership.

Leadership in the Knowledge Era

The Knowledge Era is characterized by a new competitive landscape driven by globalization, technology, deregulation, and democratization (Halal and Taylor, 1999). Many firms deal with this new landscape by allying horizontally and vertically in "constellations" (Bamford et al., 2002). In the process, they actively interconnect the world, creating what some have called a "*connectionist era*" (Halal, 1998; Miles, 1998). Through multinational alliances, firms in developing countries now find themselves engaging increasingly in manufacturing activities as producers or subcontractors, while firms in developed economies focus more on information and services (Drucker, 1999). The latter face the need to exhibit speed, flexibility, and adaptability, with the organization's absolute rate of learning and innovation and the pace of its development becoming critical to competitive advantage (Eisenhardt, 1989; Jennings and Haughton, 2000; Prusak, 1996). In other words, firms in developed economies sustain superior performance in the Knowledge Era by promoting faster learning (Child and McGrath, 2001).

This new age creates new kinds of challenges for organizations and their leaders (Barkema et al., 2002; Schneider, 2002). In this post-industrial era, the success of a corporation lies more in its social assets – its corporate IQ and learning capacity – than in its physical assets (McKelvey, 2001; Quinn et al., 2002; Zohar, 1997). In the industrial economy, the challenge inside the firm was to coordinate the physical assets produced by employees. This was mainly a problem of optimizing the production and physical flow of products (Boisot, 1998; Schneider, 2002). In the new economy, the challenge is to create an environment in which knowledge accumulates and is shared at a low cost. The goal is to cultivate, protect, and use difficult to imitate knowledge assets as compared to pure commodity-instigated production (Nonaka and Nishiguchi, 2001). It is a problem of enabling intellectual assets through distributed intelligence and cellular networks (Miles et al., 1999) rather than relying on the limited intelligence of a few brains at the top (Heckscher, 1994; McKelvey, 2008). Moreover, the focus is on speed and adaptability (Schilling and Steensma, 2001). Rather than leading for efficiency and control, appropriate to manufacturing (Jones, 2000), organizations find themselves leading for adaptability, knowledge and learning (Achtenhagen et al., 2003; Volberda, 1996).

To achieve fitness in such a context, complexity science suggests that organizations must increase their complexity to the level of the environment rather than trying to simplify and rationalize their structures. Ashby (1960) refers to this as the law of requisite variety; McKelvey and Boisot (2003) customized this law for complexity theory and call it the *Law of Requisite Complexity*. This law states simply that it takes complexity to defeat complexity – a system must possess complexity equal to that of its environment in order to function effectively. Requisite complexity enhances a system's capacity to search for solutions to challenges and to innovate because it releases the capacity of a neural network of agents in pursuit of such optimization. That is, it optimizes a system's capacity for learning, creativity, and adaptability.

As Cilliers (2001) observed, traditional approaches to organization have done the opposite: they have sought to simplify or to rationalize the pursuit of adaptation.

He argues that simplifying and rationalizing strategies lead to structures that define fixed boundaries, compartmentalized organizational responses, and simplified coordination and communication (e.g., Simon, 1962). However, such approaches are limited because they do not represent reality – boundaries are not fixed perimeters, but rather, are sets of functions that dynamically interpenetrate one another (Cilliers, 2001). To meet the needs of requisite complexity, Knowledge Era leadership requires a change in thinking away from individual, controlling views, and toward views of organizations as complex adaptive systems that enable continuous creation and capture of knowledge. In short, knowledge development, adaptability, and innovation are optimally enabled by organizations that are complexly adaptive (possessing requisite complexity).

Limitations of Current Leadership Theory

Despite the needs of the Knowledge Era, much of leadership theory remains largely grounded in a bureaucratic framework more appropriate for the Industrial Age (Gronn, 1999). One such element of the bureaucratic concept is the traditional assumption that control must be rationalized. Much of leadership theory is developed around the idea that goals are rationally conceived and that managerial practices should be structured to achieve those goals. As Chester Barnard (1938) framed it, the role of leadership is to align individual preferences with rational organizational goals. Philip Selznick (1948) observed that irrational social forces tend to subvert the formal goals of an institution.

Consistent with this, the dominant paradigm in leadership theory focuses on how leaders can influence others toward desired objectives within frameworks of formal hierarchical organizational structures (Zaccaro and Klimoski, 2001). This paradigmatic model centers on issues such as motivating workers toward task objectives (House and Mitchell, 1974), leading them to produce efficiently and effectively (Zaccaro and Klimoski, 2001) and inspiring them to align with and commit to organizational goals (Bass, 1985). Macro-level theories, such as those that address "upper-echelon leadership," are further premised in bureaucratic notions (Heckscher, 1994) that likewise mute uncontrolled behaviors; other models advocate a charismatic, visionary approach that is said to cascade down from the CEO to lower levels (Conger, 1999; Yukl, 2005). Leadership research has explored the implementation of these top-down organizational forms by drilling deeper and deeper into human relations models (aimed at alignment and control; Gronn, 1999; Huxham and Vangen, 2000).

Without realizing it, the inability to move beyond formal leaders and control inherent in traditional bureaucratic mindsets (Heckscher, 1994) limits the applicability of mainstream leadership theories for the Knowledge Era (Stacey et al., 2000; Streatfield, 2001). There seems to be a contradiction between the needs of the Knowledge Era and the reality of centralized power (Child and McGrath, 2001) that leadership theory has not yet addressed. "The dominant paradigms in organizational theory are based on stability seeking and uncertainty avoidance through

organizational structure and processes. ... We believe that those paradigms are inadequate for global, hyper-competitive environments, although their replacements are not clear yet" (Ilinitch et al., 1996, p. 217). As noted by Child and McGrath (2001), "Scholars, managers, and others face a widespread challenge to bureaucracy's central benefit, namely, its utility as a vehicle for strong economic performance in the new era" (p. 1136). Leadership scholars face the same challenge:

> The... challenge is to identify alternatives [to bureaucracy] and develop theories that account for them. It is not trivial. How can we improve upon, even replace, such a painstakingly well-developed concept of how human beings collectively best accomplish their objectives? (Child and McGrath, 2001, p. 1136)

We address this challenge by developing a model of leadership grounded not in bureaucracy, but in complexity. This model focuses on leadership in contexts of dynamically changing networks of informally interacting agents. As will be elaborated below, the premise of complexity leadership is simple: Under conditions of knowledge production, managers should *enable*, rather than suppress or align, informal network dynamics. Early researchers, such as Lewin (1952) and Homans (1950), glimpsed the potential of such informal dynamics (however vaguely, by complexity theory standards); but the thrust of many follow-up studies of their findings assumed that such informal dynamics were problematic for achieving organizational goals (Roy, 1954; Selznick, 1957). Several recent initiatives have explored the potential of decentralized authority or leadership, including Pearce and Conger's work with shared leadership (Pearce and Conger, 2003), Gronn's work on distributed leadership (Gronn, 2002) and Fletcher (2004) and Volberda (1996) on flexible forms. None, however, have developed a model that addresses the nature of leadership for enabling network dynamics, one whose epistemology is consistent with *connective*, *distributed*, *dynamic*, and *contextual* views of leadership.

We propose such a model in this article, one that we call, Complexity Leadership Theory. This new perspective is grounded in a core proposition: *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.*

There are several orienting assumptions that underlie the complexity leadership model; these assumptions will be developed further in this article:

- Complexity Leadership Theory (CLT) is necessarily enmeshed within a superstructure of planning, organizing, and missions. CLT seeks to understand how that administrative superstructure can function to both coordinate complex dynamics and enhance the overall flexibility of their organizations (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2007).
- Complexity Leadership Theory presumes hierarchical structuring and differing adaptive functions across levels of the hierarchy.
- The unit of analysis for Complexity Leadership Theory is the CAS. The boundaries of CAS are variously defined depending on the intent of the researcher, but however identified, they are, without exception, open systems.
- Leadership, however it is defined, only exists in, and is a function of, interaction.

Before we elaborate these ideas in our framework below, however, we first must understand why complex adaptive systems are well suited for the Knowledge Era and the dynamics that drive these systems. Therefore, we turn next to an overview of CAS dynamics that will serve as a basis for discussion in subsequent sections.

The Argument for Complexity Leadership Theory: CAS Dynamics

Earlier we defined complex adaptive systems (or CAS) as open, evolutionary aggregates whose components (or *agents*) are dynamically interrelated and who are cooperatively bonded by common purpose or outlook. We also introduced Complexity Leadership Theory as a model for leadership in and of complex adaptive systems (CAS) in knowledge-producing organizations. We now ask, "What is so unique about complex adaptive systems theory that it fosters a fresh look at leadership?" and "Why would we want to enable CAS dynamics anyway?"

To answer these questions we need to better understand the structure of CAS and how they are different from systems perspectives offered previously in the organizational literature. As described by Cilliers (1998), complex adaptive systems are different from systems that are merely complicated. If a system can be described in terms of its individual constituents (even if there are a huge number of constituents), it is merely *complicated*; if the interactions among the constituents of the system, and the interaction between the system and its environment, are of such a nature that the system as a whole cannot be fully understood simply by analyzing its components, it is *complex* (for example, a jumbo jet is *complicated*, but mayonnaise is *complex,* Cilliers, 1998).

Dooley (1996) describes a CAS as an aggregate of agents that "behaves/evolves according to three key principles: order is emergent as opposed to predetermined, the system's history is irreversible, and the system's future is often unpredictable." In CAS, agents, events, and ideas bump into each other in somewhat random fashion, and change emerges from this dynamic interactive process. Because of this randomness, and the fact that complex dynamics can exhibit sensitivity to small perturbations (Lorenz, 1993), CAS are rather organic and unpredictable (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001). Change in complex adaptive systems occur nonlinearly and in unexpected places, and, as Dooley (1996) observed, their history cannot be revisited (one cannot return a system to a previous state and rerun its trajectory).

Complexity science has identified a number of dynamics that characterize the formation and behaviors of CAS. For example, complexity science has found that interactive, adaptive agents tend to bond in that they adapt to one another's preferences and worldviews (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001). From this, they form aggregates (i.e., clusters of interacting agents engaged in some measure of cooperative behavior). Mature social systems are comprised of a complex of hierarchically embedded, overlapping and interdependent aggregates, or CAS (Kauffman, 1993).

Complexity science has also found that the behaviors of interactive, interdependent agents and CAS are productive of *emergent creativity and learning*. Emergence

refers to a nonlinear suddenness that characterizes change in complex systems (Marion, 1999). It derives from the collapse of built up tensions (Prigogine, 1997), sudden mergers (or divergences) of formerly separate CAS (Kauffman, 1993), or a cascade of changes through network connections (Bak, 1996). Creativity and learning occur when emergence forms a previously unknown solution to a problem or creates a new, unanticipated outcome (i.e., adaptive change).

CAS are unique and desirable in their ability to *adapt* rapidly and creatively to environmental changes. Complex systems enhance their capacity for adaptive response to environmental problems or internal demand by diversifying their behaviors or strategies (Holland, 1995; McKelvey, 2006). Diversification, from the perspective of complexity science, is defined as increasing internal complexity (number and level of interdependent relationships, diversity within CAS, number of CAS, and tension) to the point of, or exceeding, that of their competitors or their environment (i.e., "requisite variety," Ashby, 1960 or "requisite complexity," McKelvey and Boisot, 2003). Adaptive responses to environmental problems include counter-moves, altered or new strategies, learning and new knowledge, work-around changes, new allies, or new technologies. By increasing their complexity, CAS enhance their ability to process data (Lewin, 1992), solve problems (Levy, 1992), learn (Levy, 1992), and change creatively (Marion, 1999).

Certain conditions will affect the capacity of CAS to emerge and function effectively in social systems. Agents must, for example, be capable of interacting with each other and with the environment. Agents must be interdependently related, meaning that the productive well being of one agent or aggregate is dependent on the productive well being of others. Moreover, they must experience tension to elaborate.

This capacity to rapidly explore solutions can be illustrated with a problem solving scenario called annealing, which is found in the evolution and simulation complexity literature (Carley, 1997; Carley and Lee, 1998; Kauffman, 1993; Levy, 1992; Lewin, 1999). In this scenario, multiple agents struggle with localized effects created by a given environmental perturbations (or tension; this is called localized because an agent cannot usually perceive a problem as a whole nor do they typically have the capacity to deal with an environmental problem in its entirety). As these agents develop localized solutions, work-arounds, or related responses, they affect the behaviors of other interdependently related agents, who subsequently build on the original response to create higher-order responses. This process extends to broader network levels, to the fabric of interdependent agents, and to the CAS that defines the system or subsystem. In this process agents and CAS experiment, change, combine strategies, and find loopholes in other strategies – and, occasionally, unexpected solutions emerge that address the problem at some level.

Information flows in the annealing process are not necessarily efficient and agents are not necessarily good information processors. Nor does annealing imply that structural adaptations are embraced as official strategy by upper echelon administrators or that the process finds perfect solutions. The annealing process is imperfect and somewhat messy – as Carley (1997) puts it, "it may not be possible for

organizations of complex adaptive agents to locate the optimal form [but] they can improve their performance by altering their structure" (p. 25). The annealing process (and other processes described in the complexity literature; e.g., McKelvey, 2006; Prigogine, 1997)[1] does, however, find solutions that individuals, regardless of their authority or expertise, could not find alone. Levy (1992), for example, describes bottom-up simulations that out-performed humans at finding solutions to mazes. Marion (1999) argued that technological and scientific advances inevitably emerge from a movement involving numerous individuals rather than from the isolated minds of individuals.

In sum, CAS are unique and desirable in that their heterogeneous, interactive, and interdependent structures allow them to quickly explore and consolidate solutions to environmental pressures. They require new models of leadership because problem solving is performed by appropriately structured social networks rather than by groups coordinated by centralized authorities. As Mumford and Licuanan (2004) put it, effective leadership influence in conditions requiring creativity occurs through *indirect mechanisms* and through *interaction*.

Complexity is a science of mechanisms and interaction, and also is embedded in context. Mechanisms can be described as the dynamic behaviors that occur within a system, such as a complex adaptive system. As defined by Hernes (1998), mechanisms are "a set of interacting parts – an assembly of elements producing an effect not inherent in any of them" (p. 74). They are "not so much about "nuts and bolts" as about "cogs and wheels". . . – the "wheelwork" or agency by which an effect is produced" (Hernes, 1998, p. 74). Contexts are structural, organizational, ideational, and behavioral features – the fabric of interactions among agents (people, ideas, etc.), hierarchical divisions, organizations, and environments – that help explain the nature of mechanisms. Examination of mechanisms and contexts in leadership would pry back the cover and help us to understand *how* and *under what conditions* certain outcomes occur.

To further explain this, we turn next to presentation of our framework for Complexity Leadership Theory. Complexity Leadership Theory is about setting up organizations to enable adaptive responses to challenges through network-based problem solving. It offers tools for knowledge producing organizations and subsystems dealing with rapidly changing, complex problems. It also is useful for systems dealing with less complex problems but for whom creativity is desired.

Complexity Leadership Theory

Complexity Leadership Theory is a framework for leadership that enables the learning, creative, and adaptive capacity of complex adaptive systems (CAS) within a context of knowledge producing organizations or organizational units. This framework seeks to foster CAS dynamics while at the same time enabling control structures appropriate for coordinating formal organizations and producing outcomes appropriate to the vision and mission of the system. It seeks to integrate bureaucracy and complexity dynamics, enabling and coordinating, exploration and exploitation, hierarchy and CAS, and top-down control and informal emergence.

Accomplishing this balance poses unique challenges for leadership, however: *How can organizations enable and coordinate informal emergence (where appropriate), and coordinate or structure systemic behavior, without suppressing its adaptive and creative capacity?*

As described above, complex adaptive systems are intensely adaptive and innovative (Cilliers, 1998; Marion, 1999). CAS obtain the flexibility to adapt that has been attributed to loose coupling (Weick, 1976) and the capacity to coordinate from a more interdependent structure that is best described as moderately coupled (Kauffman, 1993; Marion, 1999). That is, flexibility and what might be called, auto-coordination, derives from informal but interdependent structures and activities (auto-coordination emerges from the nature of system dynamics and is not imposed by authorities). Complexity theorists refer to informal interactive interdependency as bottom-up behavior, defined as behaviors and changes that emerge spontaneously from the dynamics of neural-like networks. However, the term bottom-up evokes images of hierarchy in organizational studies, so we will substitute the term *informal emergence* to describe these CAS dynamics in social systems.

Informal emergence and auto-coordination are seemingly incompatible with administrative coordination, but in reality it depends on the nature of the coordination. In complex adaptive systems, coordination comes from two sources: from constraints imposed by interdependent relationships themselves (auto-coordination) and from constraints imposed by actions *external* to the informal dynamic, including environmental restrictions (Kauffman, 1993; Marion, 1999) and administrative controls (McKelvey et al., 2003). *Internal* controls are imposed by a sense of common purpose that defines complex adaptive systems and from an inter-agent accountability that is inherent in interdependent systems (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001, 2003; Schneider and Somers, 2006). Osborn and Hunt (2007) evocatively describe such coordination elsewhere in this special issue in their discussion of the Highlander tribes of New Zealand. *External* constraints and demands are imposed by environmental exigencies and relationships; indeed the core of Stuart Kauffman's (1993) influential descriptions of complex activities in biological evolution involves the inter-influence of multiple interacting species.

In organizational systems, administrators in formal positions of authority likewise influence complex adaptive systems by imposing external coordinating constraints and demands Such constraints are valuable for (among other things) controlling costs, focusing efforts, allocating resources, and planning. However, authority imposed (top-down) coordination is not necessarily responsive to the potent dynamics of interdependent learning, creativity, and adaptability inherent in complex adaptive systems, and it tends to impose the understanding of a few on the "wisdom" of a neural network (Heckscher, 1994; McKelvey, 2006). That is, top-down control hampers the effective functioning of complex adaptive systems. This is particularly evident in systems with only top-down, hierarchical chains of authority, in systems with closely monitored, centralized goals, or in systems whose dominant ideology is authoritarian.

How, then, can organizations capitalize on the benefits of administrative coordination and of complex adaptive dynamics? Complexity Leadership Theory suggests

that the role of administrators is not necessarily to align worker preferences with centralized organizational goals. Rather, administrative leaders, particularly under conditions of knowledge production, should enable informal emergence.

A Framework for Complexity Leadership Theory

This leads us to our overarching framework for Complexity Leadership Theory. This framework envisions three leadership functions that we will refer to as adaptive, administrative, and enabling. *Adaptive leadership* refers to the actions and dynamics of interacting agents as they work together within a network of interactive, interdependent agents and CAS to resolve adaptive problems. Adaptive activity can occur in a boardroom or in workgroups of line workers; adaptive leadership is an informal dynamic that occurs among interactive agents and is not an act of authority. *Administrative leadership* refers to the actions of individuals who plan and coordinate organizational activities (see Yukl, 2005). Administrative leadership (among other things) structures tasks, engages in planning, builds vision, allocates resources to achieve goals, manages crises (Mumford et al., 2008) and conflicts, and manages organizational strategy. Administrative leadership is vested in formal authority roles within an organization. *Enabling leadership* works to create conditions in which adaptive leadership can thrive and enables the flow of adaptive knowledge from adaptive structures into administrative structures. Enabling leadership is most often vested in formal (often middle management) positions because of their access to resources and authority, but it may also be performed by informal agents as well.

In Complexity Leadership Theory, these three leadership functions are intertwined in a manner that we refer to as *entanglement* (Kontopoulos, 1993). Entanglement describes a dynamic relationship between the formal *top-down, administrative forces* and the informal, *complexly adaptive emergent forces* of social systems. In organizations, administrative and adaptive leadership interact, and may help or oppose one another. Administrative leadership can function in conjunction with adaptive leadership or can thwart it with overly authoritarian or bureaucratic control structures. Adaptive leadership can work to augment the strategic needs of administrative leadership, it can rebel against it, or it can act independently of administrative leadership. The enabling leadership function helps to ameliorate these problems; it serves primarily to enable effective adaptive leadership, but to accomplish this it must tailor the behaviors of administrative and adaptive leadership so that they function in tandem with one another.

One cannot disentangle hierarchy from CAS. Earlier we stated that CAS are the basic unit of analysis in a complex system. However, these CAS (or interactive systems cooperatively bonded by common focus) interact with formal substructures in a system. Further, there are times and conditions in which rationalized structure and coordination (hierarchy) need to be emphasized in subunits (e.g., when the environment is stable and the system seeks to enhance profits). At other times or conditions,

firm may prefer to emphasize complexity and CAS (e.g., when environments are volatile or the competition's flexibility is threatening).

A role of strategic leadership, then, is to manage the coordination rhythms, or oscillations, between relative importance of top-down, hierarchical dynamics and emergent complex adaptive systems (Thomas et al., 2005). Ultimately, neither can be separated from the other in knowledge producing organizations, for such firms must nurture both creativity and exploitation to be fit.

Based on this, we can summarize the main points (premises) we have developed thus far as follows:

> *Premise 1*: Complexity Leadership Theory provides an overarching framework that describes administrative leadership, adaptive leadership and enabling leadership; it provides for entanglement among the three leadership roles and between CAS and hierarchy in an organizational system.
>
> *Premise 2*: *Adaptive leadership* is a complex interactive dynamic that is the primary source by which adaptive outcomes are produced in a firm; *administrative leadership* is the function by which adaptive activities are organized and coordinated; *enabling leadership* serves to enable adaptive activities and to help adaptive outcomes move into the administrative realm. These roles are *entangled* across people and actions.

With this as the overarching framework, we now expand the elements introduced by Complexity Leadership Theory, beginning with adaptive leadership and then describing the enabling, and administrative roles. In this discussion we develop premises (conclusions derived from the literature from which further reasoning proceeds) and propositions (operationalizable conclusions that can be converted into one or more hypotheses) to guide future research in this area.

Adaptive Leadership

Adaptive leadership is a complex interactive dynamic that produces adaptive outcomes in a social system. It is a collaborative change movement that emerges nonlinearly from interactive exchanges, or, more specifically, from the "spaces between" agents (cf., Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000; Drath, 2001; Lichtenstein et al., 2006). That is, it originates in struggles among agents and groups over conflicting needs, ideas, or preferences; it results in, or contributes to, movements, alliances of people, ideas, or technologies, and cooperative efforts. Adaptive leadership is a dynamic rather than a person (although people are, importantly, involved); we label it leadership because it is *a*, and, arguably, *the,* proximal source of change in an organization.

Adaptive leadership emerges from asymmetrical interaction (the notion of complexity and asymmetry is developed by Cilliers, 1998). We propose two types of asymmetry: that related to authority and that related to preferences (which include

differences in knowledge, skills, beliefs, etc.). If an interaction is largely one-sided and authority-based, then the leadership event can be labeled as top-down. If authority asymmetry is less one-sided, then the leadership event is more likely based on interactive dynamics driven by differences in preferences.

Struggles over asymmetrical preference differences produce tension and adaptive change outcomes (thus the earlier statement that change emerges from the spaces between agents). Such tension-induced change takes the form of new knowledge and innovative ideas, learning, or adaptation; it is produced by the clash of existing but (seemingly) incompatible ideas, knowledge, and technologies. A familiar form of this change occurs when two individuals, who are debating conflicting perceptions of a given issue, suddenly, and perhaps simultaneously, generate a new understanding of that issue – this can be considered an "aha" moment. The "aha" is a nonlinear product of a combination of the original perceptions, of the discarding of untenable arguments and the fusion of what is tenable, or perhaps of the rejection of original ideas as untenable and the creation of a totally new idea. It represents a process of seeing beyond original assumptions to something not bounded by those assumptions. Moreover, it cannot be claimed by any one individual, but rather is a product of the interactions between individuals (i.e., it is produced in the "spaces between"; Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000).

> *Premise 3*: Adaptive leadership emerges from the interactions of individuals and CAS. It is induced by tension and interdependency.

This definition of adaptive leadership is, thus far, incomplete, for it doesn't address several crucial elements: (1) significance, (2) impact, and (3) network dynamics. *Significance* refers to the *potential* impact of adaptive outcomes on the fitness development of the system or on perceptions of knowledge that in turn influence fitness. The significance of an adaptive moment is related to the expertise of the agents who generate that moment (Mumford et al., 2002; Weisberg, 1999) and to their capacity for creative thinking (Mumford et al., 2003). Expertise and creativity are not necessarily co-resident in an adaptive event, of course. Quite obviously, creative individuals without training in physics are not going to advance that field, but neither are, one might argue, two physicists who are unable or unwilling to break out of their paradigmatic assumptions. Complex systems depend on the former (expertise) and stimulate the latter (creativity).

Impact refers to the degree to which other agents external to the generative set embrace and use a new idea. Impact can be independent of significance because impact is influenced by (among other things) the authority and reputation of the agents who generated the idea, the degree to which an idea captures the imagination or to which its implications are understood, or whether the idea can generate enough support to exert an impact (see Arthur, 1989) for discussion. Thus an insignificant idea can have considerable circulation.

What we speak of here, then, are adaptive dynamics that produce both significance and impact. In this case, adaptive leadership begins with a significant event and manifests as an outcome (Lichtenstein et al., 2006). It is not an act of an

individual, but rather a dynamic of interdependent agents and CAS. To manifest as an outcome (i.e., exert an impact), adaptive leadership must be embedded in an appropriately structured, neural-like network of agents and CAS.

Network dynamics refer to the context that enables adaptive leadership. In interactive and interdependent networks, adaptive ideas, whether small or large, interact in much the same way that *pairs* of agents interact, except that the conflictive dynamics of heterogeneous preferences are much more complex. In networks, there are complex patterns of conflicting constraints, direct and indirect feedback loops, accreting node[2] (ideas that are rapidly expanding in importance and which are accreting related ideas – this is emergence, as described earlier), and rapidly changing demands to which the system must adapt. The accreting node, or emergence, is the primary output of complex network dynamics. Networks are structured to permit information flows and interaction of ideas. Network dynamics include combination, divergence, and (as appropriate) the extinction of ideas; interdependent task conflicts; idea generation and accretion; adaptation to internal and external change and demand by adjusting their complexity; and CAS formation.

> *Premise 4*: Adaptive leadership is characterized by impact and significance and couched within a dynamic network that enables its impact and significance.

Adaptive leadership, then, refers to interactions of individuals that produce emergent events and movements. It is a proximal source of change in an organization, and that change is the property of no particular individual. The key unit of analysis for adaptive leadership is the CAS, and the adaptive dynamic occurs in all hierarchical levels of an organization (Osborn and Hunt, 2007). The emergent outcomes of adaptive behaviors differs across hierarchical levels of course (Boal et al., 1992; Hunt and Ropo, 1995; Phillips and Hunt, 1992), as would their impact and significance. Broadly addressed, the adaptive outputs for the upper level of a hierarchy (what Jaques, 1989, called, the strategic level) relates largely to emergent planning, resource acquisition, and strategic relationships with the environment (for discussion, see Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2007; see also Child and McGrath, 2001, for a useful discussion of interdependency among organizations). Outputs for the middle hierarchical levels (middle management, or what Jaques, 1989, called, the organizational level) relates to enabling activities. That for the lower levels (Jaques' production level) relates to development of the core products of the organization; for knowledge producing organizations, this includes knowledge development, innovation, and adaptation.

The Adaptive Role

Complexity Leadership Theory proposes that individual agents within an adaptive dynamic appropriately act to support adaptive leadership; we label this the *adaptive role*. As described earlier, adaptive roles relate to tension, interaction, and

interdependency. We now discuss characteristics of effective adaptive behaviors of agents (defined here as individuals) in complex adaptive systems relative to these dynamics.

Agents in adaptive roles work to capitalize on tension mechanisms to produce effective adaptive outcomes. They recognize the creative value of tension and use it to foster productive discussions and interaction. They do not look to authority for answers, but rather commit to engaging in the process of adaptive problem solving. Adaptive agents recognize the difference between task (or ideational) conflict (which can produce creative outcomes; Jehn, 1997), and interpersonal conflict (which is disruptive to social dynamics) and they work to promote productive, task conflicts (Heifetz, 1994; Jehn, 1997; Lencioni, 2002). They contribute ideas and opinions, they play devil's advocate, and they address the "elephants on the table" that others try to ignore (Parks, 2005). They also recognize when a group is bogged down by consensus (Lencioni, 2002) that comes from lack of diversity, and expose the group to heterogeneous perspectives, bringing other people and ideas into the dynamic as necessary.

Individuals in the adaptive role engage in behaviors that enhance their interactive contributions. The creativity/leadership literature likewise supports the importance of interaction. West et al. (2003), for example, found a strong relationship between effective process leadership and the capacity to enable interaction. Agents in adaptive networks contribute to the flow of information by keeping themselves informed and knowledgeable on issues important to the firm and their field. They frame issues appropriate to the perspectives of the others with whom they are interacting and monitor the environment (e.g., political, economic, social, national, international, technological) to understand the nature of the forces that are influencing the dynamic.

Finally, individuals in adaptive roles recognize the importance of interdependency and they work to foster coordinated efforts when necessary. They refine or realign their information relative to the information of the other agents (Kauffman, 1993; Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001) in ways that contribute to coevolution or co-elaborating of ideas and information such that new, sometimes surprising information can emerge (Kauffman, 1993).

> *Proposition 1*: Individuals promote adaptive dynamics by fostering interconnectivity of agents and ideas, by contributing to the interdependent coevolution of ideas, and by interacting effectively with tension mechanisms.

Enabling Leadership

Enabling leadership directly fosters and maneuvers conditions that enable adaptive leadership. Middle managers (Jaques, 1989) are often in a position to deal with enabling behaviors because of their access to resources and their direct involvement in the boundary conditions for the system's production level (Osborn and Hunt, 2007). However, enabling leadership can be found anywhere. Its role seemingly

overlaps, at times, that of administrative leadership in that it may be performed by agents acting in more managerial capacities. Moreover, a single agent or aggregate can perform either adaptive or enabling roles by merely changing hats as needed.

The roles of enabling leadership can be described as follows:

● Enabling leadership enables effective CAS dynamics by fostering *enabling conditions* in which adaptive leadership can emerge and respond to adaptive challenges.
● Enabling leadership helps engender relationships between administrative and adaptive leadership that protect the adaptive work (cf., Heifetz, 1994) of the organization, and helps disseminate innovative products of adaptive leadership upward and through the formal managerial system (i.e., the innovation-to-organization interface, Dougherty and Hardy, 1996).

Foster Enabling Conditions for Adaptive Leadership. The principal function of enabling leadership is to foster the conditions that promote effective CAS dynamics for adaptive leadership. As described earlier, complex networks conducive to adaptive leadership are (among other things) interactive, moderately interdependent, and infused with tension. Enabling leadership fosters complex networks by (1) fostering interaction, (2) fostering interdependency, and (3) enabling the conditions necessary to produce a fabric of *internal* tensions as well as injecting *external* tensions to help motivate and coordinate the interactive dynamic.

Effective network conditions are enabled first by *interaction.* Interaction produces the network of linkages across which information flows and connects. Enabling leaders cannot create the sophisticated dynamic linkages that characterize complex networks, nor can they accurately pre-calculate what constitutes the right amount of coupling. They can, however, create the general structure of complex networks and the conditions in which sophisticated networks can evolve. For example, interaction is enabled by such strategies as open architecture work places, self-selected work groups, electronic work groups (email, etc.), and by management-induced scheduling or rules structuring. Moreover, the interactive imperative is not bounded to the immediate work group, but extends to interactions with other groups and with the environment. Interaction with other groups fosters cross-group initiatives, possible aggregation of different ideas into larger ideas, a degree of coordination across efforts, and the importation of information that may inform the target work group.

Further, enabling leadership helps foster interactions with environmental dynamics. This serves at least two purposes: it enables importation of fresh information into the creative enterprise (Boisot, 1998), and it broadens the organization's capacity to adapt to environmental changes and conditions beyond the adaptive capacity of strategic leadership acting alone. Marion and Uhl-Bien (2007) propose that organizational adaptability should even be a significant element of strategic planning because of its capability to adapt quickly and competently to environmental changes; a particularly potent example is evident in the adaptive strategies of terrorist networks (see Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2003).

Proposition 2: Enabling leaders manipulate the interactive conditions from which complex adaptive dynamics and their adaptive outcomes can emerge (e.g., by fostering interconnectivity and creating linkages among agents and ideas).

Interaction alone is insufficient for complex functioning; the agents in a system must also be *interdependent*. While interaction permits the movement and dynamic interplay of information, interdependency creates pressure to act on information. Interdependency's potency derives from naturally occurring networks of conflicting constraints. As described above, conflicting constraints manifest when the well-being of one agent is inversely dependent on the well-being of another, or when the information broadcasted by one agent is incompatible with that broadcasted by another agent. Such constraints pressure agents to adjust their actions and to elaborate their information.

There are a number of ways to manage conditions that enable interdependency mechanisms. One useful tool for promoting interdependency is to allow measured autonomy for informal behavior (see also Shalley and Gilson, 2004). Autonomy permits conflicting constraints to emerge and enables agents to work through those constraints without interference from formal authorities. Nordstrom illustrates this approach in a statement in their employee handbook:

> We also encourage you to present your own ideas. Your buyers have a great deal of auton-
> omy, and are encouraged to seek out and promote new fashion directions at all times... and
> we encourage you to share your concerns, suggestions and ideas. (Pfeffer, 2005, p. 99)

A major function of leaders has historically been to solve problems, to intervene when dilemmas arise or when individuals differ on task-related activities. Such action, however, can stifle interdependency and limit adaptive mechanisms. Complexity Leadership Theory proposes circumspection by administrative leaders in such matters, to resist the temptation to create an atmosphere in which workers bring their work problems to management (see Alvesson and Sveningsson, 2003).

Enabling leaders can foster interdependency with rules – not limiting bureaucratic rules but rules or conditions that apply pressure to coordinate (McKelvey et al., 2003). Microsoft's[TM] strategy for developing software, for example, is built on interactive work groups and rule-enabled interdependencies (Cusumano, 2001). Programmers operate independently and in small groups, but are periodically required to run their code against the code of other programmers. If there are problems, the team must repair the incompatibility before moving on. Microsoft calls this "sync and stabilize." The process imposes interdependency that can create cascading changes and elaboration in Microsoft's software. Microsoft gains the benefit of flexibility, adaptability, speed, and innovation while maintaining coordinated action.

Proposition 3: Enabling leaders manipulate conditions, such as rules and autonomy, which foster emergence of interdependent mechanisms and their adaptive outcomes.

Finally, since tension creates an imperative to act and to elaborate strategy, information, and adaptability, enabling leadership also works to foster *tension*. *Internal* tension can be enhanced by heterogeneity, a stimulus of interdependency and conflicting constraints. Heterogeneity refers to differences among agents in such things as skills, preferences, and outlooks (McKelvey, 2006; Schilling and Steensma, 2001). When couched within a context of interdependency, heterogeneity pressures agents to adapt to their differences. Enabling leadership promotes heterogeneity by (among other things) building an atmosphere in which such diversity is respected, with considered hiring practices, and by structuring work groups to enable interaction of diverse ideas. It also fosters internal tension by enabling an atmosphere that tolerates dissent and divergent perspectives on problems, one in which personnel are charged with resolving their differences and finding solutions to their problems (cf., Heifetz and Laurie, 2001). Enabling leaders create conditions that foster interactive problem solving rather than individual decisiveness.

Enabling leaders not only foster internal tension, they judiciously inject tension as well – tension that derives externally in that it is not a natural function of informal dynamics. They inject tension with managerial pressures or challenges, by distributing resources in a manner that supports creative movements, creating demands for results. Enabling leaders can impose tension by dropping "seeds of emergence" (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001; McKelvey et al., 1999), or perturbations that have the potential of fostering learning and creativity. They include ideas, information, judiciously placed resources, new people, and the capacity to access unspecified resources (i.e., gateways that permit exploration; access to the internet is an obvious example). Seeds are intended to stimulate the networked system, and their impact may be unpredictable.

> *Proposition 4*: Enabling leaders manipulate the conditions under which adaptive tension mechanisms and their adaptive outcomes can emerge (e.g., by promoting heterogeneous interactions, encouraging agents to solve their own problems, injecting tension, or "dropping seeds of emergence").

Enabling leadership can be enacted by agents in formal organizational roles; such agents are effective in part because they have access to resources and authority needed to accomplish certain enabling dynamics. Enabling leadership can also emerge from within the adaptive function, however. Schreiber (2006), in a study of complexity leadership and risk factors, identified several interesting enabling dynamics in work groups (measurements from these observations were used in a follow-up multi-agent based simulation). Certain agents, for example, tended to induce interactions and establish interdependencies. Others were boundary spanners, or "agent[s] who most likely connect. . . to otherwise disjoint groups" (p. 136). Some agents were "likely to have the most interactions and to learn more knowledge" (p. 136). There were also agents "who can most quickly communicate to the organization at large" (p. 136). Lastly, some agents were "most likely to communicate new knowledge" (p. 136). Such agent-roles represent nodes in a neural network

of agents (see e.g., Carley and Ren, 2001) and serve to enable (and operationalize) interaction, interdependency, and learning within CAS.

Promoting Coordination between Adaptive and Administrative Structures. A second function of the enabling leadership role is to promote coordination of CAS dynamics and formal administrative systems and structures. This involves using authority (if applicable), access to resources, and influence to keep the formal and informal organizational systems working in tandem rather than counter to one another (Dougherty, 1996). Howell and Boies (2004) refer to this as championing. They argue, describing creative ideas, that:

> To overcome the social and political pressures imposed by an organization and convert them to its advantage, champions demonstrate personal commitment to the idea, promote the idea... through informal networks, and willingly risk their position and reputation to ensure its success... [They] establish... and maintain... contact with top management, to keep them informed and enthusiastic about the project.... [A] new venture idea require[s] a champion to exert social and political effort to galvanize support for the concept. (p. 124)

Specifically, enabling leadership (1) works to prevent administrative leaders from stifling or suppressing beneficial interactive dynamics; (2) fosters adaptive behaviors that are consistent with the strategy and mission of the organization; and (3) facilitates the integration of creative outcomes into the formal system. Regarding the first of these roles, enabling leaders help protect the CAS from external politics and top-down preferences. They serve to influence the policies and decisions of administrative leadership to accommodate the needs of adaptive structures (Dougherty and Hardy, 1996). They also help align organizational strategy to the needs of CAS dynamics and convince administrative leadership when CAS dynamics are important for organizational strategy (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2007). Finally, they work to align adaptive structures themselves with the strategic focus of the organization (Mumford et al., 2008).

Second, enabling leaders help in the innovation-to-organization interface. As noted by Dougherty and Hardy (1996), formal organizational systems are often not structured to foster internal dissemination of innovation – rather, they tend to inhibit it. Because formal structures present obstacles for innovation-to-organization transference, power is needed to facilitate, orchestrate, and share innovative ideas and outcomes throughout the organization. "Unless product innovation has an explicit, organization-wide power basis, there is no generative force, no energy, for developing new products continuously and weaving them into ongoing functioning" (Dougherty and Hardy, 1996, p. 1146). They suggest that organizations adopt a "pro-innovation" approach by moving beyond reliance on networks of personal power (a focus on individuals) and toward an organization-system base of power. Such a system would foster processes that "link the right people" and "emphasize the right criteria," as well as "allow resources to begin to flow to the right places" (Dougherty and Hardy, 1996, p. 1149). Enabling leaders can play an integral role in helping design and protect such a "pro-innovation" organizational system.

Enabling leadership also works with adaptive and administrative leadership to decide which creative outputs of the adaptive subsystem are the most appropriate to move forward into the broader bureaucratic structure. In conducting this function,

Mumford et al. (2008) caution administrators to avoid assessing the creative output itself and to instead focus on assessing the degree to which activities are accomplishing the functions of the given stage of development. "Evaluation," they argue, "should be viewed as a developmental exercise with multiple cycles of evaluation and revision occurring in any stage before planning progresses to the next stage" (in press).

> *Proposition 5*: Enabling leaders help coordinate the interface between adaptive and administrative leadership by working for policies and strategies that enable complex dynamics and by adopting a "pro-innovation" environment that facilitates innovation-to-organization transference.

Administrative Leadership

As defined earlier, administrative leadership refers to the actions of individuals who plan and coordinate organizational activities. Administrative leaders (among other things) structure tasks, engage in planning, build vision, allocate resources to achieve goals (Dougherty and Hardy, 1996; Shalley and Gilson, 2004), manage crises (Mumford and Licuanan, 2004) and conflicts, and manage organizational strategy. Importantly, they act to structure creativity, adaptability, and initiative throughout the organization and within specific sub-functions whose creativity is crucial to the firm (see Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2007).

Administrative leadership is vested in formal authority roles within an organization. The challenge posed earlier for administrative leadership is: How does administrative leadership administer and coordinate informal emergence and structure the firm's systemic flows without suppressing its adaptive and innovative capacity? We take up this challenge in this section by discussing planning, managing resources, coordination, and structuring conditions.

The nature of this challenge will vary within the hierarchical level of the system. Administrators at Jaques' (1989) strategic level engage in planning, coordination, resource acquisition (Osborn and Hunt, 2007), and structuring conditions to the extent that they relate to strategy (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2007). At Jaques' organizational level, administrators implement more focused planning and coordination of creative operations, manage resource allocation, and structure conditions within which adaptive leadership occurs. We discuss both of these levels below.

Planning. Mumford et al. (2008) have argued that R&D programs must be understood in the long term and that leaders of R&D are managers of systemic dynamics. Jaques (1989) states that higher levels of a hierarchy deal with increased cognitive loads, which include planning for long time frames. Similarly, Complexity Leadership Theory proposes that strategic level administrators (among other things) plan a trajectory for the R&D process and have a long-term outlook (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2007). Administrators at the organizational level plan the context surrounding work (see Mumford and Licuanan, 2004) and articulate a creativity mission (Jaussi and Dionne, 2003). Administrative leadership, in general, assumes

a time-dependent, systemic relationship with complex dynamics, one in which the responsibility is to provide the framework and conditions within which adaptive leadership functions.

Planning is a common strategy used by administrators at both Jaques' strategic and organizational levels to coordinate organizational behavior. Mumford et al. (2008) note a lack of consensus in the leadership literature about whether creativity is enabled or hampered by administrative planning (Bluedorn et al., 1994; Finkelstein and Hambrick, 1996). Some researchers argue that planning provides the resources and structure that creative initiatives require while others argue that administrators cannot anticipate and plan the directions in which creative dynamics will flow (Mumford et al., 2008). Framing the question for Complexity Leadership Theory, we ask: Does planning enable or inhibit nonlinear emergence? Our short answer is: It depends on the nature of the plan.

Planning for creativity must deal with significant uncertainties, including the fact that creativity by definition involves development of ideas that are currently unknowable (Popper, 1986), changing future environmental uncertainties, and uncertainty about whether creative ideas will become viable market solutions. Mumford and colleagues (Mumford et al., 2008; Mumford et al., 2002) propose evolving and flexible plans to deal with such uncertainties. They divide their planning model into five stages: (1) scanning, (2) template planning, (3) plan development, (4) forecasting, and (5) plan execution. These stages can be summarized as idea identification (scanning and template planning), plan development (including forecasting), and plan execution. Mumford et al. (2000a) argue that plans should be adapted to the needs of each stage and that planning within these stages should be a continuous process in order to adjust for changes and unknowns that are certain to arise.

Complexity Leadership Theory (CLT) has similar concerns about planning. On the one hand, emergence is the product of informal adaptive behavior that would be hampered by top-down restrictions (Krause, 2004). On the other hand, the need to focus creative behaviors is legitimate; indeed unrestrained adaptive behavior would be expensive to support. Mumford et al. (2008) propose that organizational plans should impose limits that assure creative emergence is consistent with the core competencies (or theme) of the system. This focuses creativity around practical constraints without unduly dampening the creative spirit. We further propose that planners separate the creative process from the structure in which it occurs: The creative process itself (e.g., adaptive behaviors) should not be unduly managed or constrained by administrative planning and coordination; however that process should be couched within a larger planning structure similar to that proposed (above) by Mumford and his colleagues.

> *Proposition 6*: Administrative leadership creates the superstructure within which creative, learning, and adaptive dynamics occur without imposing on the processes by which they occur (e.g., administrative leadership coordinates creative activities around organizational themes, creates support structures, and structures temporal flows from idea conception to implementation).

Managing Resources. Administrative leadership manages the resources required by adaptive structures: At the strategic level, administrative leadership engages primarily in resource acquisition and at the organizational level, administrative leadership primarily addresses resource allocation. The literature on creativity has noted the importance of administrative behaviors that increase the availability of information (Reiter-Palmon and Illies, 2004). Similarly, complex adaptive systems depend on flows of information resources, and when such flows are hindered, they do not operate effectively. In Complexity Leadership Theory, administrative leadership provides resources that enhance access to information (e.g., access to electronic databases).

Personnel are resources, and diversity of personnel skills and preferences is important to the adaptive leadership function. Administrative leaders, then, promote diversity in hiring practices and policy actions. Bonabeau and Meyer (2001) argue that leaders can enhance the adaptive process by allowing resources (e.g., money, supplies, etc.) to follow emergent ideas (see also Dougherty and Hardy, 1996). This fosters motivation and creates tension related to scarce resources.

> *Proposition 7*: Administrative leadership coordinates acquisition and allocation of resources (money, supplies, information, personnel, etc.) that support creative, learning, and adaptive behaviors of CAS.

Structuring Contexts. Finally, administrative leaders structure the context (defined earlier as the fabric of interactions among agents – people, ideas, etc. – hierarchical divisions, organizations, and environments) within which adaptive leadership can thrive. A number of researchers have examined the conditions in which creativity occurs. Jaussi and Dionne (2003), for example, suggest that leaders structure creative efforts by providing mission statements (e.g., Kennedy's mission to put Americans on the moon by 1970). Complexity Leadership Theory adds (as does Mumford et al., 2008) that such missions should not be so specific that they restrict the creative process, and that they should be sufficiently flexible to change with changing conditions. Administrative leaders deal with crises that threaten to derail adaptive functions (Mumford et al., 2008) and they protect the creative process from forces (e.g., boards or directors, other administrators, environmental pressures) that would limit the capacity of the organization or its subsystems to engage in creativity, learning, and adaptation.

> *Proposition 8*: Administrative leadership structures conditions such as missions, physical conditions, crises, conflicts, and external threats in ways that support creative adaptive behaviors.

In sum, Complexity Leadership Theory is a framework for studying emergent leadership dynamics in the context of bureaucratic superstructures. Three roles were described in this article (adaptive, enabling, and administrative), and these roles differ according to where they occur in the larger organizational hierarchy. As described in the orienting assumptions outlined earlier in this article, the basic unit

of analysis of CLT is complex adaptive systems (or CAS). Complexity Leadership Theory proposes that CAS exist throughout the organization and are entangled with the bureaucratic functions such that they cannot be separated. CLT proposes that CAS, when functioning appropriately, provide an adaptive capability for the organization, and that bureaucracy provides an orienting and coordinating structure. A key role of strategic-level leadership (Jaques, 1989) is to effectively manage the rhythmic emphases of these two functions (Thomas et al., 2005) in a manner that enhances the overall flexibility and effectiveness of the organization (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2007). By focusing on emergent leadership dynamics, CLT implies that *leadership* only exists in, and is a function of, interaction. Despite this, there are roles for individual *leaders* in interacting with this dynamic.

Conclusion

As described by Rost (1991), leadership study has been bogged down in the periphery and content of leadership, and what is needed is "a new understanding of what leadership is, in a postindustrial school of leadership" (Rost, 1991, p. 181). In the present article we attempt to move toward such an understanding by developing a model of leadership based in complexity science. Complexity science is a modern "normal" science, the assumptions of which fit the dynamics of social, managerial, and organizational behavior in high velocity, knowledge-type environments (Henrickson and McKelvey, 2002). Complexity science allows us to develop leadership perspectives that extend beyond bureaucratic assumptions to add a view of leadership as *a complex interactive dynamic through which adaptive outcomes emerge*. This new perspective, which we label Complexity Leadership Theory, recognizes that leadership is too complex to be described as only the act of an individual or individuals; rather, it is a complex interplay of many interacting forces.

Complexity Leadership Theory focuses primarily on the complex interactive dynamics of CAS and also addresses how individuals interact with this dynamic to influence adaptive outcomes. CAS are the minimum units of analysis in Complexity Leadership Theory, thus they are the principle object of theory, propositions, and research. CAS are comprised of agents, however, and their roles in the CAS dynamic is important. Further, individuals (particularly those in positions of authority) can influence the CAS function and are likewise of interest in Complexity Leadership Theory.

Research on CAS in Complexity Leadership Theory should examine the dynamic (i.e., changing, interactive, temporal), informal interactive patterns that exist in and among organizational systems. This generates interesting questions for leadership research. For example, what patterns of behavior (what Allen, 2001, calls, structural attractors) do organizational CAS gravitate to and are there "patterns to those patterns" across systems? What is the specific generative nature of asymmetry and how does it function within a network dynamic? What enabling functions emerge from a complex network dynamic (such as those found by Schreiber, 2006)? What psycho-social dynamic occurs in the "spaces between agents" emergent dynamic?

What are the mechanisms by which a social system moves from one stable pattern to another? What contexts are conducive to given patterns of interaction and how do enabling and administrative leaders help foster those contexts?

A complexity leadership approach adds to leadership research a consideration of the *mechanisms* and *contexts* by which change occurs and systems elaborate rather than a predominant focus on *variables*. To understand mechanisms requires methodology that is capable of analyzing the interactions of multiple agents over a period of time. Developing an understanding of the mechanisms that underlie Complexity Leadership Theory and the conditions in which such mechanisms will emerge is critical as we move our theorizing forward into embedded context approaches in leadership (Osborn et al., 2002). There can be any number of mechanisms underlying the Complexity Leadership Theory function. In this article we focus on interaction, interdependency and tension (Kauffman, 1993; Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001; McKelvey, 2006). However, there can also be a number of "sub-mechanisms," such as interaction among heterogeneous agents, fitness searches (Kauffman, 1993), annealing, requisite variety, information flows, and nonlinear emergence.

Research regarding complexity dynamics needs to capture the nature of mechanisms, which are nonlinearly changeable, unpredictable in the long term (and sometimes in the short-term), temporally based, and interactively and causally complex. We suggest two methodological strategies for doing this. First, qualitative procedures allow temporal evaluations and have been used in complexity studies (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000). Second, various computer modeling procedures have been utilized for complexity research, the most common being agent based modeling (Carley and Svoboda, 1996) and system dynamic modeling (Sterman, 1994).

In agent based modeling, individual, computerized agents are programmed to interact according to certain defined rules of sociological and organizational engagement (Carley and Svoboda, 1996). In systems dynamics, agent or variable interaction is based on equations that define relationships. In either case, a common approach is to measure certain characteristics of a social group (e.g., organizational work groups) and to use those data as initial conditions in a simulation. This obviates the need to make detailed, onsite observations across time and permits the researcher to experiment with "what-if" scenarios (e.g., what if hierarchical centralization is increased).

In sum, in this article we develop and outline key elements of Complexity Leadership Theory. We argue that while the knowledge era calls for a new leadership paradigm, much of leadership theory still promotes an approach aimed at incentivizing workers to follow vision-led, top-down control by CEOs (Bennis, 1996; Zaccaro and Klimoski, 2001). Though this approach fits recent trends toward performance management and accountability, it can stifle a firm's innovation and fitness (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001; Schneider and Somers, 2006). We propose that Complexity Leadership Theory offers a new way of perceiving leadership – a theoretical framework for approaching the study of leadership that moves beyond the managerial logics of the Industrial Age to meet the new leadership requirements of the Knowledge Era.

Notes

1. There are other problem-solving approaches in the literature. Complex systems can, e.g., respond with phase transitions to new states that is caused by a build-up of tension (McKelvey, 2006; Prigogine, 1997). All problem-solving strategies, however, are, in some fashion, driven by tension.
2. The notion of accreting nodes is derived from related work in fractal geometry (see e.g., Mandelbrot, 1983).

References

Achtenhagen, L., L. Melin, T. Mullern and T. Ericson (2003). Leadership: The role of interactive strategizing. In A. Pettigrew, R. Whittington, L. Melin, C. Sanchez-Runde, F.A.J. Van Den Bosch, W. Ruigrok and T. Numagami (eds.), *Innovative forms of organizing: International perspectives*. London: Sage Publications, pp. 49–71.

Allen, P. (2001). A complex systems approach to learning in adaptive networks. *International Journal of Innovation Management* 5:149–180.

Alvesson, M. and S. Sveningsson (2003). The great disappearing act: Difficulties in doing "Leadership.". *The Leadership Quarterly* 14:359–381.

Arthur, W.B. (1989). The economy and complexity. In D.L. Stein (ed.), *Lectures in the sciences of complexity*, vol. 1. Redwood City, CA: Addison-Wesley, pp. 713–740.

Ashby, W.R. (1960). *Design for a Brain*, 2nd edn. New York, NY: Wiley.

Bak, P. (1996). *How Nature Works*. New York, NY: Copernicus.

Bamford, J.D., B. Gomes-Casseres and M.S. Robinson (2002). *Mastering Alliance Strategy*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey Bass.

Barkema, H.G., J.A.C. Baum and E.A. Mannix (2002). Management challenges in a new time. *Academy of Management Journal* 45(5):916–930.

Barnard, C.I. (1938). *The Functions of the Executive*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Bass, B.M. (1985). *Leadership and Performance Beyond Expectations*. New York, NY: Free Press.

Bedeian, A.G. and J.G. Hunt (2006). Academic amnesia and vestigial assumptions of our forefathers. *The Leadership Quarterly* 17(2):190–205.

Bettis, R.A. and M.A. Hitt (1995). The new competitive landscape 7(13). *Strategic Management Journal* 7(13):7–19.

Bennis, W. (1996). Becoming a leader of leaders. In R. Gibson (Ed.), *Rethinking the future* (pp. 148–163). London: Brealey.

Bluedorn, A.C., R.A. Johnson, D.K. Cartwright and B.R. Barringer (1994). The interface and convergence of the strategic management and organizational environment domains. *Journal of Management* 20(2):201–262.

Boal, K., C.J. Whitehead, R. Phillips and J. Hunt (1992). *Strategic Leadership: A Multi-organizational-level Perspective*. Westport, CT: Quorum.

Boisot, M.H. (1998). *Knowledge Assets: Securing Competitive Advantage in the Information Economy*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bonabeau, E. and C. Meyer (2001). Swarm intelligence: A whole new way to think about business. *Harvard Business Review* 79(5):107–114.

Bradbury, H. and B. Lichtenstein (2000). Relationality in organizational research: Exploring *the space between*. *Organization Science* 11:551–564.

Carley, K. (1997). Organizational adaptation. *Annals of Operations Research* 75:25–47.

Carley, K. and V. Hill (2001). Structural change and learning within organizations. In A. Lomi and E.R. Larsen (eds.), *Dynamics of Organizational Societies*. Cambridge, MA: AAAI/MIT Press, pp. 63–92.

Carley, K. and J.S. Lee (1998). Dynamic organizations: Organizational adaptation in a changing environment. *Advances in Strategic Management: A Research Annual* 15:269–297.

Carley, K. and Y. Ren (2001). *Tradeoffs Between Performance and Adaptability for c^3i Architectures* (part of the A2C2 Project Supported in Part by the Office of Naval Research). Pittsburgh, PA: Carnegie Mellon University.

Carley, K. and D.M. Svoboda (1996). Modeling organizational adaptation as a simulated annealing process. *Sociological Methods and Research* 25(1):138–168.

Child, J. and R.G. McGrath (2001). Organizations unfettered: Organizational form in an information-intensive economy. *The Academy of Management Journal* 44(6): 1135–1149.

Cilliers, P. (1998). *Complexity and Postmodernism: Understanding Complex Systems*. London: Routledge.

Cilliers, P. (2001). Boundaries, hierarchies and networks in complex systems. *International Journal of Innovation Management* 5:135–147.

Conger, J.A. (1999). Charismatic and transformational leadership in organizations: An insider's perspective on these developing streams of research. *The Leadership Quarterly* 10(2):145–179.

Coveney, P. (2003). *Self-organization and complexity: A new age for theory, computation and experiment*. Paper presented at the Nobel symposium on self-organization, Karolinska Institutet, Stockholm.

Cusumano, M. (2001). Focusing creativity: Microsoft's "Synch and stabilize" Approach to software product development. In I. Nonaka and T. Nishiguchi (eds.), *Knowledge Emergence: Social, Technical, and Evolutionary Dimensions of Knowledge Creation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 111–123.

Davenport, T.H. (2001). Knowledge work and the future of management. In W.G. Bennis, G.M. Spreitzer and T.G. Cummings (eds.), *The Future of Leadership: Today's Top Leadership Thinkers Speak to Tomorrow's Leaders*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 41–58.

Day, D.V. (2000). Leadership development: A review in context. *The Leadership Quarterly* 11(4):581–613.

Dooley, K.J. (2000). Complex adaptive systems: A nominal definition, October 26, 1996. Retrieved September, 2006, from http://www.eas.asu.edu/~kdooley/casopdef.html

Dougherty, D. (1996). Organizing for innovation. In S.R. Clegg, C. Hardy and W. Nord (eds.), *Handbook of Organization Studies*. London: Sage, pp. 424–439.

Dougherty, D. and C. Hardy (1996). Sustained product innovation in large, mature organizations: Overcoming innovation-to-organization problems. *Academy of Management Journal* 39: 1120–1153.

Drath, W. (2001). *The Deep Blue Sea: Rethinking the Source of Leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass & Center for Creative Leadership.

Drucker, P.F. (1998). Management's new paradigms (cover story). *Forbes* 162(7):152–170.

Drucker, P.F. (1999). *Management Challenges for the 21st Century*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Eisenhardt, K. (1989). Making fast strategic decisions in high-velocity environments. *Academy of Management Journal* 32:543–576.

Finkelstein, S. and D.C. Hambrick (1996). *Strategic Leadership: Top Executives and Their Effects on Organizations*. St. Paul, MN: West Publishing Co.

Fletcher, J.K. (2004). The paradox of postheroic leadership: An essay on gender, power, and transformational change. *The Leadership Quarterly* 15:647–661.

Goodwin, B. (1994). *How the Leopard Changed its Spots: The Evolution of Complexity*. New York, NY: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Gronn, P. (1999). *A realist view of leadership*. Paper presented at the educational leaders for the new millenium – Leaders with soul. ELO-AusAsia On-line Conference.

Gronn, P. (2002). Distributed leadership as a unit of analysis. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13: 423–451.

Halal, W.E. (ed.) (1998). *The Infinite Resource: Mastering the Boundless Power of Knowledge*. New York, NY: Jossey-Bass.

Halal, W.E. and K.B. Taylor (eds.) (1999). *Twenty-first Century Economics: Perspectives of Socioeconomics for a Changing World*. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Heckscher, C. (1994). Defining the post-bureaucratic type. In C.Heckscher and A. Donnellon (eds.), *The Post-bureaucratic Organization: New Perspectives on Organizational Change*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Hedlund, G. (1994). A model of knowledge management and the N-form corporation. *Strategic Management Journal* 15:73–90.

Heifetz, R.A. (1994). *Leadership Without Easy Answers*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Heifetz, R.A. and D.L. Laurie (2001). The work of leadership. *Harvard Business Review* 79(11):131–141.

Heifetz, R.A. and M. Linsky (2002). *Leadership on the Line: Staying Alive Through the Dangers of Leading*. Boston, MA: Harvard University Press.

Henrickson, L. and B. McKelvey (2002). Foundations of "new" social science: Institutional legitimacy from philosophy, complexity science, postmodernism and agent-based modeling. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America* 99(3):7288–7295.

Hernes, G. (1998). Real virtuality. In P. Hedström and R. Swedberg (eds.), *Social Mechanisms: An Analytical Approach to Social Theory*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 74–101.

Hitt, M.A. (1998). Presidential address: Twenty-first century organizations: Business firms, business schools, and the academy. *The Academy of Management Review* 23:218–224.

Holland, J.H. (1995). *Hidden Order*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company.

Homans, G.C. (1950). *The Human Group*. New York, NY: Harcourt, Brace & World.

Hosking, D.M. (1988). Organizing, leadership and skilful process. *Journal of Management Studies* 25:147–166.

House, R.J. and T. Mitchell (1974). A path-goal theory of leader effectiveness. *Journal of Contemporary Business*:81–97.

Howell, J.M. and K. Boies (2004). Champions of technological innovation: The influence of contextual knowledge, role orientation, idea generation, and idea promotion on champion emergence. *The Leadership Quarterly* 15(1):123–143.

Hunt, J. (1999). Transformational/charismatic leadership's transformation of the field: An historical essay. *The Leadership Quarterly* 10(2):129–144.

Hunt, J. and A. Ropo (1995). Multi-level leadership – Grounded theory and mainstream theory applied to the case of general motors. *The Leadership Quarterly* 6(3):379–412.

Huxham, C. and S. Vangen (2000). Leadership in the shaping and implementation of collaboration agendas: How things happen in a (not quite) joined-up world. *Academy of Management Journal* 43(6):1159–1175.

Ilinitch, A.Y., R.A. D'Aveni and A. Lewin (1996). New organizational forms and strategies for managing in hypercompetitive environments. *Organization Science* 7:211–220.

Jaques, E. (1989). *Requisite Organization*. Arlington, VA: Cason Hall.

Jaussi, K.S. and S.D. Dionne (2003). Leading for creativity: The role of unconventional leadership behavior. *The Leadership Quarterly* 14:475–498.

Jehn, K.A. (1997). A qualitative analysis of conflict types and dimensions in organizational groups. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 42:530–557.

Jennings, J. and L. Haughton (2000). *It's Not the Big That Eat the Small. . . it's the Fast That Eat the Slow*. New York, NY: HarperBusiness.

Jones, G.R. (2000). *Organizational Theory*, 3rd edn. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.

Kauffman, S.A. (1993). *The Origins of Order*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Kontopoulos, K.M. (1993). *The Logics of Social Structure*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Krause, D.E. (2004). Influence-based leadership as a determinant of the inclination to innovate and of innovation-related behaviors: An empirical investigation. *The Leadership Quarterly* 15(1):79–102.

Lencioni, P. (2002). *The Five Dysfunctions of a Team: A Leadership Fable*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Levy, S. (1992). *Artificial Life: The Quest for New Creation*. New York, NY: Random House.

Lewin, K. (1952). Group decision and social change. In G.E. Swanson, T.M. Newcomb and E.L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology*, Rev. edn. New York, NY: Holt, pp. 459–473.

Lewin, R. (1992). *Complexity: Life at the Edge of Chaos*. New York, NY: Macmillan.

Lewin, A. (1999). *Complexity: Life at the Edge of Chaos*, 2nd edn. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lichtenstein, B., M. Uhl-Bien, R. Marion, A. Seers, D. Orton and C. Schreiber, (2006). Complexity leadership theory: An interactive perspective on leading in complex adaptive systems. *Emergence: Complexity and Organization* 8(4):2–12.

Lorenz, E. (1993). *The Essence of Chaos*. Seattle, WA: University of Washington Press.

Mackenzie, K. (2006). The LAMPE theory of organizational leadership. In F. Yammarino and F. Dansereau (eds.), *Research in multi-level issues*, vol. 12. Oxford, UK: Elsevier Science.

Mandelbrot, B.B. (1983). *The Fractal Geometry of Nature*. New York, NY: W.H. Freeman.

Manville, B. and J. Ober (2003, Jan.). Beyond empowerment: Building a company of citizens. *Harvard Business Review* 81:48–53.

Marion, R. (1999). *The Edge of Organization: Chaos and Complexity Theories of Formal Social Organizations*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Marion, R. and M. Uhl-Bien (2001). Leadership in complex organizations. *The Leadership Quarterly* 12:389–418.

Marion, R. and M. Uhl-Bien (2003). Complexity theory and Al-Qaeda: Examining complex leadership. *Emergence: A Journal of Complexity Issues in Organizations and Management* 5:56–78.

Marion, R. and M. Uhl-Bien (2007). Complexity and strategic leadership. In R. Hooijberg, J. Hunt, J. Antonakis, K. Boal and N. Lane (eds.), *Being There Even When you are not: Leading Through Structures, Systems, and Processes*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

McKelvey, B. (2001). Energizing order-creating networks of distributed intelligence. *International Journal of Innovation Management* 5:181–212.

McKelvey, B. (2008). Emergent strategy via complexity leadership: Using complexity science and adaptive tension to build distributed intelligence. In M. Uhl-Bien and R. Marion (eds.), *Complexity Theory and Leadership, Vol. 1: Conceptual Foundations*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age, pp. 225–268.

McKelvey, B. and M.H. Boisot (2003). *Transcendental organizational foresight in nonlinear contexts*. Paper presented at the INSEAD Conference on Expanding Perspectives on Strategy Processes, Fontainebleau, France.

McKelvey, B., R. Marion and M. Uhl-Bien (2003). *A simple-rule approach to CEO leadership in the 21st century*. Paper presented at the University of Lecce Conference on New Approaches to Strategic Management, Ostuni, Italy.

McKelvey, B., H. Mintzberg, T. Petzinger, L. Prusak, P. Senge and R. Shultz (1999). The gurus speak: Complexity and organizations. *Emergence: A journal of complexity issues in organizations and management* 1(1):73–91.

Miles, R.E. (1998). The spherical network organization. In W.E. Halal (ed.), *The Infinite Resource: Creating and Leading the Knowledge Enterprise*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 111–121.

Miles, R.E., C.C. Snow, J.A. Matthews and G. Miles (1999). Cellular-network organizations. In W.E. Halal and K.B. Taylor (eds.), *Twenty-first Century Economics*. New York, NY: Macmillan, pp. 155–173.

Mumford, M., K.E. Bedell-Avers and S.T. Hunter (2008). Planning for innovation: A multi-level perspective. In M.D. Mumford, S.T. Hunter and K.E. Bedell (eds.), *Research in Multi-level Issues*. Oxford, UK: Elsevier 7:107–157

Mumford, M., S. Connelly and B. Gaddis (2003). How creative leaders think: Experimental findings and cases. *The Leadership Quarterly* 14(4/5, Pt. 1):411–432.

Mumford, M.D. and B. Licuanan (2004). Leading for innovation: Conclusions, issues, and directions. *The Leadership Quarterly* 15(1):163–171.

Mumford, M.D., R.A. Schultz and H.K. Osburn (2002a). Planning in organizations: Performance as a multi-level phenomenon. In F.J. Yammarino and F. Dansereau (eds.), *Research in Multi-level Issues: The Many Faces of Multi-level Issues*. Oxford, UK: Elsevier, pp. 3–35.

Mumford, M.D., G.M. Scott, B. Gaddis and J.M. Strange (2002b). Leading creative people: Orchestrating expertise and relationships. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13(6):705–750.

Nonaka, I. and T. Nishiguchi (2001). Introduction: Knowledge emergence. In I. Nonaka and T. Nishiguchi (eds.), *Knowledge Emergence: Social, Technical, and Evolutionary Dimensions of Knowledge creation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 3–9.

Osborn, R. and J. Hunt (2007). Leadership and the choice of order: Complexity and hierarchical perspectives near the edge of chaos. *The Leadership Quarterly* 18(4):319–340.

Osborn, R., J.G. Hunt and L.R. Jauch (2002). Toward a contextual theory of leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly* 13:797–837.

Parks, S.D. (2005). *Leadership Can Be Taught: A Bold Approach for a Complex World*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.

Pearce, C.L. and J.A. Conger (2003). *Shared Leadership: Reframing the Hows and Whys of Leadership*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Pfeffer, J. (2005). Producing sustainable competitive advantage through the effective management of people. *The Academy of Management Executive* 19(4):95–108.

Phillips, R. and J. Hunt (eds.) (1992). *Strategic Leadership: A Multiorganizational-level Perspective*. Westport, CT: Quorum Books.

Popper, K.R. (1986). *The Poverty of Historicism*. London: Routledge.

Prigogine, I. (1997). *The End of Certainty*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

Prusak, L. (1996). The knowledge advantage. *Strategy & Leadership* 24:6–8.

Quinn, J.B., P. Anderson and S. Finkelstein (2002). Managing professional intellect: Making the most of the best. In S. Little, P. Quintas and T. Ray (eds.), *Managing Knowledge: An Essential Reader*. London: Sage, pp. 335–348.

Reiter-Palmon, R. and J.J. Illies (2004). Leadership and creativity: Understanding leadership from the creative problem-solving perspective. *The Leadership Quarterly* 15:55–77.

Rost, J.C. (1991). *Leadership for the Twenty-first Century*. London: Praeger.

Roy, D. (1954). Efficiency and 'the fix': Informal intergroup relations in a piecework machine shop. *American Journal of Sociology* 60:255–266.

Schilling, M.A. and H.K. Steensma (2001). The use of modular organizational forms: An industry-level analysis. *Academy of Management Journal* 44(6):1149–1168.

Schneider, M. (2002). A stakeholder model of organizational leadership. *Organization Science* 13(2):209–220.

Schneider, M. and M. Somers (2006). Organizations as complex adaptive systems: Implications of complexity theory for leadership research. *The Leadership Quarterly* 17(4):351–365.

Schreiber, C. (2006). *Human and organizational risk modeling: Critical personnel and leadership in network organizations*. Unpublished Dissertation, Carnegie Mellon, Pittsburgh, PA.

Selznick, P. (1948). Foundations of the theory of organizations. *American Sociological Review* 13:25–35.

Selznick, P. (1957). *Leadership in Administration*. New York, NY: Harper and Row.

Shalley, C.E. and L.L. Gilson (2004). What leaders need to know: A review of social and contextual factors that can foster or hinder creativity. *The Leadership Quarterly* 15(1):33–53.

Simon, H.A. (1962). The architecture of complexity. *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 106:467–482.

Stacey, R.D., D. Griffin and P. Shaw (2000). *Complexity and Management: Fad or Radical Challenge to Systems Thinking*. London and New York, NY: Routledge.

Sterman, J.D. (1994). Learning in and about complex systems. *System Dynamics Review* 10: 291–330.

Streatfield, P.J. (2001). *The Paradox of Control in Organizations*. London: Routledge.

Thomas, C., R. Kaminska-Labbé and B. McKelvey (2005). Managing the MNC and exploitation/exploration dilemma: From static balance to dynamic oscillation. In G. Szulanski, Y. Doz

and J. Porac (eds.), *Advances in Strategic Management: Expanding Perspectives on the Strategy Process*, vol. 22. Amsterdam: Elsevier, pp. 213–250.

Uhl-Bien, M. (2006). Relational leadership theory: Exploring the social processes of leadership and organizing. *The Leadership Quarterly* 17:654–676.

Volberda, H.W. (1996). Toward the flexible form: How to remain vital in hypercompetitive environments. *Organization Science* 7(4):359.

Weick, K.E. (1976). Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 21:1–19.

Weisburg, R. (1999). Creativity and knowledge: A challenge to theories. In R.J. Sternberg (ed.), *Handbook of Creativity*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp. 226–259.

West, M.A., C.S. Borill, J.F. Dawson and F. Brodbeck (2003). Leadership clarity and team innovation in health care. *The Leadership Quarterly* 14:393–410.

Yukl, G. (2005). *Leadership in Organizations*, 6th edn. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Zaccaro, S.J. and R.J. Klimoski (2001). The nature of organizational leadership: An introduction. In S.J. Zaccaro and R.J. Klimoski (eds.), *The nature of Organizational Leadership*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, pp. 3–41.

Zohar, D. (1997). *Rewiring the Corporate Brain*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.

Chapter 9
Systemic Leadership, Gender, Organization

Mollie Painter-Morland

Editors' Introduction Painter-Morland's earlier research into the emergence of leadership within complex adaptive systems drew heavily on the research of Collier and Esteban and Mary Uhl-Bien et al. In this paper, she takes this work one step further by rethinking gender dynamics from this systemic perspective within the context of organizational leadership. Painter-Morland reminds us that both gender, and notions of "leadership" are socially constructed, and thus subject to revision and change. Systems thinking allows us to acknowledge the multidirectional, tacit influences that play a role in the ways people "lead" in organizations. Under certain organizational conditions a relational, systemic model of leadership emerges, which allows individuals who don't necessarily occupy positions of authority to lead in their own unique ways when the circumstances call for it.

The commitment to eradicating gender disparities is one that many organizations have made. This includes the promotion of women to leadership positions. Yet, judging by various reports on the current status of "the glass ceiling", the problem is far from solved. According to the 2009 Catalyst Census, women held 13.5% of the executive positions in Fortune 500 companies. Only 3% of the CEO's of these companies are women. This study also found that less than one-fifth of these companies have more than three women in executive positions, and almost a third of them have none (Soares et al., 2009). Across the world, similar kinds of statistics serve as a dismal reminder that gender disparities in terms of leadership positions persist.

In their publication on "*The Leaking Pipeline: Where Are Our Female Leaders?*" PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC, 2007) have replaced the metaphor of the "glass

M. Painter-Morland (✉)
Department of Philosophy, DePaul University, Chicago, IL 60614-3208, USA;
Department of Philosophy, University of Pretoria, South Africa
e-mail: mpainter@depaul.edu

ceiling" with that of the "leaking pipeline". This metaphor provides a better account of the fact that despite active attempts to eliminate barriers (glass ceilings) that prevent women from occupying leadership positions in organizations, there still seems to be a variety of "leaks" through which female talent escapes the organization. The "leaks" seem to refer to a range of tacit, multidirectional influences on women in organizations, which despite overt support for women leadership, still create disincentives that prevent women from occupying top leadership positions. Other metaphors have also been proposed to explain the barriers that women encounter in reaching leadership positions in organizations. A recent Harvard Business Review article makes reference to the "labyrinth of leadership" that women face in organizations. In this paper, Eagly and Carli (2007) concur with the PwC's finding that it is not the invisible "glass ceiling" that prevents women's advancement to leadership positions, but rather a range of complex organizational challenges at various points in their journey. These kinds of obstacles are often related to tacit assumptions, beliefs and practices in organizations that are difficult to identify and eradicate.

When one reads the Codes of Conduct of many organizations, and appreciation of diversity, and a commitment to equality and fairness are often stated unequivocally. However, it seems clear that a commitment from Board and top management to change the gender equation in their organizations does not seem to do the trick. Gender equity seems to be something that cannot be procured through top-down managerial decree. In saying this, the intention is not to discount the role that individuals in top leadership positions play in the advancement of women's leadership. Many of the female leaders interviewed in PwC's (2007) "*Leaking Pipeline*" study, indicated the importance of a mentor, or somebody in top management, recognizing their potential and creating a crucial opportunity for them. In some cases, this opportunity involved being given a challenging assignment, or international experience, all of which could contribute greatly to the rise of these women to leadership positions. That high-level individuals can and do play an important role in articulating priorities and shaping the sensibilities of employees within organizations is not to be disputed. However, if the role of such individuals is not to be denied, it is also not to be overestimated. Gender equity is certainly not something that lends itself to abstract design, nor can it be unilaterally imposed or sustained through the exercise of authority. Instead, obstacles to women's leadership seem to arise in unexpected places, throwing curve-balls at the women who find themselves in leadership positions and at those who aspire to such positions.

This calls for a fundamental reconsideration of how the habits, beliefs and expectations that inform the cultural dynamics within organization are shaped and sustained. It is in and through these habits, beliefs and expectations that gender biases persist and are perpetuated by everyday organizational practices in which all members participate. The point of departure of this paper is that gender stereotypes are socially constructed and maintained. This does not mean that such stereotypes are any less real or pernicious. What it does suggest is that "women's leadership" cannot be understood in isolation from the organizational context within which is operating. Since the habits and behavior of individual employees are

shaped and informed by the organizational culture in which they participate, it is impossible to change gender prejudices that persist in certain organizational cultures in a top-down manner. Furthermore, the notion of "leadership" is also socially constructed. Expectations of what a leader looks like, behaves, and should do, are also formed though a complex set of organizational dynamics, socio-political influences, and economic realities. Such expectations are also gendered, in that it displays stereotypical beliefs about both men and women, and their capacities for leadership.

In this chapter, I will argue that organizations may best be understood from the perspective of organizations as complex adaptive systems. This view of organizations and it concomitant implications for leadership theory are by no means only recent developments. As early as 2000, scholars such as Collier and Esteban argued that post-industrial organizations can be described as "complex adaptive systems" characterized by multiple interconnecting relationships, unpredictability and incessant, fast-paced change. The perspective of organizations as complex adaptive systems will allow us to explore the idea that gender dynamics are shaped by all who participate in it and by the various contextual factors that impact it. I will propose that the responsibility to nurture and encourage a gender sensitive attitude among the members of an organizational system is shared by all who participate in it. "Leadership" in this regard goes beyond what individuals in positions of authority can muster. It requires subtle changes of the habits and practices of the organization as a whole. This implies intervention across organizational hierarchies and the acknowledgement of diverse range of leadership dynamics. I hope to show that changing gender practices requires systemic changes, and that under such conditions, new forms of leadership may gain legitimacy and saliency.

The Limits of Current Approaches to Leadership

Much of the broader leadership literature continues to place the focus on individuals in positions of authority. Many, if not most scholars who study leadership, view it as a quality of particular individuals (Kanji and Moura, 2001). This view of the nature of leadership is sometimes referred to as the "great man theory" (note the clear gender bias!) or the "traits" approach. From this perspective, leadership is the privilege and responsibility of a select group of individuals who possess the requisite set of distinguishing traits. The implication of this view of leadership is clear: the impact of a leader on the beliefs and behavior of his or her subordinates is contingent on his or her possession and actualization of these distinguishing leadership traits. Kanji and Moura observe that there are also scholars who identify leadership, not with an inherent set of qualities or traits, but with the adoption of a specific set of observable behaviors.[1] In this view the leaders of an organization are likely to be effective in their efforts to give shape and direction to their subordinates' activities only to the extent that they adopt and internalize this inspiring and persuasive set of habitual protocols. There are those who believe that a leader's effectiveness depends on how

well his or her leadership style fits into a particular business and/or organizational context.[2] According to this approach, the right kind of individual(s) should therefore be identified to lead and inspire a particular organization in an appropriate sort of way.

Within leadership studies, there have been various attempts to lend legitimacy to stereotypical "female" models of leadership by arguing that women display more traits associated with "transformational leadership". This approach has been positioned as the alternative to "transactional leadership", which is focused on getting certain desired results by offering a give-and-take deal to followers. "Transformational leadership" is associated with capacity of some individuals to inspire others, to build trust and to even motivate followers to go beyond what they expect of themselves in order to be true to the values and aspirations that central to the organization. It has been argued that women are more capable of inspiring and empowering staff because of the fact that they have more highly developed interpersonal skills than men (Psychogios, 2007). Furthermore, they are assumed to comfortable with encouraging participation and facilitating inclusion, sharing power and information, enhancing the self-worth of others, and energizing and exciting others about they work (Psychogios, 2007, p. 174). Some studies argue that because authority comes from communication with others, women locate authority not at the head of the organization, but at its heart. Paradoxically, the identification of women as "natural" transformational leaders has not served them well in organizations. In fact, studies have shown that when women display the traits of transformational leadership, it has a far less of a positive effect on something like innovation than when men display these traits (Reuvers et al., 2008). In a very real sense, since women are expected to act in a certain way, it does not enhance the perception that they are displaying exceptional leadership. Psychogios comes to a similar, and perhaps even more disconcerting conclusion, namely that the "feminized-management" rhetoric may contribute to the further exploitation of labor rather than creating managerial opportunities for women. He also argues when occupations are 'feminized', there is a corresponding decline in salaries and wages. What this seems to suggest is that a "traits" approach to leadership is so fraught with gender stereotypes that it does not truly lead to the empowerment of women. We may have to pursue a much more radical rethinking the variety of gender dynamics in organizations in order to unsettle the distinct gender stereotypes that re-entrench the inferior position of women. This may mean that we need to challenge the individualistic way in which leadership is understood.

Uhl-Bien, Marion and McKelvey (2007) point out that much of leadership theory remains grounded in outdated assumptions regarding bureaucratic systems, which assume that control has to be rationalized. The belief has been that goals are rationally constructed and that managerial practices could be unilaterally employed to achieve them. In their review of recent leadership literature, Plowman et al. (2007) agree that many still believe that is it leaders make organization transformation happen by directing change. However, they argue associating the notion of leadership merely with a few talented individuals cannot meet the challenges posed by a knowledge society in which has become more appropriate to understand organizations

as complex adaptive systems. Plowman et al. point out that leaders can no longer be viewed a controllers of organizational trends through their personal personality traits and leadership style. The "control" model of leadership depends on a view of organizations as mechanistic systems in which predictable forces, basic cause and effect relationships, hierarchical authority structures and highly prescribed rule-sets were in operation. Organizations can no longer be depicted in this way. Other theorists, such as Kranz (1990), for instance, concur that the realities of contemporary organizational life make top-down leadership control impossible. He suggests that the emergence of a post-industrial economic order has brought about dramatic changes in the character of authority relations within business organizations. The way in which individuals view their relationship with the organizations that employ them has also shifted significantly in recent years. Because of this, the exercise of influence and control can no longer be treated as if it is the exclusive privilege and responsibility of formally appointed leaders. The effectiveness of an organization, within the contemporary business environment, thus increasingly depends on group collaboration and the ability of employees at all levels to exercise informed judgment. Hierarchical, bureaucratic decision-making structures are therefore no longer suitable or productive. As a result, obedience to commands and compliance with obligations have to be replaced with a more personal form of involvement with, and commitment to, the activities and goals of an organization.

Knights and O'Leary (2005) provide an important critique of the remnants of post-Enlightenment individualism within leadership paradigms. They argue that the kind of individualism that has emerged after the onset of the Enlightenment in Western society has skewed the relationship between individuals and society by placing too much emphasis on self-interest. In their view, an individual's personal interests cannot be separated from his/her membership of a particular society. "Success" is only meaningful within a community that acknowledges and rewards it in some way. Whetstone makes a similar point with respect to organizational life by suggesting that in a mature organization, culture, leadership, and mission are interwoven (Thomas, 2005). He therefore insists that it is the internal culture of an organization that defines what is considered heroic, helpful or harmful by its members. The same is true of the dynamics of authority within an organizational system. What Whetstone's observations and proposals seem to suggest, is that leadership is a fully relational construct. This view is echoed in the work of a large number of leadership theorists who have come to understand the limits of more individualistic approaches to leadership.[3] Acknowledging the relational nature of leadership may help us to understand how and why women leaders respond the leadership challenge in specific ways.

We can see the practical implications of this "relational" dynamic in some of the challenges faced by women in leadership positions. Some of the twists and turns in the labyrinth that Eagly and Carli identified, include vestiges of prejudices around the lesser value of women's work. In real terms, these prejudices translate into unequal pay for equal work and slower promotional trajectories for women. Eagly and Carli also identify persistent resistance to women's leadership as an important factor, explaining that women are often caught between a rock and

a hard place in deciding how to conduct themselves as leaders. If they mimic the stereotypical male leadership model, it leads to negative responses, but if they do not display the traits that followers typically associate with leadership, they are not recognized as leaders. This finding is corroborated by Gmür, who found that across various empirical studies, stereotypical male leaderships traits are associated with what a "good manager" is supposed to do. The female stereotype does not include attributes that are considered ideal for leadership positions. Out of the number of ideal managerial traits only two "feminine" traits are considered desirable for managers, i.e. being "adept to dealing with people" and "cooperative" (Gmür, 2006). All the other ideal traits, like being analytical, competent, confident, convincing, decisive, efficient, fore-sighted, independent etc. are associated with the male stereotype. Gmür's research also shows that there is a higher expectation of women to conform to the male stereotypes than of men. Though scholars concur that these stereotypes are culturally constructed and reinforced through the societal structures and practices, within which the media is a prominent role-player, it is also a function of organizational culture, with all of its tacit beliefs and preferences. Organizational culture includes symbols, practices and artifacts that manifest themselves rewards, socialization, role-modeling, career planning, and business decision-making. These symbols, practices and artifacts are often clearly gendered.

Social scientists present us with an important exponent of the research on leadership which may in some respects be well suited to the study of leadership within the context of a situated set of complex relational dynamics. In their analysis of leadership Brown and Trevino (2006) argue that there is a need for a more systematic and unified social scientific approach to the phenomenon of leadership as it is actually manifested in everyday business practice. They draw on social learning theory to give an account of the effect that leaders have on the perceptions and actions of those with whom they interact. Social learning theory suggests that individuals tend to pay attention to, and emulate credible and attractive role models. From this perspective, they define ethical leadership as: "*the demonstration of normatively appropriate conduct through personal actions and interpersonal relationships, and the promotion of such conduct to followers through two-way communication, reinforcement, and decision-making.*" Unfortunately, the absence of role-models who are gender sensitive and committed to gender equality can have an equally powerful effect. In what we learn from the literature regarding the reasons for the persistence of the glass ceiling, the lack of female role-models is often cited as an important barrier to women's leadership in organizations. Within the PwC (2007) "*Leaking Pipeline*" study, the tendency of male executives to seek a "mini-me" when looking for their replacements, or for individuals who should be positioned proactively for leadership positions. The situation is aggravated by the phenomenon of "leaking pipeline" by which women abandon leadership positions in organizations or leave their organizations altogether, since these "leaks" rob future women leaders of the role-models they need.

Though this perspective on the absence of role-models is helpful to some extent, it cannot fully account for why so many women abandon leadership positions after a

while, or chose not to go that route at all. It also tends to assume that women cannot have male role-models, or that male executives cannot see something of themselves in women. As such, this explanation is open to too many contentious gender stereotypes and assumptions. Within organizations as complex adaptive systems, it is not just the case that leaders influence their followers, but also that leaders are shaped by the expectations others have of them. The reality is that ambitious women do model themselves on men in leadership positions, but unfortunately not always with positive effect. A study by the Office of the Public Service Commission in South Africa revealed that women often mimic what they perceive as "leadership" as it is practiced by their male role-models, and end up being "much harder, less sympathetic and inflexible". Even more disconcerting was the fact that the study showed that women in top leadership positions were not likely to support the advancement of other women and tended to "behave more like men and even worse" (Office of the Public Service Commission, 2008). In this statement, it becomes clear that gender prejudices, both about "typical male behavior" and "typical female behavior", persist. The study also indicated that an important factor in the lack of promotion of women to certain senior position related to perceptions regarding "jobs that are more suitable to women". Women often have the training and skills for a position but opt out of applying for positions more typically conceived of as "male jobs". These perceptions have further spin-off effects. For instance, the perception that women are good at secretarial work, often led to women being placed in leadership positions without being given adequate administrative support. What we therefore have to take into account, is the existence of certain belief systems that influence both the men and the women involved in leadership dynamics. This requires some understanding of organizational culture.

Brown and Trevino define ethical organizational culture or climate as the extent to which ethical behavior is encouraged or discouraged by organizational conditions, habits, practices, procedures or infrastructure. One of the strengths of Brown and Trevino's social scientific approach to leadership is the amount of attention that they pay to contextual factors that affect leadership. They also touch on individual factors that may influence ethical leadership, such as personality traits, the location of a leader's locus of control, Machiavellianism and moral development.[4] Naturally, there can be no dispute that individual factors such as these influence the behavior of individuals. However, when it comes to the influence of those who occupy formal positions of authority in an organizational system, individual factors like the ones that Brown and Trevino identify are drawn into a wider, more complex interplay of contextual and relational contingencies. In a sense, Brown and Trevino's research demonstrate both the advantages and limitations of a social scientific approach to leadership. While this approach allows us to base our analysis of ethical leadership on real observations of organizational practice, its logic tends to remain too linear in orientation to adequately account for the complex and unpredictable ways in which members, at every level of an organizational system, shape and inform one another's sensibilities and perceptions. Brown and Trevino clearly subscribe to the view that leadership is the function of specific individuals who occupy positions of authority.

They also seem to believe that it is these individuals who are capable of "managing" the sense of normative orientation of employees, whether through formal or informal systems.

Thomas Maak and Nicola Pless present an intriguing alternative to individualist models of ethical leadership. In their analysis, Maak and Pless (2006) propose a more relational understanding of the concept of leadership. They define responsible leadership as the art of building and sustaining relationships with all relevant stakeholders. This requires socialized, not personalized leaders. Relational leaders are described as the weavers and facilitators of trusting stakeholder relations. They are said to be capable of balancing the power dynamics that are always at work in such relations by aligning the different values of the various parties in a way that serves everyone's interest alike. Maak and Pless see such leaders as servants, stewards, coaches, architects, storytellers, and change agents. Unlike many other leadership theorists, they are careful to note that the kind of leaders that they have in mind need not be exceptional individuals. Navigating the challenges of a complex and demanding stakeholder environment is a skill that is developed, practiced and sustained over time by remaining contextually aware and relationally responsive. This kind of leadership is developed when there is a real concern for sustaining relationships, protecting and nurturing others, and advancing shared goals. Though their approach presents some move a way from individualistic leadership, Maak and Pless still seem to believe that leadership involves certain traits and behavior, albeit social in nature and developed in the process of sustaining relationships over time.

The problem that women face, however, is that there seems to be a set op competing demands within the relational dynamic that they are part of. On the one hand, they are perceived to have "natural" capacities for transformational leadership, but they often abdicate this leadership style in favor of what may be considered more recognizable leadership characteristics, i.e. those associated with the male stereotype. It seems that women are constantly "shifting gears" to respond to what they perceive to be the expectations of those around them. The two modes that women seem to have to negotiate are described by Eagly and Carli (2007, p. 68) as "agentic" or "communal". Women are typically thought to have a communal orientation, conveying a concern for the compassionate treatment of others, whereas men are thought to have agentic orientation, which make them capable of assertion and control. Women leaders find themselves in a double bind – when they display the traits of the communal orientation, affectionate, helpful, friendly, kind, and sympathetic, as well as interpersonally sensitive, gentle, and soft-spoken, they are seen as not agentic enough and hence not capable of leadership. But when they display the agentic traits, i.e. aggressive, ambitious, dominant, self-confident, and forceful, as well as self-reliant and individualistic, they are seen as not communal enough, and often, this is associated with inauthenticity. There also seems to be a clear double standard at work: when men assert their own position on a specific matter, they are respected, whereas when women defend their point of view, they are labeled as "control-freaks". Self-promotion is also deemed inappropriate in women, because it is not considered to be communal. The fact that women are tacitly aware of the prejudices that still exist in organizational environments may bring them to behave in ways that

paradoxically perpetuates injustice in organizations. For instance, women still seem to believe that they have to work much harder than men to establish their credibility. As such they tend to be even more results-driven, and detail-orientated, than their male counterparts. Research found that women tend to favor a no-nonsense, concrete and task-oriented approach to their work (Ibarra and Obodaru, 2009). A very complex array of expectations, fears, and prejudices seems to be at work, which tend to be perpetuated within organizational cultures.

An organizational culture is not something that formally appointed leaders of an organization can design deliberately, impose unilaterally or sustain willfully. If gender prejudices are to be addressed on a broader organizational cultural level, it stands to reason that the notion of "leadership" may need to be fundamentally reconceived. So far, we have spoken about women's leadership in terms of the few women leaders, i.e. individuals that have made it to official positions of authority. However, the number of "women leaders" cannot fully account for the "leadership dynamics" within which people of different genders and across organizational hierarchies play an important role. Gaining a broader perspective on a set of leadership dynamics operative in organizations goes beyond focusing the formally appointed "leaders" of the organization.

In order to develop a more sophisticated understanding of the leadership dynamics in complex adaptive systems, it is helpful to distinguish between leaders, i.e. those appointed in positions of authority, and leadership as a broader construct. Uhl-Bien describes two perspectives of what she calls "relational leadership". These two perspectives are complementary, but each has distinct implications for the study and practice of leadership. The first is an *entity* perspective that maintains a focus on the identification of individual attributes of leaders as they engage in interpersonal relationships. The second is a *relational* perspective that views leadership as a process of social construction through which particular understandings of leadership come about and gain ontological saliency. Uhl-Bien points out that even from the *entity* perspective, it is possible to redefine the reality of individual leaders from a more relational point of view. She argues that exchange-theory, the study of charisma as a social relationship between leaders and followers, and the notion of collective or relational selves, are all examples of the move towards a more relational conception of leaders. Many leaders define themselves in terms of relationships with others and as such, possess a social self-concept. It is however Uhl-Bien's insistence on the *relational* perspective to leadership, that allows us to redefine leadership in more systemic terms. It represents a move away from exclusively focusing on leaders as individual persons, to the recognition of leadership as process. From her *relational* perspective, Uhl-Bien (2006) defines the broader construct of leadership as a social influence process through which emergent coordination (such as social order) and change (new approaches, value, attitudes and ideologies) are constructed and produced.

The literature on leadership within complex adaptive systems is helpful in exploring what it would mean to perceive leadership as something that is not restricted to those individuals who were appointed to positions of authority. A special edition of *Leadership Quarterly*, focusing on Leadership in Complex Adaptive systems

(2007) offered a number of detailed analyses of why the reality of contemporary organizational life demands a radical reconsideration of leadership as such. They pointed out the fact that within complex adaptive systems, it is impossible to control behavior, pass information to subordinates unilaterally, and reduce complexity. A different kind of leadership emerges under such conditions. It is my contention that this form of leadership not only explains some of the complex dynamics that create barriers to women's leadership, but that it furthermore offers a broader perspective on the avenues open to women to assume leadership roles in organizations.

Systemic Leadership: A Brief Introduction

The literature on "systemic leadership" differs from traditional "great man" theories in that it does not perceive leadership as something that is restricted to those individuals who were appointed to positions of authority. A number of organizational theorists have come to appreciate the value of the insight that an organization's direction is influenced by all who participate in it. It is especially in the areas of organizational learning and change, that a more systemic view of leadership capacities becomes invaluable. According to Peter Senge thinking and acting is not just the task of top managers. It is an ongoing process that must be integrated at all levels. Traditional "great man theories", i.e. the view that leaders are special people and therefore the only ones who are properly equipped to set direction and make important decisions, are rooted in an individualistic and non-systemic perspective that impedes collective learning and change. Senge and Kaufer point out that leaders may play a variety of roles, such as designer, teacher, and steward in the process of organizational learning. These roles are systemic in nature and require skills such as the capacity to build a shared vision, the ability to recognize and acknowledge all the various mental models that may be in operation within an organizational system, and the adeptness to draw on these insights to foster systemic patterns of thinking. Senge and Kaufer (2000) also emphasize the crucial role of systemic leadership in facilitating change within an organization. They argue that when it comes to organizational change, it is a case of "communities of leaders, or no leadership at all". Their research into the role of leadership in organizational change has brought these authors to redefine leadership as "a capacity of the human community to sustain significant change." Leadership is viewed as a creative and collective process, distributed among diverse individuals who share the responsibility for creating the organization's future. It stands to reason that if gender perceptions are to be changed in any significant way, it requires "communities of leaders" to effect this change, and to sustain this change.

There are also any pragmatic, business reasons for why this "community of leaders" is necessary. Collier and Esteban argue that it is impossible for any one individual to possess the kind of comprehensive knowledge, determining influence, or unerring decision-making capacities that are required to respond appropriately and effectively to every challenge and opportunity that may present itself in and

to an organization. Post-industrial corporate contexts are shaped and moved by goals and priorities that emerge from within the organizational system and are thus recognized by all who participate in it (Collier and Esteban, 2000, p. 207). From this perspective, the circulation of influence within an organization is not unidirectional or hierarchically centered on one or more pivotal positions of authority. Instead it involves "an ongoing direction-finding process, which is innovative and continually emergent" and which draws in, and on, all the members of an organizational system. Collier and Esteban (2000, p. 208) come to describe leadership as "the systemic capability, distributed and nurtured throughout the organization, of finding organizational direction and generating continual renewal by harnessing creativity and innovation." A balance is continually maintained between the need to remain responsive to the ever-changing challenges and opportunities of the contemporary business environment, and the necessity of maintaining a congruent sense of organizational purpose.

There is considerable corroboration for Collier and Esteban's observations in leadership literature. Uhl-Bien, Marion and McKelvey (2007) argue that leadership can no longer be described exclusively in terms of position and authority, but that it is in fact an emergent, interactive dynamic. This dynamic creates a complex interplay from which the impetus for change is stimulated through the interactions of heterogeneous agents. The insight that the ability to influence and inform the beliefs and behavior of the members of an organizational system is shared by all who participate in it is echoed by Edgeman and Scherer. They describe systemic leadership as the deployment of leadership responsibilities and privileges across an organization's entire human resource (Edgeman and Scherer, 1999). They also argue that when such privileges and responsibilities are shared by all its members, an organization's ability to anticipate and respond to threats and challenges at a local level, is enhanced. Kanji and Moura (2001) see the power to influence the life and direction of an organizational system as something which is distributed among all who participate in it. Researchers like Spillane and Gronn refer to what they call "distributed leadership." Spillane and Gronn's observations basically amount to recognition of the fact that leadership "is stretched over the practice of actors within organizations" (Friedman, 2004).

If leadership has traditionally been associated with the ability to influence and inform the beliefs and activities of those who participate in an organizational system, then Kranz proposes that leadership should be re-conceived as a property of the system as a whole. For him, those priorities and imperatives that give shape and direction to the life of an organization is the result of complex interactions amongst important elements of the system (Kranz, 1990, p. 52). In the light of their review of the literature, Bennett, Wise, Woods and Harvey come to the conclusion that the notion of "distributed leadership" highlights leadership as an emergent property of a group of interacting individuals. They suggest an awareness of the openness and fluidity of the boundaries of leadership within a specific organization. In fact, they even go so far as to argue that leadership may be extended or distributed to the other entities that the organization interacts with. It also takes us beyond associating leadership with certain individual "traits". From the perspective of distributed

leadership, varieties of expertise are distributed amongst multiple members of the organization.

The emphasis that is placed on adaptive responsiveness in recent leadership literature can be interpreted as a response to the challenges associated with contemporary organizational systems' perpetual dynamism. Heifetz (2006), for instance, describes the process by which people distinguish what is precious and essential to their organizational culture from that which is incidental and insignificant. He portrays it as a process, which requires experimentation. Because of this, Heifetz argues, leaders have to balance efficiency with creativity. They have to be able and willing to improvise if they expect to prevail in an environment where a stable point of equilibrium remains elusive. According to Heifetz, the process of adaptation requires that the members of an organization to perform an ongoing critical interrogation as to which values will allow them to thrive. In addition, they need to consider the contingencies that may threaten the realization of those values. Heifetz's observations are suggestive of the importance of adaptation in the relational processes of normative re-orientation that play out daily among the members of a complex organizational system.

Those who have been formally appointed to positions of authority in an organization can help to create institutional conditions capable of recognizing and supporting the complex processes in and through which the congruity between individual members' sense of normative propriety is relationally established. We see that researchers concur that there must be commitment from the very top of the organization to gender mainstreaming, which includes gender sensitivity in policy development, commitment to the selection and promotion of female leaders, and training and awareness raising around gender sensitivity.[5] However, these processes are driven, to no lesser degree, by the willingness and ability of all those who participate in the organizational system to make new proposals, to offer a different point of view, and to contest the status quo. This need not amount to an indianless chiefdom. It simply means that he/she who is in the best position, with the right kind of "weapons" and experience, should lead the fight in the battle that wins the war, which secures the cause. Such a willingness to reorganize, re-align and adapt as necessary is ultimately based on an abiding awareness, among the members of an organization, of their interdependency and of the interdependency between the organization and those systems in which it participates.

In order to understand the way in which both individual leaders and broader leadership dynamics operate, it is helpful to draw on the distinction that Uhl-Bien, Marion and McKelvey make between *administrative* leadership, *adaptive* leadership and *enabling* leadership. Administrative leadership refers to the managerial roles and actions of individuals who occupy positions of authority in planning and coordinating organizational activities. The PwC study the importance of top management buy-in, support and commitment to the promotion of women. It also makes mention of a number of key managerial tasks that are clearly administrative leadership functions. These include setting performance targets (not quotas) for the retention, promotion and leadership development improvement of female leaders and monitoring this, committing to a target number of female candidates for

each leadership appointment, considering the composition of selection teams, communicating leadership opportunities more transparently, employing proper career planning, succession planning, mentoring etc. (PwC, 2007).

Adaptive leadership entails a "collaborative change movement" that allows adaptive outcomes to emerge in a nonlinear fashion as a result of dynamic interactions (Uhl-Bien et al., 2007, p. 311). Since adaptive leadership refers to a dynamic, rather to a person's traits or behaviors, it emerges from the interactions of interdependent agents. Here we are talking about individuals who step up to the leadership plate spontaneously when the opportunity arises. This may be both male and female individuals, who are enabled by the emergent sense of shared accountability to engage in a leadership role, even though this may not be a position officially assigned to the individual. This form of leadership may however be one of the most important avenues to addressing the gender discrepancies in organizations. In this way, women may find a way to lead according to their own individual leadership style. The absence of "role-models" may be less likely to influence their view of leadership, as adaptive leadership is by definition unique and tailored to a specific situation and relationships.

Enabling leadership is what catalyzes adaptive leadership and hence allows for the emergence of adaptive leadership. As such, it deals with the inevitable entanglement between administrative and adaptive leadership. As enabling leadership requires some authority, but is equally reliant on the dynamic between various agents, middle managers are often in an ideal position to take on this role. This may present an important avenue for women's leadership, as many women find themselves in middle management positions. The combination of their access to resources and their involvement with the everyday boundary situations that an organization's members confront make them ideal enablers. The roles that enabling leadership play, can be described as fostering interaction, supporting and enhancing interdependency and stimulating adaptive tension in order to allow for interactive emergence of new patterns. However, enabling leadership can also be a role that the most senior executives can play. For instance, Vivienne Cox, the CEO of BP Alternative Energy describes herself as a "catalyst", who does not drive change, but allows it to emerge. It is important to note that Uhl-Bien et al. argue that all three types of leadership are operative within one organization.

What does this mean for our description of leadership in organizations? At the very least, it means that some new perspectives on leadership dynamics, and even on individual leadership characteristics, are in order.

Leadership Dynamics from a More Systemic Perspective

A variety of insights from contemporary leadership literature lend support the notion of systemic leadership in a variety of ways. It indicates the importance of fostering relationships and enhancing collaboration. In what follows, I present a brief overview of some trends in recent literature that, in my mind, present additional

impetus to the notion of systemic leadership. I also reflect on the implications that this may have for women's leadership and for the emergence of alternative leadership styles amongst both men and women.

- *Values and vision:* Porras, Emery and Thompson interviewed 200 people who are considered successful individuals, in most cases, leaders of their organizations. These individuals consistently stressed the importance of doing what they love and investing their energies in pursuits that are meaningful to them. The individuals that Porras et al. (2006) interviewed primarily experience their work as meaningful because it somehow contributed to, or involved things that they considered valuable and enjoyable. In most cases however, these individuals also found their work meaningful because it contributed to the creation of lasting relationships with others. What this suggests, is that it is an individual's investment in a system of relations at work that ultimately makes his/her efforts seem meaningful or significant. Porras et al. (2006, p. 110) succinctly articulates the implication of this point with respect to the dynamics of leadership. They suggest that if leaders serve a cause, the cause also serves them. If an individual does things, and acts in ways that serves to nurture and sustain the network of relationships within an organizational system, then its members are more likely to recognize, value and support his/her contributions. This also accounts for a shift in perceptions with respect to the role of charisma that is detectible in some recent leadership literature. Whereas the possession of personal charisma used to be considered an important prerequisite for effective leadership, the emphases seems now to be shifting towards causes that in and of itself inspire and draw people along. In other words, the goals and priorities of an organizational system is no longer seen as something that is defined by the passions and values of one or more of its charismatic members, but rather as something, which is continually constituted in, and by, the relational dynamics and contextual contingencies of the system as a whole.

  In their widely circulated book *"Built to Last"* Collins and Porras (2002) strongly emphasize the importance of a strong values-driven, or purpose-driven orientation in successful organizations. Their central message is quite simple: companies that last are built on a central and enduring set of core values. However, the success of such companies also depends on their ability to balance continuity with change. Their core values and identity provides continuity and direction, whilst allowing them to experiment with what Collins and Porras calls "big hairy audacious goals." Collins and Porras argue that to simultaneously preserve the basic tenets of an organization's orientation and stimulate progress constitute a yin-yang dynamic that must always be held in creative tension. A strong values-orientation can only be maintained in and through the ongoing interactions between people – it can never remain the concern of one or two individuals. As such, it empowers all members of the organization to participate in where the organization is gong and how it views it emergent concerns. Collins and Porras argue that to simultaneously preserve the basic tenets of an organization's orientation and stimulate progress constitute a yin-yang dynamic that must

always be held in creative tension. They do however not explore how this actually occurs. Some scholars working on leadership in complex adaptive systems offer more concrete proposals. They argue, for instance, that through "tagging", i.e. the process by which the creation of aggregates is facilitated, coordination emerges even though there is no "control" in the strict sense of the word. Tagging allows the organization to strike the ever-elusive balance between exploring what has already been learnt and exploiting new territory.

The capacity of leaders to create values-driven direction in an organization is very important in terms of the establishment of vision within the organization. Studies have indicated that vision is a very important attribute of all leaders. Interestingly, it has also been shown that vision is strongly associated with the credibility of a leader – a leader without vision is not perceived as credible (Holt et al., 2009). This raises interesting questions in the case of women leaders, as studies have shown that women leaders tend to come up short in the "envisioning" category. In fact, women out-perform men on all the leadership attributes considered important by respondents, except when it comes to envisioning. The authors argue that the reason for this may lie in the fact that women think differently about envisioning (Ibarra and Obodaru, 2009, pp. 67–68). Female executives explained that for them, strategy emerges in and through a commitment to detail and hands-on practical implementation of action plans. Women tend to favor no-nonsense, practical objectives over abstract analyses and lofty ideals. Women may not be prone to the big, hairy audacious goals that Porras et al. refer to, but that may not necessarily mean that they have no "vision".

Women's approach to vision may be less top-down than bottom-up. For instance, Vivienne Cox, CEO of BP Alternative Energy, has a leadership style that has been described as "organic". Those who work with her explain that she designs incentives and objectives in such a way that the organization naturally finds its own solutions and structures. This encourages everyone in the organization to be thoughtful, innovative and self-regulating. She is also collaborative in her approach to strategy and vision, drawing on thought leaders outside the organizations and executives in other business units. Ibarra and Obodaru (2009, p. 68) point out that this may also present us with a reason why women seem to score badly on the "envisioning" trait – they tends to give others credit for the emergent vision and hence don't come across as "visionary" themselves. It may also be that women are more inclined to "tag" valuable ideas emerging from their team and their broader networks, and in this way, allow for the emergence of vision bottom-up, rather than announcing in top-down.

- *Redefining authenticity:* Authenticity is often defined as one's capacity to be act consistently according to one's own character in all situations. Unfortunately, this is often misunderstood as being the same in each and every circumstance, which could easily amount to inflexibility. Within the systemic leadership literature, a different understanding of authenticity emerges. Building lasting relationships that are capable of accommodating change requires recognition of the fact that individuals do not always have to fulfill the same role. According to Porras et al., the best leaders realize that their relation to other people may change over time

and that this is likely to necessitate occasional role adjustments. One day, they point out, a person might work for you, the next day you might work for them. It is even conceivable that he/she might become your customer or a vendor at some future juncture. Porras et al. (2006, p. 198) argue that, in a sense, such a person remains part of one's "virtual team" and that it is therefore important to sustain the relationship despite the role changes that may occasionally occur over time. Cognitive psychologists confirm that individuals have various "selves" that may be operationalized in fulfillment of various role responsibilities. From this perspective, authenticity requires judgment as to what is appropriate within the context of a specific set of role responsibilities.

This perspective offers important opportunities for rethinking some of the dilemmas that women leaders face. As was pointed out earlier in this chapter, female executives often experience a case of "damned if you do and if you don't" in following the stereotypical male leadership model. If female executives mimic what they perceive to be the more acceptable leadership traits, people doubt their authenticity (Eagly and Carli, 2007, p. 64). Female executives report that they feel hemmed in by "style constraints", pertaining to their way of speaking, gestures and appearance. Around a third of minority female executives feel self-conscious about their quiet speaking style, and 23% worry that their hand-gestures may be deemed inappropriate. Among African American women, 34% feel that promotion is based on appearance rather than ability (Hewlett et al., 2005). The fact that female executives sense that in order to be taken seriously, they have to speak louder and "look the part", are easily construed as a lack of authenticity. However, if one looks at this from a systemic perspective, one can also view it as an authentic response to a very complex reality. The "authenticity" of female leaders should not be doubted as a result of their adaptability to the variety of roles that they play. Instead, the organization should investigate it own tacit assumptions about what constitutes "authentic leadership". This may require a critical perspective on current practices and beliefs.

- *Eliciting and appreciating contention:* In order to unsettle rigid belief systems and entrenched practices, it is important that alternative views are aired. What is more commonly celebrated in recent writing about leadership is the value of what Porras et al. (2006, p. 188) calls the "harvesting" of contention. This strategy presents a radical departure from op-down, demand-and-control structures of leadership. Porras et al. point to the many advantages of accommodating dissent within an organization. Not only does it allow ideas to be collected from the best and the brightest members of an organization, it also fosters innovation. An added benefit is the pre-emptive effect that it has with respect to the cynicism that often develops in and among employees in the absence of opportunities for open contention. In organizations where open conversations are rare, cathartic exceptions, and the edifying sense of being part of a creative team is denied to employees, creative ideas become "secret assets hoarded by team members rather than a shared resource that makes the team stronger" (Porras et al., 2006,

p. 189). Successful organizations are spaces within which contention and challenges to the status quo are not only welcomed, but also made productive. Porras points to Commerce Bank's practice of challenging employees to regularly come up with at least one stupid rule to kill and iVillage's open strategic meetings, where the best idea prevails, as practical examples of how contention may be harnessed (Porras et al., 2006, p. 191). He also draws attention to leaders such as Paul Galvin, who found Motorola. Galvin's leadership was distinguished by the way in which he encouraged dissent, discussion and disagreement among his employees. According to Porras, Galvin gave individuals immense responsibility to grow and learn on their own, even if this required working through failures and mistakes (Collins and Porras, 2002, p. 38). What the studies of leadership in complex adaptive systems point out, is that the way in which leaders enable emergence of certain value-orientations within organizations is quite different from unilaterally "directing" the behaviors of others. Instead, "enabling" leadership entails disrupting existing patterns, encouraging novelty and then making sense of whatever unfolds (Plowman et al., 2007, p. 342). Leaders in complex adaptive systems enable new perspectives on the future by utilizing conflict and embracing uncertainty. In fact, by injecting tension judiciously, spaces may open up as a result of struggles over diverse ideas. It is from within these spaces, that new responses emerge. Uhl-Bien et al. (2007, p. 307) describe the process by which leaders introduce new ideas, new people, and new resources as "dropping seeds of emergence". It is important to remember that the impact of these "seeds" will remain unpredictable.

The existence of gender prejudices that hamper open conservations often goes unacknowledged and therefore unaddressed in organizations. Part of the reason for this may lie in many organizations' obsession with "political correctness" and the fear that any mention of race or gender may be construed as "racism" or "sexism". Allowing sensitive topics to be raised, and encouraging dissenting positions, may go a long way towards unsettling entrenched beliefs about gender. Within an organization that functions as a complex adaptive systems, the expression of dissenting positions, the challenging of stereotypes in everyday conversations, may function as "seeds" that may allow an alternative gender dispensation to emerge over time.

- *Fostering collaboration:* According to Porras et al. (2006, p. 199), many of the successful leaders that they interviewed reiterated and confirmed the validity of truisms such as: "You're only as good as your people." Since many organizations face complex challenges that require people to work collaboratively across functions, researchers at the Center for Creative Leadership (CCL) have come to view leadership as part of a process that happens throughout the organization and involves interdependent decision-making. Alexander (2006) explains that the CCL's researchers define leadership as something which functions more inclusively, across functions and organizations and from the middle out. As a result of what Helgesen calls "the diffusion of knowledge", a leader has to draw on specialized and embedded knowledge scattered throughout the organization. In

a very real sense, the decision-making pool in the organization has expanded, and leaders have to manage by inclusion, bringing as many people to the table as is necessary to gain a proper understanding of the challenges and opportunities that present themselves in, and to, their organizations. As such, the question as to who matters strategically within an organization has to be completely rethought. Rigidly hierarchical decision-making channels and the centralization of power in formally constituted positions of power are unlikely to allow an organizational system enough flexibility to deal effectively with the complexity of the contemporary business environment. An example of an emerging leadership strategy that involves collaboration is the notion of "virtuous teaching cycles" (VTC). VTC stands in stark contrast to traditional top-down strategies for knowledge dissemination within an organization. Tichy and De Rose argue that since some of the knowledge that are most important for the sustained success of an organization is generated at the customer interface, a top-down knowledge dissemination strategy increases the likelihood that important insights will be obliterated before its value has been harvested. VTC's create highly interactive learning opportunities, where the teacher can become the learner, and the learner the teacher. Companies like Best Buy and Intuit are reported to have had great success with this approach. They have succeeded in empowering their frontline managers to become teachers and, by implication, leaders within their organizations (Tichy and DeRose, 2006).

What does this mean for our investigations into women's leadership? Here again, it seems as if women have what it takes to function very successfully in an environment where systemic leadership is accepted and nurtured. Women pursue power by producing results, forming collaborative relationships and building alliance networks (Jacobs, 2007). Studies have shown that women tend to lead more democratically than men do (Eagly and Johnson, 1990). The problem that seems to arise however, is that women seem to unwittingly react to expectations that they should display the stereotypical "male" leadership traits. This may be a problem that some male leaders who would prefer the collaborative leadership style experience too. In order for systemic leadership to flourish, an appreciation and recognition of the value of collaborative leadership styles amongst both men and women is necessary.

More importantly, one should acknowledge the socially constructed nature of findings about how men and women "typically" lead. The perception of the way women and men lead are the result of centuries of socio-political and economic factors and its influence of practices, habits, inclinations and beliefs. However, this does not mean that the persistence of these perceptions is not a reality. Acknowledging and challenging these perceptions may allow those women who do lead more democratically to see their specific leadership as an important asset within a systemic leadership environment. This in turn may lead other individuals, both women and men, to come to see this leadership style as more acceptable. As such, we may want to acknowledge that a systemic leadership perspective may make it possible for both men and women to lead in participative, democratic ways and enhance the systemic leadership dynamics of their organizations.

- *Building relationships of trust:* The internal processes that continually shape and inform the life of an organization have an important bearing on its members' capacity for trust. These processes occasionally require subtle, but significant interpersonal adjustments and personal recalibrations on the part of employees. Since accommodations and adaptations of this nature also have a normative dimension, they often impact those things that people value and hold dear. Because of this, some people's sense of security may be undermined. This can sometimes lead to resistance. Most people experience difficulty during long periods of sustained tension and experimentation. This can cause two common forms of avoidance, namely: the displacement of responsibility and the diversion of attention. According to Senge, scapegoating, blaming problems on authority, externalizing the enemy and shooting the messenger are all examples of how responsibility may be displaced by employees in the absence of a sense of security (Senge, 2006). It is in relation to such problems that the importance of fostering trust among colleagues is often stressed in leadership literature. Trust is often regarded as the solution to a particular type of risk. Typically, it is required in contexts where flexibility is required or when the members of an organization face many uncertainties. The renowned sociologist, Anthony Giddens points out that trust is always accompanied by an awareness of risk and incomplete information (Andersen, 2005). As such, trust emerges in a situation of vulnerability, where there is some possibility for error. The complexity of contemporary business life makes it ever more likely that agents will have to act in the absence of complete information. In these situations, individuals or groups of individuals would like to be able to expect that the word, promise, or written intentions of another individual or group can be relied upon. Trust can also be defined as the mutual confidence that no party to a relationship will exploit the vulnerability of the other (Andersen, 2005, p. 393). In her research, Klenke found that trust has many dimensions. She identified at least four moral values that contribute to the emergence of trust, namely: consistency, loyalty, openness and integrity (Klenke, 2005).

  The problem that female executives seem to face is that they unwittingly respond to the tacit expectations around leadership stereotypes that exist in the organization, and hence are depicted as inauthentic. This may even lead to doubts about their integrity or consistency. But the lack of trust is always a two-way street. In an attempt to deliver on what they often perceive as higher performance standards than those set for men, female executives tend to be afraid of failure. Ibarra and Obodaru (2009, p. 68) found that women are much less likely than men to go out on a limb. In their quest to present themselves as competent and in control, female executives may comes across less tolerant, open and trusting than their male counterparts.

- *Wisdom and humility:* Karl Weick defined wisdom as the balance between knowing and doubting, or behaviorally, as the balance between too much confidence and too much caution. Wisdom enables individuals to simultaneously draw on what they know and embrace that which they might not know as opportunities for creative sense-making. Successful organizational learning and knowledge creation is based on what Weick (2001) calls "heedful interrelating" and "acting

thinkingly". According to Weick, it is this kind of openness and readiness to exploit whatever opportunities may present itself to learn new things that facilitate the capacity for ongoing adaptations within an organization. Wise leaders are paradoxically capable of embracing both what they know and what they do not know. According to Porras et al. (2006, p. 169), many of the successful people that they spoke to had come to the conclusion that "planning works, though the plan itself rarely does". Individuals' ability to acknowledge their own weaknesses and to draw on other people's insights allows them to address their own "blind spots." Humility is therefore essential. Senge and Kaufer (2000, p. 25) cite an interview with Phil Caroll, the recently retired CEO of Shell Oil, to underscore the importance of humility and a leaders' ability to acknowledge his/her own vulnerability: "*You need a healthy dose of humility… The truth is everyone can see your flaws … if you try to hide them, they wonder what else you are hiding.*"

The fact that women are depicted as being less directive and autocratic in their leadership style (Eagly and Johnson, 1990, p. 235), may lead us to believe that in they will be capable of displaying some of the traits of wisdom and humility that are necessary for systemic leadership practices to flourish. However, women can be very assertive and confident when they are asked about their own merit. Ibarra and Obodaru (2009, p. 64) found no evidence of the so-called female "modesty effect". Instead, they found that women rated themselves significantly higher than men rated themselves on four out of the ten GELI (Global Executive Leadership Inventory) dimensions, and one the other dimensions, they rated themselves the same as the men did. However, it seems that this confidence in women's self-evaluation during a research study often does not translate to the organization itself. Studies show that within organizational life, women are less prone to self-promotion. Also, while men may get away with self-promotion, there is much less tolerance for this kind of behavior of female leaders amongst organizational members. It seems as if female executives would do well to embrace their collaborative inclinations to supplement any "blind-spots" they may feel they have. Executives that have the capacity to give others the credit they deserve, and to view themselves as "catalysts", rather than the "driver" of an idea, will allow systemic leadership to thrive.

- *Celebrating diversity:* There is a close correlation between leaders' ability to draw out the best that the various members of their team have to offer and their capacity to productively harness diversity. According to Thomas, the concept of "diversity" has changed significantly in recent years. He argues that it is important to distinguish between the issue of representation, which relates to the presence of a variety of races and genders in the workplace, and the issue of diversity, which he associated with: "*the differences, similarities, and tensions that can and do exist between the elements of … different mixtures of people*" (Roosevelt Thomas, 2006). In his conception, diversity management is a special kind of skill that is characterized by the ability to sense what role differences and similarities in areas such as personal style, thought processes and personality play in shaping the behavioral patterns within an organizational system. Thomas thus specifically identifies diversity management with the ability to make "*quality decisions*

in the midst of differences, similarities and related tensions." Differences based on race and gender are not the only factors that contribute to the complexity of an organization's internal system of relations. Mergers and acquisitions, changing customer bases, geographic relocations, product innovations and the development of new functions also have a complicating effect on the relational dynamics within an organization. Because every employee represents a singular mix of traits and capacities it is important to create an environment in which various unique individual contributions are not only recognized, but drawn into the rich tapestry of organizational values dynamics. Helgesen points out that the rich and challenging diversity of opinion within contemporary organizations mirror the diversity of opinion in society at large. Organizations that allow its priorities and activities to be shaped and informed by the full spectrum of individual human differences within its ranks are therefore much more likely to establish and sustain meaningful relationships with its external stakeholders.

The important insight that this perspective on diversity offers us, is that the meeting of target numbers of women and other minorities often won't suffice in creating a truly diverse organizational environment. If women continue to take their cues from male leadership stereotypes, their organizations won't have the benefit of diverse leadership. Instead, different leadership styles and assets should be acknowledged amongst both men and women. One should also realize that leadership can emerge in unexpected places, and that there could be different leadership roles to play outside of formal, structured positions of authority.

- *Insight into interdependence:* The interdependency between an organization and the environment within which it functions is a theme that has received considerable attention in recent leadership literature. The business community's growing appreciation of the extent to which an organization's fate and fortunes are intertwined with that of its environment, has underscored, for many, the importance of serving a broad stakeholder community. On various levels, business organizations are discovering that they cannot go it alone (Senge, 1990). An awareness of the interdependency between business and the systems within which it functions, requires a special kind of capacity. Senge calls this "systems intelligence", i.e. the ability to see systems and patterns of interdependency within, and surrounding an organization (Senge, 1990).

In an interesting study regarding the leadership role that many working women play in their communities in their free time, the capacity of women to nurture broader stakeholder relationships become evident. Hewlett, Luce and West (2005) argue that women, especially female minorities, build up significant "cultural capital" in their communities, the value of which their organizations often don't acknowledge. From a systemic leadership perspective, the relationships that women foster with a broader group of stakeholders should be recognized as a very important contribution to the organization. Even women who aren't in formal leadership positions in the organizations, fulfill an important leadership role in this regard that should be recognized, rewarded and harnessed. Furthermore, these community leadership positions are important training opportunities that allow women to hone their leadership skills.

Implications of Rethinking Leadership Within Complex Organizational Systems for Women's Leadership

Studying gender dynamics from the perspective of systemic leadership is helpful in understanding the challenges that female executives face. On the one hand, they do display many of the capacities that would allow them to function very effectively within environments in which systemic leadership operates. Systemic leadership could allow all members of the organization to assume various leadership roles, within the context of a given business episode, in response to the unpredictable iterations of an organization's complex system of relations. An acknowledgement of systemic leadership dynamics may therefore enable both men and women to adopt alternative leadership style and to literally "shift gears" depending on the situation. In some instances this may involve a pragmatic reversal of roles between those who occupy positions of authority and those who answer to them in the formal hierarchy of an organization.

Leaders can contribute to the emergence of certain gender-sensitive value-orientations through what Boal and Schultz call sense-making, sense-giving and sense-taking. This informs and influences the process by which individual cognitive structures evolve and schemas shared with others develop. However, in some respects, the tacit beliefs and assumptions that persist in organizational environments sabotage this potentially positive leadership dynamic. The development of genuine gender equity within organizations requires the emergence of gender-sensitivity in everyday practices. This involves the efforts of both those in formal leadership positions and the participation of all other members of the organization. Any individual who participates in the organizational system, can assume responsibility or take the lead in its various operations when, where and for as long as it is necessary to do so. This should however not be construed to mean, that all the members of an organization lead at the same time, or that every decision is made collectively. Collier and Esteban point out, in this regard, that people have different capabilities, and that roles and responsibilities may occasionally be exchanged between individuals. Because of this, they conclude, the dynamics of leadership in an organization are asymmetric (Collier and Esteban, 2000, p. 209). The co-existence of and interdependence between various forms of leadership is therefore important. The fact that adaptive leadership emerges amongst a variety of organizational members, does not render "administrative" leadership, with its more bureaucratic nature, useless or less important. All the members of an organization have to be to be empowered in a way that allows them to assume responsibility in circumstances where it may be required, and draw on the full array of diverse perspectives that are available in the system. For this to occur, a fundamental reconsideration of organizational systems, processes and procedures is required.

Multidirectional patterns of influence within which every level of the organization has a role to play must be acknowledged. As we saw above, administrative leaders, i.e. those appointed to positions of authority, have to be sensitive to the gendered implications of policies, procedures, performance management structures, and everyday organizational practices. For instance, decisions around how and where the organization socializes, can either communicate a commitment to gender equality

or not. Studies have found that women are excluded from important networking opportunities because of the fact that these take place in typically "male" locations, i.e. golf courses, bars, or even strip-clubs.

Though it is important that gender sensitivity forms part of how administrative leaders act and make decisions, enabling leaders and adaptive leaders also have a role to play. All individuals who step into a leadership role play an important role in the emergence of the beliefs, practices and communication that makes gender equity a reality in organizations. A broad variety of individuals may enhance the emergence of what they call "cognitive consensuality" by the way in which they conduct themselves, communicate and structure their organizations. This form of consensuality is replicated by what Boal and Schultz named "memes", i.e. units of cultural knowledge transmission that operate as carriers of mental representations. Tacit messages emerge through example, through business practices like recognition and reward, and through the stories, jokes and water-cooler conversations that everyone participates in. Sensitivity around the kind of jokes told, the type of stories that become legend in the organizations, all contribute to the beliefs and tacit assumptions that exists around gender in the organization.

It should be kept in mind is that the influences that various leaders could have in this process are never unilateral, nor are the stories they tell unequivocal accounts of reality. In fact, storytelling within organizations could go in unintended directions. The congruity of value, priority and purpose that is described in the complex adaptive systems model of organizations can never be fully reified in a fixed constellation of deliberately articulated codes and statements. Instead, it is always understood as the emergent properties of a dynamic system. Building relationships requires a certain amount of accommodation and inclusion. Because of this, the normative orientations of organizations remain open to challenge, reform and development. However, the tacit sense of moral propriety that informs the behavior of an organization's individual employees does not develop overnight. It develops gradually over time and it is never entirely reified. As such it is always susceptible to the shaping influence of those who participate in the organizational system. An organization's agents always have an opportunity to contribute to the processes of value formation that play out daily among them. While it may not be possible to deliberately impose a set of pre-formulated values on employees, the everyday decisions and actions of individuals, as well as the way in which an organization is structured can over time, have a decisive influence on what is valued by those who participate in the organizational system.

The discussion of trust earlier in this chapter drew attention to its importance in the emergence of an open organizational environment where candid, though respectful communication can take place freely. According to Collier and Esteban, reciprocal interaction will always involve "constructive conflict." As we saw in our analysis of the leadership dynamics in successful organizations, the willingness to allow all its members to critically challenge and re-evaluate what is being done in and by an organization contributes to a sense of ownership. Actions, decisions, attitudes or behavior that proves somehow detrimental to the intentions of those who participate in the organizational system must be challenged and changed. Senge argues that organizational life mirrors natural systems in its reliance on the

interaction between self-reinforcing (positive) and balancing (negative) feedback (Senge and Kaufer, 2000, p. 26). Within organizations, new insights and innovations must always be balanced with a historic sense of identity and continuity. To the extent that this is achieved, "creative conflict" is unlikely to drastically alter those aspects of the organizational system that are considered crucially significant by its members. It is more likely to facilitate a process of critical reconsideration in which the purposes and priorities of an organization is creatively reinterpreted in relation to new contingencies and opportunities. Raising awareness of the implications that gender prejudices have for the organization, and exploring the positive contribution that different leadership styles could make in a changing environment, could go a long way to create the right conditions for the emergence of gender equity.

Collier and Esteban (2000, p. 209) emphasize the responsibility and autonomy of every member of an organization. The notion of systemic leadership does not allow the members of an organization to "pass the buck" when it comes to the establishment of gender equity. It is everybody's duty to continually take responsibility for gender sensitivity within all aspects of the everyday business of the organization. However, it is important to recognize that the various individual members of an organization may interpret the nature and extent of their responsibilities differently. Organizational functions like strategic planning, human resource management, supply chain management and reporting practices all pose their own special kinds of challenges to those who are charged with their execution. The way in which individual members of an organization interpret these responsibilities and exercise their discretion under various unforeseeable circumstances and in relation to all its different stakeholders, ultimately determines the extent to which an organization displays gender sensitivity in all its operations. For instance, in human resource management, the consideration of the unique challenges of child-rearing is important in establishing more flexible working conditions for both men and women in the workplace. In supply chain management, procurement from women-owned business or female contractors would be important. In the prosecution of their various duties and responsibilities, individual corporate agents signal to those with whom they interact what can be expected, not only from them, but from all those who identify with the organization that they represent. When this kind of gender sensitivity becomes a reality, there may be a greater openness to different leadership styles within the organization. This may benefit not only women, but also men who want to lead in a different way. It may also allow a much more systemic view of leadership to emerge over time, whereby different individuals, women and men, can take up the leadership role when it is required. In this way, women who do not necessarily want to occupy formal leadership positions, may nevertheless find ways to play meaningful leadership roles within their organizations.

Conclusion

A more systemic approach to leadership does not require that an organization's formal structures be abolished, nor does it imply that those individuals appointed in

top leadership positions don't have an important role to play in establishing gender equity and creating opportunities for women leadership. What it means instead, is that the capacity to take responsibility when and where needed should be nurtured throughout the organizational system and among all of its members. The goal is to create organizational environments within which systemic leadership can be utilized to strengthen gender sensitivity in all organizational practices.

In this paper, it became clear that it is the hidden prejudices and tacit belief systems circulating in organizational environments, coupled with women's own unconscious adaptations to these unspoken expectations, which make it difficult for female executives to succeed in their leadership positions. In many cases, these dynamics create disincentives that prevent women from applying to leadership positions in the first place. If women are to take their legitimate place in the top echelons of organizations, systemic changes are necessary. In order for this to happen, individuals at various levels of the organization will have to contribute to combating prejudice and injustice.

It may also be important to acknowledge that many women, and men, may prefer to lead without necessarily occupying the top spots. For this to happen, the various roles that can be played in terms of the systemic leadership dynamics of the organization must be acknowledged, nurtured and rewarded. Too often, women who act as enablers of others do not get the credit they deserve. It should be recognized that adaptive leadership, and eventual administrative leadership, are both reliant of the enabling leaders who act as catalysts within the organizational system.

From the perspective of systemic leadership, we may come to understand that there are many different ways to lead – many more ways than the straight-jacket dichotomies between "male leadership traits" and "female leadership traits" allow us to believe. In fact, both men and women are capable of "shifting gears", adapting their style and strategies to be responsive to their situations and the stakeholders they are involved with. This need not imply a loss of authenticity or integrity. Instead, it may be precisely what having the capacity for systemic leadership implies. For too long the focus on individual leadership traits have led us to ignore the hidden leadership potential that could be unleashed within organizations. Women leaders may be the first to benefit from insight into systemic leadership, but it seems clear that nurturing the variety of leadership capacities will benefit the organization, all its members, and its stakeholders.

Notes

1. In Kanji and Moura's (2001) analysis this view of leadership is called the "behavioral approach."
2. Kanji and Moura (Ibid.) identifies this as the "situational" or "contingency" approach to leadership.
3. For an overview of the limitations of traditional approaches to leadership, such as the traits-, behavior- and style-approaches, see the special edition on Leadership in Complex Adaptive Systems, in *The Leadership Quarterly* (2007, August), especially Plowman et al.

4. Brown and Trevino (2006) found that agreeableness and conscientiousness was positively related to leadership.
5. See the OPSC report's proposals around gender mainstreaming in the public service, 2007.

References

Alexander, J. (2006). The challenge of complexity. In F. Hesselbein and M. Goldsmith (eds.), *The Leader of the Future: Visions, Strategies and the New Era*. San Francisco, CA: Leader to Leader Institute, Josey Bass, pp. 90–91.

Andersen, J.A. (2005). Trust in managers: A study of why Swedish subordinates trust their managers. *Business Ethics: A European Review* 14(4):392–395.

Brown, S.E. and L.K. Trevino (2006). Ethical leadership: A review and future directions. *The Leadership Quarterly* 17(6):595–616.

Collier, J. and R. Esteban (2000). Systemic leadership: Ethical and effective. *The Leadership and Organizational Development Journal* 21(4):207–215.

Collins, J. and J.I. Porras (2002). *Built to Last: Successful Habits of Visionary Companies*. New York, NY: HarperBusiness Essentials.

Eagly, A.H. and L.L. Carli (2007). Women and the labyrinth of leadership. *Harvard Business Review* 85(9):62–71.

Eagly, A.H. and B.T. Johnson (1990). Gender and leadership style: A meta-analysis. *Psychological Bulletin* 108(2):233–256.

Edgeman, R.L. and F. Scherer (1999). Systemic leadership via core value deployment. *The Leadership and Organization Development Journal* 20(2):94–98.

Friedman, A.A. (2004). Beyond mediocrity: Transformational leadership within a transactional framework. *International Journal of Leadership Education* 7(3):206.

Gmür, M. (2006). The gendered stereotype of the 'good manager' sex role expectations towards male and female managers. *Management Revue* 17(2):116.

Heifetz, R.A. (2006). Anchoring leadership in the work of adaptive progress. In F. Hesselbein and M. Goldsmith (eds.), *The Leader of the Future: Visions, Strategies and the New Era*. San Francisco, CA: Leader to Leader Institute, Josey Bass, pp. 78–80.

Hewlett, S.A., C.B. Luce and C. West (2005). Leadership in your midst. *Harvard Business Review* 83(11):74–82.

Holt, S., R. Bjorklund and V. Green (2009). Leadership and culture: Examining the relationship between cultural background of leadership perceptions. *Journal of Global Business* 3(2):149–164.

Ibarra, H. and O. Obodaru (2009, January). Women and the vision thing. *Harvard Business Review* 69.

Jacobs, D. (2007, September/October). Powerplay: Women, leadership and the getting of power. *Ivey Business Journal*.

Kanji, G.K. and P. Moura (2001). Measuring leadership excellence. *Total Quality Management* 12(6):704.

Klenke, K. (2005). Corporate values as multi-level, multi-domain antecedents of leader behaviors. *International Journal of Manpower* 26(1):50–66.

Knights, D. and M. O'Leary (2005). Reflecting on corporate scandals: The failure of ethical leadership. *Business Ethics: A European Review* 14(4):359–366.

Kranz, J. (1990). Lessons from the field: An essay on the crises of leadership in contemporary organizations. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 26(1):49–64.

Maak, T. and N.M. Pless (2006). Responsible leadership. A relational approach. In T. Maak and N. Pless (eds.), *Responsible Leadership*. London: Routledge, p. 33.

Office of the Public Service Commission (2008). *Gender Mainstreaming Initiative in the Public Service*. Pretoria: OPSC, p. 17.

Plowman, D.A., S. Solansky, T.E. Beck, L. Baker, M. Kulharni and D.V. Travis (2007). The role of leadership in emergent self-organization. *The Leadership Quarterly* 18(4):341–356.

Porras, J., S. Emery and M. Thompson (2006). *Success Built to Last: Creating a Life that Matters*. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Wharton School Publishing, p. 24.

Psychogios, A.G. (2007). Towards the transformational leader: Addressing women's leadership style in modern business management. *Journal of Business and Society* 20:160–180.

PricewaterhouseCoopers (PwC) (2007). *The Leaking Pipeline: Where are our Female Leaders?*. Available at: http://www.pwc.com/gx/en/women-at-pwc/the-leaking-pipeline.jhtml (Accessed on January 3, 2011).

Reuvers, M., M.L. van Engen, C.J. Vinkelburg and E. Wilson-Evered (2008). Tranformational leadership and innovative work behavior: Exploring the relevance of gender difference. *Leadership and Innovation* 17(3):227–241.

Roosevelt Thomas, R. Jr. (2006). Diversity management: An essential craft for future leaders. In F. Hesselbein and M. Goldsmith (eds.), *The Leader of the Future: Visions, Strategies and the New Era*. San Francisco, CA: Leader to Leader Institute, Josey Bass, pp. 47–50.

Senge, P. (1990). *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization.* New York, NY: Doubleday

Senge, P. (2006). Systems citizenship: the leadership mandate for this millennium. *Leader to Leader* 41:21–26.

Senge, P. and K.H. Kaufer (2000). Communities of leaders or no leadership at all. In B. Kellerman and L.R. Matusak (eds.), *Cutting Edge: Leadership 2000*. College Park, MD: James Macgregor Burns Academy.

Soares, R., N.M. Carter and J. Combopiano (2009). *Catalyst Sensus: Women in Executive Officers and Top Earners*. Published by Ernst and Young. http://www.catalyst.org/publication/358/2009-catalyst-census-fortune-500-women-executive-officers-and-top-earners

Thomas, W.J. (2005). A framework for organizational virtue: The interrelationship of mission, culture and leadership. *Business Ethics: A European Review* 14(4):374.

Tichy, N.M. and C. DeRose (2006). Leadership judgment at the front line. In F. Hesselbein and M. Goldsmith (eds.), *The Leader of the Future: Visions, Strategies and the New Era.* San Francisco, CA: Leader to Leader Institute, Josey Bass, pp. 200–201.

Uhl-Bien, M. (2006). Relational leadership theory. Review issue of *Leadership Quarterly* 17(6):662.

Uhl-Bien, M., R. Marion and B. McKelvey (2007, August). Complexity leadership theory: Shifting leadership from the industrial age to the knowledge era. *The Leadership Quarterly* 18(4): 298–318.

Weick, K. (2001). The attitude of wisdom. In *Making Sense of Organizations*. Oxford: Blackwell, p. 167.

Part IV
Leadership in Practice

Chapter 10
Negotiating Ambivalence: The Leadership of Professional Women's Networks

Ine Gremmen and Yvonne Benschop

Editors' Introduction A systems perspective allows us to question popular beliefs about what women need to do to develop as leaders, or common explanations for the limited number of women in top leadership positions. For instance, much of the literature on leadership argues that the most successful leaders are those who engage in networking, or those who develop binding relationships throughout an organization. Because women have fewer opportunities to network and fewer such organizations in which to participate, it is often concluded that the paucity of such opportunities explains why there are fewer women than men in leadership positions. Gremmen and Benschop question the conclusion that networks are always beneficial, and contend that some professional women's networks are not enabling. The general conclusion to be drawn is that not all collaborative networks are successful, particularly those that revert to power struggles rather than collaboration. From a systemic perspective, the limited value of women's networks can be explained by the fact that they operate amidst and in interaction with a variety of other networks and dynamics, which may undermine the role it plays in subtle ways.

In research on gender and leadership and in organizational network studies alike, networking is increasingly recognized as essential to career advancement. Networking provides access to relevant persons, knowledge and information, advice and career support (Flap and Völker, 2004; Mavin and Bryans, 2002). At the same time, there is ample evidence that the outcomes of networking are unequal for women and men in status, influence, careers, information and trust (e.g., Ibarra, 1992, 1997; Krackhardt, 1990; Podolny and Baron, 1997). For example, while the establishment and maintenance of social ties to individuals (still predominantly

I. Gremmen (✉)
Institute for Management Research, Radboud University Nijmegen, Nijmegen
6500 HK, Netherlands
e-mail: I.Gremmen@fm.ru.nl

men) who occupy strategic positions in an organization is taken to be an effective route to career advancement (Cialdini et al. 1976), previous research has indicated that women have less access to these high status individuals than men have (Brass, 1985; Ibarra, 1993, 1997; Scott, 1996). Cross and Armstrong (2008, p. 9) note that, paradoxically,

> Women learn through both incidental and collective learning processes that involvement in informal male networks can act as an important "stepping stone" in their career progression, but they are usually denied the "privilege" of being part of this almost exclusively male club (Cross and Armstrong, 2008, p. 9)

Furthermore, networks that work to the advantage of men do not benefit women in the same way (Burt, 1998; Ibarra, 1993, 1997; Forret and Dougherty, 2001, 2004; Van Emmerik, 2006). For example, men are found to gain more profit from work-related socializing behavior than women (Scott, 1996). Even when women occupy similar structural network positions, they receive less job and career related help from their network contacts than men do (McGuire, 2002). Women have to follow different strategies from men or have to invest more than men in order to gain the same network resources or career benefits (Ibarra, 1992, 1997). High potential women are more likely than high potential men and non high potential women to have a wider network of close contacts with women outside their direct working environment in order to gain information and advice (Ibarra, 1997; cf. Scott, 1996).

Cross and Armstrong (2008) strongly recommend the establishment of formal networks for women to bring their individual experiences together to collectively learn how to find a way up in their organizations. Professional (corporate) women's networks in organizations are a case in point. Professional women's networks organize meetings and activities to bring women in one organization together to improve their positions. They "allow for the transfer of knowledge from the individual level to the collective" (Cross and Armstrong, 2008, p. 9).

Indeed, quite a few companies and organizations in various sectors support a corporate women's network. IBM (Women in Blue), KPMG (Female Capital) and Shell (Shell Professional Women Network) provide just a few examples. These organizations frequently parade their women's networks to underline their dedication to diversity issues. At the same time, however, professional women's networks also encounter quite critical reactions in the organizations they are part of. For example, they are criticized for focusing on issues concerning women that are supposedly less relevant and important than "general" issues concerning all organization members (Pini et al., 2004). What is more, professional women's networks are considered to engage in issues that are outdated because women's emancipation is presumed to have been achieved in the contexts under debate. Another criticism of professional women's networks entails that they attract the wrong participants. According to this criticism, professional women's networks attract women who are only looking for social company and the exchange of trivialities such as gossip and recipes, women who indulge in complaints about their positions without taking responsibility for action, women who have individual problems or problematic relationships with men

(Bierema, 2005) or senior women who only want to secure their individual careers (Singh et al., 2006).

As a consequence of the various criticisms, the leadership of professional women's networks faces the need to legitimize the networks' existence when they present the networks to their organizations at large and to potential participants. Therefore, the central question of this chapter focuses on how the leadership of professional women's networks anticipates or responds to the expectation to legitimize these networks' existence. To answer this question, we draw on an empirical study of twenty two Dutch professional women's networks from both Dutch and multinational companies. Our investigation of the leadership of professional women's networks contributes to gender and leadership studies as it addresses how women leaders provide goals and direction to networks that are contested due to gendered power processes.

Below, we first explain our study's theoretical perspective, design and methodological approach. Next, we analyze how the leading members of professional women's networks in our study position and present these networks vis-à-vis their organizations and their potential members in the context of the critical attitudes they encounter. We conclude with some reflections on the role of the discourse of diversity in the presentations of the professional women's networks by their leading members, and on the contribution of our study to gender and leadership scholarship and organizational network studies.

Theoretical Framework

Many studies on gender and leadership address differences between women and men on such issues as their unequal representation in high level management positions in organizations and their leadership styles (Alvesson and Billing, 2009; Kanter 1977; Calás and Smircich, 2003). The same goes for organizational research on networks and networking: if it pays attention to gender issues at all, it conceives of gender as a "demographic" variable (Ibarra et al., 2005) and compares women and men. Sex difference research on management enables the close monitoring of the representation of women in top management positions. It also may test taken for granted assumptions on sex differences concerning women's and men's leadership styles and networks. For example, Ibarra (1997) shows that the stereotyped expectation that women have closer ties than men, may not be tenable: the non high potential women in her study reported fewer very close ties in their career network than either the men or the high potential women. In the same vein, Van Emmerik (2006, p. 33) claims that her study of faculty members "tackles an old stereotype", finding that, in this context, "women do not appear to be the emotional specialists they often are thought to be".

However, sex difference studies have limited capacity to explore and explain the practices in which gender differences come about, or, for that matter, may change (Ely and Padavic, 2007). They may easily assume an essentialist view of women and men as being either fundamentally the same or ontologically different (Alvesson

and Billing, 2009). To avoid these assumptions and in order to contribute to the line of qualitative research that explores the construction of gender and leadership (Alvesson and Billing, 2009; Broadbridge and Hearn, 2008), we depart from a feminist constructionist theoretical perspective.

Social constructionist feminism focuses on the practices and processes of power that simultaneously create gender differences and make the construction of gender invisible (Kimmel, 2004; Lorber, 2005). Social constructionist feminism enables us to avoid the equality-difference opposition concerning gender (Benschop, 2006; Scott, 1988). Argumentations on gender equality and gender difference are often invoked in discussions on equal rights for women and men in general, and issues concerning gender and leadership, in particular (Alvesson and Billing, 2009). Even those participants to the debate who strive for equal rights and social justice apparently employ opposite argumentations. Proponents of the "difference" approach often conceive of women as "ontologically" different from men (e.g., more relationally oriented or more capable of caring and co-operation). They argue in favor of a re-valuation of femininity and masculinity (Fletcher, 1998). While this approach may make women's activities, capabilities and ways of thinking visible, recognized and valued, it runs the risk of being essentialist, a-historical, and non-contextual. It may neglect differences among women (and among men). Thus, the difference approach may amount to the reproduction of gender stereotypes and hierarchical divisions of labor between women and men. Proponents of the "equality" approach generally argue that women and men are equal on principle. Differences between women and men are not seen as ontological, but pertain to their social positions and are caused by discrimination against and oppression of women in patriarchal societies. However, this approach may amount to the view that, due to this discrimination, women lag behind with respect to men and need "fixing" (Ely and Meyerson, 2000) in order to catch up. Thus, the equality approach may reinforce (invisible or implicit) masculine norms, such as those concerning the "ideal worker" (Acker, 1992). The equality-difference debate is complicated by a lack of clarity, for example when difference is implicitly conceived of as ontological difference, or when equality is conflated with ontological sameness. The debate is also confused when women are equated with femininity and men with masculinity. A feminist constructionist approach enables us to avoid these pitfalls, because it conceives of gender (women, men, femininities, masculinities) in a non-essentialist way, as dynamic, contingent and continually being produced, reproduced and/or changed in social practices, including discourse and social interaction. Thus, it enables us to do justice to Scott's (1988) view that a feminist perspective needs both the concept of (non-ontological) difference and the concept of equality (not sameness).

When compared to organizational network studies, a feminist constructionist approach to networking includes the actors that networks consist of, as is recommended by several network scholars (Ibarra et al., 2005; Kilduff et al., 2006; Parkhe et al., 2006). They observe that organizational network studies strongly focus on network structures, and neglect network actors. Furthermore, a constructionist approach to networks and networking includes "process issues", as is also

recommended by organizational network scholars (Parkhe et al., 2006). A feminist constructionist approach to networking proposes a "process-relational perspective" that "enlarges sensitivity to the micro-politics of networking and gendering" (Benschop, 2009, pp. 222, 218). This perspective enables us to investigate how the leadership of professional women's networks leads their networks in a context that is imbued with power.

The fact that, and the ways in which power may be at work in the context of professional women's networks is illustrated when we bring to mind the differences between women's and men's professional networks in organizations. Professional men's networks in organizations are mostly perceived as informal and emerging "naturally". They provide the (often invisible) standard, even when they are criticized as "old boys" networks' that exclude anyone and anything "different" (cf. Cross and Armstrong, 2008). In contrast, most women's corporate networks are consciously and explicitly initiated, and formalized to a certain extent. They are perceived as special or exceptional. Therefore (Pini et al., 2004. p. 290) argue that the position of "women-only networks" is "contradictory":

> They are established because women have been marginalized in mainstream organizations, but then, ironically, accused of separatism and exclusivity because they have named themselves as women-specific groups. In contrast, the mainstream groups [. . .] appear gender neutral. In this sense women are constructed as the recipients of "special" treatment and men are argued to be the victims of "reverse" discrimination. The mainstream groups are not named as andocentric groups or men's associations despite the fact that males dominate decision-making positions.

Power mechanisms, such as implicit gender norms, double standards and stereotyping may be inferred from the unequal representation of women and men in the higher ranks of organizations (e.g., Van den Brink, 2009). Women's professional networks have to deal with these inequalities. As Pini et al. argue:

> There are ranges of critical challenges facing women-only networks. Unlike traditional groups, they may be questioned about their legitimacy and status as well as have problems securing resources and finances (Pini et al., 2004, p. 291).

In this paper we focus on how the leading members of professional women's networks deal with these challenges in the way they present the networks to their organizations at large and to potential members.

Design, Data and Analysis

Our research material concerns the twenty-two professional women's networks that, in March 2007, were official members of the Dutch Platform for Professional Women's Networks (PfPWN). Requirements to become a member of the platform are that a corporate women's network has its own identity (name), has a continuous structure, is supported by the senior management of its organization, has at least 25 members in the company internal target group, and is "alive" and organizes at least two activities per year for its members, apart from social gatherings (PfPWN, 2007). The organizations of which the twenty-two professional

women's networks are part range from two higher education organizations and a regional police organization to international banking and industrial (e.g., oil and steel) companies. Most organizations are for-profit organizations, several are large multinational corporations.

We collected information on the way leading members of professional women's networks present the networks from their accounts in leaflets and information bulletins both on paper and on the internet. We found additional data on some of the organizations' websites, in reports of network meetings in organizations' magazines and on the internet, and in an overview of its members by the Dutch Platform for Professional Women's Networks (PfPWN, 2007). In this overview the range, goals and challenges of each of the networks are briefly listed. We discussed our preliminary findings in a "member check" meeting with five leading members of corporate women's networks and related experts, and have included the results of this discussion in this chapter.

For the analysis of our data we have employed a critical discourse analysis (CDA) approach (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). In critical discourse analysis, discourse is considered to be both constitutive of and constituted by the social context, social institutions and social structures. Critical discourse analysis explicitly aims at gaining insight in the relevance and workings of power in these mutual relationships. Discursive social practices may produce, reproduce, and change power relationships (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Phillips and Hardy, 1997). Critical discourse analysis may combine its emancipatory commitment with a constructionist approach (Ainsworth and Hardy, 2004). Employing the CDA-approach enables us to explore leading members' presentations of professional women's networks as social practices that are informed by and constitutive of relations of power. We conceive of the professional women's networks' presentations as being constructed in social contexts and relationships in which power is implied, for example through gender stereotypes, double standards and the unequal representation of women and men in high organizational positions. In these contexts, the professional women's network leaders present the networks in social interaction with other parties (cf. Czarniawska, 1998), such as their organizations at large and their potential members. We explore how the network leaders frame their views, argumentations and reactions in addressing these other parties, and how, in so doing, they employ or negotiate dominant discourses on gender, such as discourses of gender equality and gender diversity.

Our analysis of the research material began with an exploration of the network leaders' presentations of their goals and membership profile. After we coded the research material according to these issues, we focused on the argumentations that the network leaders invoke. Furthermore, we focused on expressions of how the network leaders deal with perceived or experienced ambivalence and criticisms related to gendered relations of power. Expressions of countering gender stereotypes provide an example (e.g., "some may think that we are/do/strive for x, but in actual practice, we are/do/strive for y"). Exploring these expressions (both overt and covert forms) through critical discourse analysis may reveal what gendered criticisms and

ambivalence the network leaders perceive, as well as how they reproduce and/or undermine them.

Professional Women's Networks' Leaders' Presentations of Their Networks' Goals

From their presentations it appears that most leaders of professional women's networks posit as their networks' main goal to support women's career and development opportunities. Part of this goal is to increase the representation of women in the higher ranks of their organizations. Improving women's position is argued to benefit both individual women, and their organizations. For example, stressing the benefits for women, one network website argues that women who have participated in mentoring circles make more progress in their careers than women who have not. In another network's magazine it says that the network strives for more women in higher positions in its organization because "who else would better promote women's interests at the decision making level?" Confirming the relevance of their goals for their organizations, several network leaders formulate a "business case". For example, they argue that women in higher positions "know more of the interests of women stakeholders", and may thus contribute to higher returns and profit-sharing by the organization. They claim to "[. . .] help one another develop the leadership skills and career-advancing opportunities needed to drive [the organization]'s success far into the future", to "improve diversity within [the organization] to become a more innovative, creative and successful organization", or to "support [the organization's] Diversity and Inclusion global initiatives to improve the quality of decision making and, in turn, improve [name organization]'s business results." To formulate a business case is the common advice that the specialist literature and consultancy agencies give to women who are establishing a women's corporate network (Catalyst, 1999; Vinnicombe et al., 2003).

The network leaders' main argumentation to legitimize the goal of improving women's positions resembles a "special contribution position" (Alvesson and Billing, 2009, p. 170) in terms of "recognizing and valuing difference" (Ely and Meyerson, 2000, p. 106). Women and "feminine" capabilities are presented an asset to the networks' organizations, in adding different i.e. "feminine" skills, views or attitudes to the organizations. For example, on one network's company website it says:

> [Name of the organization] is convinced that diversity makes a company more creative and innovative, taking better decisions. To this end, the Diversity and Inclusion program has been developed. This program not only aims at recruiting or valuing women, but at balancing the "masculine" and "feminine" competencies that a company needs in order to display good leadership [. . .] It's the balance in management teams that concerns [name of the organization].

Several network leaders explain that the added value of women and femininity for their organizations may only be realized if recognized and valued. For example, in one network leaflet it says: "what's at stake for us is to recognize and value

difference: inclusion." Thus, it is argued, the organization could get the most out of the available talent.

When using argumentations in terms of valuing difference, professional women's networks' leaders may face the need to explain what differences between women and men they consider to be at the basis of women's added value. A few formulate more detailed arguments on this issue. One example is provided by a professional women's network leader in an interview published in the weekly magazine of her organization – a university of technology. She explains:

> Dutch women really are an asset to science. [...] Women often have a broader view of things. They always take societal aspects into account more than men do. [...] Women practice science differently from men. A lot of research has been done on that. They are more creative, broadly employable, have a broader view of research, and they often have higher grades. With more women [name of the university] can be more innovative and effective. [...] Women also have more team spirit than men have, which may increase group solidarity. Furthermore, women are at least as passionate as men. So, science would benefit from employing more women. It would also improve [name of the university]'s image of being a male bastion (Zeijlstra, 2006).

The network leader constructs an opposition between women and men (technology) scientists: she portrays the women scientists as having a broader and more social orientation ("broader view", "societal aspects", "team spirit") and as being more flexible and more innovative employees than men scientists. The latter, in accordance, might have to be portrayed as more focused and more strongly concentrated on the content of their work. Apparently taking into account that men scientists' presumed stance might be due to a positive characteristic – their strong motivation for their work ("passionate"), the network leader explicitly counters the implication that women might be less motivated than their male colleagues.

We observe that the professional women's network leaders in our study generally do not explicitly present their goals in terms of social equality or social justice, called the "equal opportunities position" by Alvesson and Billing (2009, p. 164). The network leaders do not mention that they require the redressing of unjust inequalities concerning women's and men's positions in general or in their organizations. Creed et al., (2002, pp. 491–492) report a similar finding in their study of employee activists in favor of non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation. They suggest that the interviewees anticipated that "decision makers feared both increased costs for benefits, and backlash" (492). In the same vein, the professional women's network leaders in our study may anticipate negative reactions in their organizations when they would explicitly argue in terms of inequality and social justice. For example, the leadership of their organizations may consider this reasoning "outdated" in a context where legal equality is in place. Or, it might not consider (further) redressing gender inequality as one of its main responsibilities, especially in a for-profit context. Organization members, both women and men, may in turn resist proposals for measures associated with social justice and equal opportunities, such as affirmative action. Such measures are often considered to go against opinions and myths concerning individual merit (Alvesson and Billing, 2009; Van den Brink, 2009). Creed et al. suggest that the interviewees in their study considered

that using "their insiders' knowledge of corporate values and identity was the best way to gain support" (2002, p. 492). For similar reasons, professional women's network leaders may not consider a general or explicit discourse of social equality and social justice to be attractive or effective enough in the context of presenting their networks' goals to their organizations and to potential network participants.

The network leaders' argumentations in terms of recognizing and valuing difference enable the formulation of a business case and counter criticisms that the goal of improving women's positions is outdated ("women's emancipation has been achieved"), irrelevant (e.g., to organizational goals such as exploring new markets) or too radical ("feminist"). However, these argumentations at the same time entail some of the drawbacks of the equality-difference opposition described in the section on our theoretical framework. Differences between women and men as conceived of in the network leaders' argumentations may easily amount to an essentialist approach. This approach runs the risk of reinforcing and justifying social gender inequality as inevitable ("just the way things are" – Kimmel, 2004), especially because societal power processes involved in the valuing and the very defining of femininities and masculinities go unnoticed. Thus, this way of valuing difference may amount to the inadvertent reinforcement of a traditional (unequal and hierarchical) valuation of masculinities and femininities, and an unequal division of labor between women and men, with women being relegated to relational and emotional tasks (e.g., "have more team spirit") and men granted the tasks of rational and autonomous decision making and leadership (cf. Alvesson and Billing, 2000, 2009).

The challenges the network leaders face here may resemble the issues faced by "tempered radicals" in organizations (Meyerson and Scully, 1995, see also Meyerson, 2003; Meyerson and Scully, 2003; Meyerson and Tompkins, 2007). Meyerson and Scully define tempered radicals as "individuals who identify with and are committed to their organizations, and are also committed to a cause, community, or ideology that is fundamentally different from, and possibly at odds with the dominant culture of their organization" (Meyerson and Scully, 1995, p. 586; see also Meyerson, 2003, pp. 3–18). Like tempered radical individuals, professional women's network leaders may face the need to remain "engaged in the dual project of working within the organization and working to change the organization" towards greater gender equality (Meyerson and Scully, 1995, p. 586),

Professional Women's Network Leaders' Ways to Address (Potential) Participants

In almost all professional women's networks' information in our study it is mentioned that the networks strive for increased participation by network members. Network leaders take some trouble to invite potential members to participate in the network and to convince them of the benefits of participation. For example, they argue that women who have participated in the network's mentoring program make better progress in the organization than women who have not been mentored. Or, they claim that there is strength in numbers to make the network's views heard in

the top of the organization. Still other network leaders contend that "women benefit greatly from having the opportunity to talk to one another", and that network relationships are important to one's career.

While most networks in our study are women-only networks, a few report that they welcome men members. Some other networks encourage men's supportive membership of the network or invite male colleagues to selected events. Several networks especially invite senior women to participate in the network, for example as a role model or as a coach to younger women. One professional network for senior women only reports that each participant mentors at least two younger women in the organization. In general, network leaders describe the networks as "dynamic". Many strive to attract "active participants" or members who want to "actively contribute" to the network's goals.

Some network leaders clearly anticipate criticisms on the network's membership from the women they consider potential members or from their organizations at large. One example is provided by a network leader who wants to "bring on board the growing number of expatriate workers as new members of [name network] that may have felt a bit hesitant or discouraged from joining in the past". This network leader explicitly argues against "the idea that [name network] is an organization for secretaries only" that "seems to be still prevalent". The leader of a network for women in management positions, in turn, counters perceived or experienced criticisms of exclusiveness. She explicitly claims that "the network is not elitist and does not consist of extremely ambitious women, but, rather, of women who want to create opportunities for development and equal opportunities for all women within [name organization]".

In addressing potential members, network leaders stress the opportunities the network offers for professional development. They focus on women whose ambition it is "to develop professionally". For example, they strive for the participation of "ambitious women" in "all levels" of their organizations, or in management and leadership positions. Several networks organize mentoring or training activities for women who want to get to the top of the organization. Almost half of the network leaders address potential participants by explicitly stating that they not only encourage women's professional development, but women's personal development, as well. For example, one network leader posits that the network provides opportunities to enhance "effectiveness at home and at work". Another argues that the network promotes "networking to share business and personal experiences". One network leaflet goes to some length to explain what it considers "professional" or "business" and what it considers "personal" respectively. It explains that "personal growth in your job" entails "doing your job with competence, enthusiasm and inspiration". It takes professional growth to imply "getting opportunities for career building and promotion".

We conclude that the leaders of the professional women's networks in our study present the networks to their potential members as inclusive, active and professional. Thus, they counter potential participants' and organizational criticisms of being exclusive, passive, complaining and merely for fun networks. At the same time, we observe that the network leaders react to or anticipate a negative image

of the network as a group of "extremely ambitious" women. This image may exist both in their organization at large and with potential participants. We suggest that professional women's network leaders have to deal with the double binds that, for women, are connected to the "paradox of ambition" (Sools et al., 2007). While being ambitious may be an easier role for men than for women, to the extent that it is congruent with traditional masculinity, Sools et al. point out that both women and men may be prohibited to explicitly show ambition in the sense of aiming at upward mobility. On the basis of their empirical study of how women and men managers in a multinational corporation "do ambition", they conclude that it is imperative to "show that you want to gain promotion without showing you want to" (2007, p. 424). While men are assumed to be ambitious, the challenge for them is to show this attitude in the right way, that is, by showing drive and commitment. Women, especially young women, may experience a double bind concerning this paradox of ambition. They are expected to be non-ambitious or to stop being ambitious at the very moment they would have children, but when they do show ambition in order to counter this expectation, they violate the imperatives that forbid them to show ambition. Thus, they are penalized either way: they are either taken to be non-ambitious or viewed as overly ambitious. Both women and men may have such perceptions and stereotyped expectations. Due to the mechanisms described by Sools et al., professional women's network leaders may also find themselves maneuvering between a rock and a hard place: they have to present the networks to potential participants as encouraging ambition, but not careerism. In this context the network leaders may use expressions concerning "personal and professional" development in order to attract members with various types of self-defined ambition. By offering both professional and personal development, they may provide development opportunities for women who have little chances or preferences to move upward, as well as a safe environment to share experiences and exchange advice for women who do strive for upward mobility. Thus, they may broaden support for the network by participants and take into account that improving women's positions in organizations exceeds increasing the representation of women in the highest ranks (Alvesson and Billing, 2009).

Discussion and Conclusion

In this chapter, we have investigated how the leading members of twenty two professional women's networks in both Dutch and multinational organizations negotiate the ambiguities and criticisms they encounter in leading their networks. Employing a feminist constructionist theoretical perspective has enabled us to go beyond a sex differences approach to explore how the network leaders react to or anticipate these criticisms in their legitimations of the networks' existence. By conceiving of gender as dynamic, contingent and continually being produced and reproduced in social interaction that is imbued with power, we have been able to avoid the equality versus difference dilemma concerning gender. Thus, we have been able to present a multifaceted analysis of how the network leaders' in our study invoke a discourse of valuing femininity. They capitalize on "authentic femininity" as an asset for their

organizations and for potential participants. They do so by invoking a discourse of the business case and a discourse of professional and personal development. In both discourses, the network leaders legitimize their networks' existence through the *discourse of diversity as valuing difference*. They argue that women have special value to their organizations if their special capacities are recognized and valued, and if women are given, and encouraged to seize the opportunities to develop their capacities.

Stressing the added value of women and/or "feminine" capabilities, and refraining from a discourse of equality, may reproduce stereotyped views of femininity and masculinity, and hierarchical divisions of tasks and responsibilities between women and men. The discourse of valuing femininity resonates with a liberal diversity discourse. Here, we refer to Blackmore's (2006) distinction between a liberal version of "capitalizing on diversity", and "transformative diversity" that implies more radical changes in organizations. Generally, the liberal version of diversity discourse focuses on markets and on individual choice (Blackmore, 2006; Fraser, 2009). It implies little attention to the persistent power processes in organizations that cause the differential positions of women and men and the valuing of masculinities over femininities. As a consequence, professional women's network leaders employing the discourse of valuing difference run the risk of being ineffective to the extent that they assume that reaching their goals is simply a matter of achieving recognition of the value of femininity, both by women and in their organizations' culture and top levels. At the same time, however, the network leaders' argumentations in terms of valuing difference prevent or counter criticisms that the goal of improving women's positions is outdated, irrelevant, or too radical. The discourse of valuing difference may even leave room for "transformative" initiatives, such as initiatives that target organizational culture.

By employing a constructionist approach to gender we have also been able to show that the professional women's network leaders in our study deal with the power processes implied in the criticisms and ambivalence they encounter by walking the line between the (disempowering) alternatives of being perceived as either passive and complaining or overly ambitious and oppositional. The network leaders present the networks as professional and active but not pushy contributors to their organizations. In so doing, they not only deal with the ambiguities concerning professional women's networks in their organizations, such as criticisms of being "passive" and "radical". They also include women in the professional network who want to develop themselves professionally and personally irrespective of their preferences or possibilities for upward mobility. Thus, they enact a view of development and ambition that both includes and exceeds upward mobility to high management positions.

The limitations of our study include that our research material concerns professional women's networks in Dutch national and multinational organizations. While it pertains to more networks than previous studies (Bierema, 2005; Pini et al., 2004; Singh et al., 2006), the Dutch context may put restrictions to the generalizability of our findings. One issue in the Dutch context that might not fully translate internationally is that way that professional women's networks address the issue of the

upward mobility of women in organizations. They strive for the advancement of women career-wise but cannot overstress this point for they need to keep with a broader membership that values personal and professional development over career success. Another limitation of our study is that it concerns the professional women's network leaders presentations of the networks to their organizations and potential participants. Further research is needed to go beyond presentations to investigate, for example, whether and how the networks contribute to liberal and/or transformative diversity practices in their organizations.

Future research could also examine to what extent professional women's network leaders indeed resemble the tempered radicals described by Meyerson and Scully (1995). How, and with what effects, do they balance insider and outsider aspects of their organizational positions? How, and with what effects, do they sustain both their commitment to their organizations and their critical view of their organizations? Meyerson and Scully posit that both commitments are equally serious and equally constitutive of the identities of tempered radicals. The same may go for professional network leaders who want to change their organizations from within. Consistent with the suggestion by Meyerson and Tompkins (2007) to explore the positions and identity constructions of tempered radical groups as change agents, further research could also explore how professional women's networks go about these issues as groups.

In line with organizational network studies, future research may also explore who professional women's network leaders maintain relationships with, both within and outside their organizations (e.g., other participants of the network, members of the highest echelons in their organizations, members of HRM departments and members of professional women's networks in other organizations). This research should also explore why, how and with what effects professional women network leaders maintain these relationships. How, in turn, do these other parties maintain relationships with professional women's network leaders? Research into these issues would not only broaden the focus of organizational network studies beyond network structures to networking behavior and processes, it would provide additional insight into how professional women's networks and their leadership attempt to achieve organizational changes that improve women's positions.

References

Acker, J. (1992). Gendering organizational theory. In A.J. Mills and P. Tancred (eds.), *Gendering Organizational Analysis*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage, pp. 248–260.

Ainsworth, S. and C. Hardy (2004). Critical discourse analysis and identity: Why bother? *Critical Discourse Studies* 1(2):225–259.

Alvesson, M. and Y.D. Billing (2000). Questioning the notion of feminine leadership: A critical perspective on the gender labelling of leadership. *Gender, Work and Organization* 7(3): 144–157.

Alvesson, M. and Y.D. Billing (2009). *Understanding Gender and Organizations*, 2nd edn. London: Sage.

Benschop, Y. (2006). Of small steps and the longing for giant leaps. Research on the intersection of sex and gender within workplaces and organizations. In A.M. Konrad, P. Prasad and

J.K. Pringle (eds.), *Handbook of Workplace Diversity*. London/Thousand Oaks, CA/New Delhi: Sage, pp. 273–298.

Benschop, Y. (2009). The micro-politics of gendering in networking. *Gender, Work and Organization* 16(2):217–237.

Bierema, L. (2005). Women's networks: A career development intervention or impediment? *Human Resource Development International* 8(2):207–224.

Blackmore, J. (2006). Deconstructing diversity discourses in the field of educational management and leadership. *Educational Management Administration & Leadership* 34(2):181–199.

Brass, D.J. (1985). Men's and women's networks – A study of interaction patterns and influence in an organization. *Academy of Management Journal* 28(2):327–343.

Broadbridge, A. and J. Hearn (2008). Gender and management: New directions in research and continuing patterns in practice. *British Journal of Management* 19:S38–S49.

Burt, R.S. (1998). The gender of social capital. *Rationality and Society* 10(1):5–46.

Calás, M. and L. Smircich (2003). From the 'woman's point of view' ten years later: Towards a feminist organization studies. In S. Clegg, C. Hardy, T.B. Lawrence and W.R. Nord (eds.), *The Sage Handbook of Organization Studies*, 2nd edn. London: Sage, pp. 284–346.

Catalyst (1999). *Creating Women's Networks*. New York, NY: Catalyst.

Cialdini, R., R. Borden, A. Thorne, M.R. Walker, S. Freeman and L.R. Sloon (1976). Basking in reflected glory: Three (football) field studies. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 34(3):366–375.

Creed, W.E.D., M.A. Scully and J.R. Austin (2002). Clothes make the person? The tailoring of legitimating accounts and the social construction of identity. *Organization Science* 13(5): 475–496.

Cross, C. and C. Armstrong (2008). Understanding the role of networks in collective learning processes: The experiences of women. *Advances in Developing Human Resources* 10(4):1–14.

Czarniawska, B. (1998). *A Narrative Approach in Organization Studies*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Ely, R. and I. Padavic (2007). A feminist analysis of organizational research on sex differences. *Academy of Management Review* 32(4):1121–1143.

Ely, R. and D. Meyerson (2000). Advancing gender equity in organizations: The challenge and importance of maintaining a gender narrative. *Organization* 7(4):589–608.

Fairclough, N. and R. Wodak (1997). Critical discourse analysis. In T.A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction*, vol. 2. London: Sage, pp. 258–284.

Flap, H. and B. Völker (2004). *Creation and Returns of Social Capital*. London: Routledge.

Fletcher, J.K. (1998). *Disappearing Acts*. Cambridge: MIT Press.

Forret, M.L. and T.W. Dougherty (2001). Correlates of networking behavior for managerial and professional employees. *Group & Organization Management* 26(3):283–311.

Forret, M.L. and T.W. Dougherty (2004). Networking behaviors and career outcomes: differences for men and women? *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 25(3):419–437.

Fraser, N. (2009, March–April). Feminism, capitalism and the cunning of history. *New Left Review* 56:97–117.

Ibarra (1992). Homophily and differential returns: Sex differences in network structure and access in an advertising firm. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 37(3):422–447.

Ibarra, H. (1993). Personal Networks of Women and Minorities in Management – a Conceptual-Framework. *Academy of Management Review* 18(1):56–87.

Ibarra, H. (1997). Paving an alternative route: Gender differences in managerial networks. *Social Psychology Quarterly* 60(1):91–102.

Ibarra, H., M. Kilduff and W. Tsai (2005). Zooming in and out: Connecting individuals and collectivities at the frontiers of organizational network research. *Organization Science* 16(4):359–371.

Kanter, R.M. (1977). *Men and Women of the Corporation*. New York, NY: Basic Books.

Kilduff, M., W. Tsai and R. Hanke (2006). A paradigm too far? A dynamic stability reconsideration of the social network research program. *Academy of Management Review* 31(4):1031–1048.

Kimmel, M. (2004). *The Gendered Society*, 2nd edn. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Krackhardt, D. (1990). Assessing the political landscape – structure, cognition and power in organizations. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 35(2):342–369.

Lorber, J. (2005). *Gender Inequality*. Los Angeles, CA: Roxbury.

Mavin, S. and P. Bryans (2002). Academic women in the UK: Mainstreaming our experiences and networking for action. *Gender & Education* 14(3):235–250.

McGuire, G.M. (2002). Gender, race, and the shadow structure – A study of informal networks and inequality in a work organization. *Gender & Society* 16(3):303–322.

Meyerson, D. (2003). *Tempered radicals: How everyday leaders inspire change at work*: Harvard Business School Press.

Meyerson, D. (2001). *Tempered Radicals. How People Use Difference to Inspire Change at Work*. Boston, MA: Harvard School Press.

Meyerson, D. and M. Scully (1995). Tempered radicalism and the politics of ambivalence and change. *Organization Science* 6(5):585–600.

Meyerson, D. and M. Scully (2003). Tempered radicalism: Changing the workplace from within. In R.J. Ely, E.G. Foldy, M.A. Scully(eds.); the Center for Gender in Organizations, Simmons School of Management, Simmons College, *Reader in Gender, Work and Organization*. Oxford: Blackwell, pp. 266–272.

Meyerson, D. and M. Tompkins (2007). Tempered radicals as institutional change agents. The case of advancing gender equity at the University of Michigan. *Harvard Journal of Law and Gender* 30(2):303–322.

Parkhe, A., S. Wasserman and D. Ralston (2006). New frontiers in network theory development. *Academy of Management Review* 31(3):560–568.

Phillips, N. and C. Hardy (1997). Managing multiple identities: Discourses, legitimacy and resources in the UK refugee system. *Organization* 4(2):159–185.

Pini, B., K., Brown and C. Ryan (2004). Women-only networks as a strategy for change? A case study from local government. *Women in Management Review* 19(6):286–292.

Platform for Professional Women Networks (PfPWN) (2007). *Guide for the Platform for Professional Women Networks*. Amsterdam: PfPWN.

Podolny, J.M. and J.N. Baron (1997). Resources and relationships: Social networks and mobility in the workplace. *American Sociological Review* 62(5):673–693.

Scott, J.W. (1988). Deconstructing equality-versus-difference: Or, the uses of poststructuralist theory for feminism. *Feminist Studies* 14(1):33–50.

Scott, D.B. (1996). Shattering the instrumental-expressive myth: The power of women's networks in corporate government affairs. *Gender and Society* 10(3):232–247.

Singh, V., S. Vinnicombe and S. Kumra (2006). Women in formal corporate networks: An organizational citizenship perspective. *Women in Management Review* 21(6):458–482.

Sools, A., M. Van Engen and C. Baerveldt (2007). Gendered career-making practices: On 'doing ambition' or how managers discursively position themselves in a multinational corporation. *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology* 80:413–435.

Van den Brink, M. (2009). *Behind the Scenes of Science. Gender Practices in the Recruitment and Selection of Professors in the Netherlands*. Nijmegen: Radboud University Nijmegen (dissertation).

Van Emmerik, I.I.H. (2006). Gender differences in the creation of different types of social capital: A multilevel study. *Social Networks* 28(1):24–37.

Vinnicombe, S., V. Singh and S. Kumra (2003). *Making Good Connections: Best Practice for Women's Corporate Networks*. London: Cranfield School of Management and Opportunity Now.

Zeijlstra, M. (2006) Ik ben niet anti-man. *Delta* 38(30), June 15th. ('I am not anti-male'; Interview with the first leader of the Delft University of Technology professional women's network)

Chapter 11
Why Do They Leave? Voluntary Turnover of South African Women Executives

Desray Clark and Nicola Kleyn

Editors' Introduction This chapter continues our analysis of the various systemic dynamics that may undermine women's leadership in organizations. Just as not all networks, even professional women's networks, produce positive experiences, similarly, not all systems create positive climates, particularly for women. In their study of South African women executives, Clark and Kleyn demonstrate how social and cultural conditions in South Africa, such as paternalism, male exclusive networks, a lack of influence and exposure to intimidation lead to the resignation of many very fine women executives. As we learned from Werhane, these cultural conditions can change, but without such change, there are situations where very talented people leave organizations or politics.

Introduction

South African corporations appear unable to retain women executives despite evidence showing that their retention is a source of competitive advantage and improved company performance (Catalyst, 2005a; Hewlett and Luce, 2005; Krishnan and Park, 2005). If companies are aspiring or, as in the case of South Africa's Black Economic Empowerment policy, being legislatively compelled to become gender diverse, it becomes crucial for them to retain their women executives (Republic of South Africa Employment Equity Act, 2006).

Labour turnover is described as voluntary if the employee initiates the separation, and as involuntary if the employer drives the decision (Maertz and Campion, 1998; Sutherland, 2003). Evidence suggests women's voluntary turnover rates are increasing when compared to that of their male counterparts. The findings of studies conducted more than 5 years ago assert that female managers either resign at

D. Clark (✉)
The People Business, Johannesburg 2062, South Africa
e-mail: desray.clark@abellardbi.co.za

marginally lower rates than their male counterparts or that the voluntary turnover rate of women and men is equal (Griffeth et al., 2000; Lyness and Judiesch, 2001). In a recent study and in direct contrast to these findings; Krishnan et al. (2006) assert that in America, women on top management teams resign at twice the rate of men. In South Africa this situation is intensified and the average voluntary turnover rate of South African women executives is 17.15%, three times the rate of their male counterparts (Republic of South Africa, 2004). Organizations that wish to address issues surrounding the voluntary turnover of their women executives and to establish retention strategies need to understand the reasons underpinning these high resignation rates.

Aim of Study

The aim of this study is to gain a deep understanding of the causes of voluntary turnover of South African women executives through an examination of the contexts within which they made their decisions. South African Women Executives will be used as an umbrella term to include top and senior women managers. These are women who are managers in an organization and

- Have a significant leadership role in the organization, have control over day-to-day operations, have decision making powers and may, but do not necessarily report to the board of directors (The Businesswomen's Association and Synovate, 2006).
- Or they are women who earn at least R450,000 per annum (excluding bonus) (The Businesswomen's Association and Synovate, 2006).
- Or they are women who are classified in the Employment Equity Report (2004) as either top or senior management (Republic of South Africa, 2004).

In order to gain insight into an individual's turnover behaviour, it is beneficial to understand the context within which the individual operates. The relevance of adopting a systems perspective (Senge, 1990) is emphasised by Yukondi and Benson (2005) and is reiterated by Johns (2006) who furnishes several examples showing how previous acontextual studies regarding voluntary turnover are not as valid as they would have been, had they considered the context within which the decision to quit was made. The study therefore adopts a systems perspective in both the literature review and the empirical research.

Theoretical Background

Krishnan et al. (2006) suggest that the determinants of voluntary turnover should be examined at three levels, namely environmental, organizational and individual. It is useful to examine turnover determinants at an additional level. This level – the spanning level – encompasses the relationship between each aforementioned level (Cook and Hunsaker, 2001).

Environmental factors are those that exist outside the boundaries of the organization, such as political factors, society's culture and behaviour, technological changes, economic and legal factors. These are factors over which the organization does not have direct control (Cook and Hunsaker, 2001). Organizational factors are those within the boundaries of the organization, such as staff policies and procedures, and the structure, strategy and culture of the organization. These factors are controlled by the organization (Cook and Hunsaker, 2001; Cummings and Worley, 2005). Individual factors are those that are unique to each person, such as life stage, family circumstances and their needs, wants and aspirations (Cummings and Worley, 2005). Individuals, the organizations for which they work and the environment incessantly interact and affect each other; the boundaries of each are fluid and constantly changing (Senge, 1990). This type of system is therefore known as an open, dynamic system and as such has spanning forces that are representative of the interaction between each entity (Cook and Hunsaker, 2001). Possible factors causing voluntary turnover within each of these system components are discussed below.

Environmental Factors

The global skills shortage of well-trained talent is a cause of increased mobility in the labour force (Winterton, 2004) resulting in constant poaching and headhunting of talented employees, not only by local rival firms, but also by other countries that are shifting to knowledge-intensive industries and therefore require executive management skills (Cappelli, 2000; Handfield-Jones, 2000; Davis and Stephenson, 2006). The *war for talent* is likely to continue to play an important role in driving voluntary turnover. Gresham (2006) predicts that by 2020 developed countries will have a shortfall of knowledge workers that will be in excess of 35 million jobs; a substantial number of these will include management positions.

Notwithstanding the reported skills shortage, women's organizational progress appears to be hampered by *social pressure* and prejudices that have their origins in societal and environmental conditioning (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005). An Accenture (2006) study in Europe and Asia Pacific suggests that the exclusion from male networks combined with social pressure exacerbated by lack of support from government for childcare, lack of equal opportunities, demanding family commitments and social background inhibit the advancement of women in organizations and lead to the dearth of women in the top strata of organizations. This argument is supported by several authors who assert that the biggest challenge faced by career women is the balancing of their dual role within the family and the company, and state that even though women have equal rights constitutionally, many biases (social, organizational and personal) have kept women at lower levels in the organization (Delamont, 2001; Budhwar et al., 2005).

In addition to the broad social pressures that women face in many societies, *gender stereotyping* can also be detrimental to their progress in an organization. The constant publicity regarding executive women and how they differ from men serves

to enhance stereotypical perceptions regarding women's leadership style and ability (Delamont, 2001; Catalyst, 2005b).

Organizational Factors

Current literature mentions several organizational factors that influence voluntary turnover, including lack of organizational support, organizational change, limited career advancement, lack of job satisfaction and organizational culture (Baron et al., 2001; Campbell and Alleyne, 2002; Winterton, 2004; Payne and Huffman, 2005), each of which will be reviewed in turn.

Mentorship is a form of organizational support, the lack of which has been cited as a cause of voluntary turnover (Payne and Huffman, 2005). In support of the importance of mentorship, a survey completed by more than 20,000 employees indicated that in excess of a third would leave within the first year if there were no provisions for mentorship (Campbell and Alleyne, 2002).

Mergers and acquisitions are prime examples of *organizational change* that can contribute to an increase in employee turnover (Baron et al., 2001). This phenomenon occurs because acquisitions change the power relations within the acquired company, often resulting in employees feeling less powerful, according to Lotz and Donald (2006).

The *deficiency of advancement opportunities* often propels executives to leave the organization (Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005). However, when career advancement opportunities exist, women tend to remain loyal to the organization, especially if the organizational culture is favourable to them (Babcock et al., 2003). A typical barrier that apparently hampers women's advancement up the organizational hierarchy is the ubiquitously perceived glass ceiling (Accenture, 2006). Research in developed countries now includes arguments regarding the increasing height and relative thickness of this metaphoric constraint (Nutley and Mudd, 2005; Yukondi and Benson, 2005).

According to Lee et al. (1999) there is a positive correlation between *job dissatisfaction* and voluntary turnover. In an opposing view Hammer and Avgar (2005) indicate that lack of job satisfaction does not necessarily lead to voluntary turnover and that, provided there are less costly ways of adapting to dissatisfying aspects of the job, the person is likely to continue their tenure. Despite other efforts that are being made by the company to retain employees, poor supervision consistently affects employees' departure (Campbell and Alleyne, 2002).

Organizational culture often discourages women from asking for what they want as colleagues may have deep seated expectations of how women should behave and if they do ask for what they want they are often labelled as over-bearing, this culture could cause women to easily accept another offer and leave (Babcock et al., 2003).

The organization has a certain degree of control over all the abovementioned factors, but several factors regarding an employee's individual situation (over which the organization has no control) may cause them to resign.

Individual Factors

Individual factors that facilitate an employee's resignation include the employee's skills or lack thereof, such as negotiation ability and political acumen; and her individual situation, such as life stage, family commitments, burnout or shocks (Griffeth et al., 2000; Lyness and Judiesch, 2001; Mitchell et al., 2001a, b; Babcock et al., 2003; Sutherland, 2003).

When women receive a better offer from a competing organization, they often fail to use this as bargaining tool, and choose rather to resign, reflecting poor *negotiation ability* relative to their male counterparts (Babcock et al., 2003).

Generational differences in terms of the role that work plays in an individual's life are also important determinants of behaviour and can lead to termination of employment (Gratton, 2004; Mainiero and Sullivan, 2005). The functions of *family commitments* such as childbearing, child-rearing and looking after parents may prompt a woman to leave the workplace, although age and voluntary turnover are negatively correlated for women (Griffeth et al., 2000; Lyness and Judiesch, 2001; Mitchell et al., 2001b) Over and above family commitments, *lifestage* has also been shown to influence women's decisions to leave organizations. Women who have grown up children are more able to terminate their employment than women with dependant children (Gratton, 2004).

Burnout can lead to turnover but, as Mitchell et al. (2001) assert, a decrease in job satisfaction and organizational commitment mediates this relationship. Emotional exhaustion increases an employee's susceptibility to shocks (precipitating events) that result in her resignation. These events can be triggered through organizational events such as a low performance rating, or personal events such as the death of a spouse. Such *shocks* result in the employee's re-evaluation of her employment relationship and are found to be a significant reason for voluntary turnover (Lee et al., 1999; Sutherland, 2003; Sumner and Niederman, 2004).

Although the reasons for resignation stated above can be largely ascribed to the individual, there are a few factors that span the relationship between the individual and the organization which can precipitate the employee's resignation.

Spanning Factors

A powerful spanning factor is the *psychological contract* which according to Rousseau (2004:120), consists of "... beliefs, based upon promises expressed or implied, regarding an exchange agreement between an individual and, in organizations, the employing firm and its agents." In organizations the written employment contract typically captures the formal work arrangements, while the psychological contract contains the more subjective, unspoken and subtle expectations of the relationship. Unlike formal or implied contracts, the psychological contract is inherently perceptual, and thus according to Robinson (1996) one party's understanding of the contract may not be shared by the other, thus constituting a potential driver for employee turnover (Lee et al., 1999).

Job embeddedness is a second spanning factor that measures the degree to which an individual is enmeshed in her organization and environment (Mitchell et al., 2001). The three constructs used to determine the strength of embeddedness are fit, sacrifice and links. Mitchell et al. (2001) conclude that the stronger the job embeddedness of an individual, the less likely she is to voluntarily terminate her employment. Lee et al., (2004) refine the concept of job embeddedness into on-the-job and off-the-job embeddedness; on-the-job meaning the level of embeddedness to the organization and off-the-job meaning the level of embeddedness to the wider community. Lee et al. (2004), report that only off-the-job embeddedness is predictive of voluntary turnover.

Individuals that enjoy the most personal power within the organization are typically those who have the most solid *social networks*; this often includes males in a male-dominated business environment, but may exclude females, leading to increased voluntary turnover as a result of exclusion (Brass et al., 2004; Pini et al., 2004).

Poor managerial quality can also be a contributing factor that causes employees to leave (Campbell and Alleyne, 2002). Employees will tend to resign if their career advancement is being hampered by factors such as problems with an immediate supervisor (Cappelli and Hamori, 2005). Although managerial quality manifests as an organizational factor, the individual's ability to deal with this is also important, hence its classification as a spanning factor.

Figure 11.1 depicts the possible causes of voluntary turnover, as discussed in the preceding literature review. These causes have been superimposed onto an adaptation of Cook and Hunsaker's (2001) Organizational Environment Context diagram.

Studies investigating the relationship of these factors to voluntary turnover indicate that the drivers of voluntary turnover may vary from country to country.
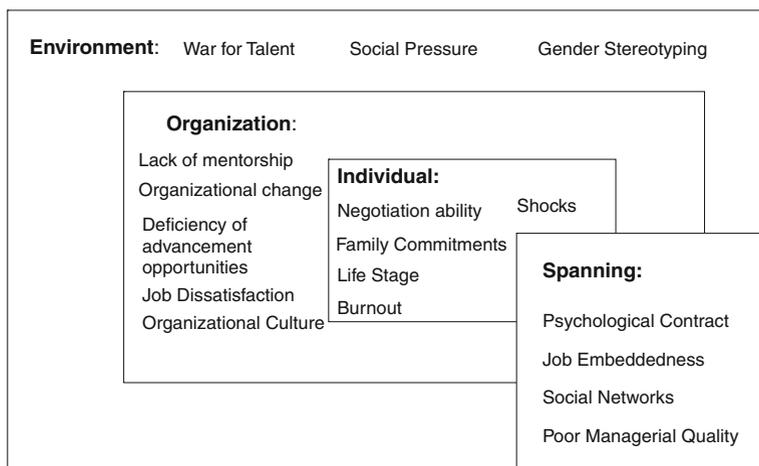
Fig. 11.1 Drivers of voluntary turnover amongst women executives. *Source*: Organizational Environment Context Diagram adapted from Cook and Hunsaker (2001)

Evidence suggests that attractive opportunities offered by competing organizations are an important reason for voluntary turnover in both China and the USA (MRI Worldwide China Group, 2006; Catalyst, 2004). In direct contrast to this finding, research conducted on a predominantly male South African sample by Birt et al. (2004) confirms Lee's (1987) findings that organizational factors contribute far more to a South African employee's decision to leave than environmental or individual factors.

Research Issues and Design

Research Objective

The purpose of this empirical research is to explore the drivers of voluntary turnover in South African executive women's decision to leave their organization, and to compare and contrast these to the environmental, organizational, individual and spanning drivers of voluntary turnover discussed in the literature as depicted in Fig. 11.1.

Research Methodology

The primary methods of data collection and analysis were qualitative. An exploratory study such as this lends itself to the emergent nature of qualitative research, as it is not a linear, objective process that can easily be captured by means of impersonal questionnaires (Merriam, 1998). In line with this study, the goal of qualitative research is describe and understand social action, rather then to explain and predict human behaviour (Babbie and Mouton, 2001, 2005).

Research Design

The study generated data by means of exploratory, semi-structured, in-depth interviews (Kvale, 1996). The interviews were conducted using a combination of a life-history and phenomenological approach (Oakley, 1997; Leedy and Ormrod, 2001; Musson, 2004). Respondents relived certain experiences through the stories they told. They commented on periods of their lives, in this case paying particular attention to the reasons why they had decided to resign from their companies. A phenomenological study was used because the purpose of the research was to understand an experience as it had been lived by the participants in order to gain deeper insight into the decision to leave by women executives. In a study of this nature a sample size of five to twenty-five individuals is considered adequate (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001). Therefore twenty-one, one-on-one interviews were conducted with South African executive women. One interview was conducted telephonically; all remaining interviews were face-to-face meetings.

Seven primary contacts were made through a leading local university's business school. These people are considered to be well-connected in the South African business world, especially with regard to women in business. The purpose of these interviews was twofold: firstly, to obtain their opinion on issues facing South African businesswomen and secondly, to obtain introductions to possible interviewees. Three of the primary contacts also became participants in the study. Each of the primary contacts approached likely candidates, either telephonically or by email, to determine their willingness to participate in the research. Snowball sampling was used in this part of the process (Welman and Kruger, 2001). If permission was granted, the researcher contacted the participant telephonically and arranged a time and date for the interview.

The interviews took place either at the candidates' offices or at a coffee shop. All interviews lasted between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and 3 h. Semi-structured interviews were conducted which proved to be a suitable method as certain demographic data needed to be captured (Gillham, 2005). The structured part of the interview was combined with an unstructured section, which took the form of narrative inquiry. This approach in which a respondent is prompted to "tell her story", is particularly effective when trying to obtain a significant understanding of a specific event (Kvale, 1996). Probing open-ended questions were asked at the end of the narrative in an attempt at gaining a deeper understanding of the reasons that prompted the women executives to resign (Oakley, 1997; Welman and Kruger, 2001; Gillham, 2005). These included: "Do you have any regrets?" and "What would you have done differently?" and prompted additional insights.

The majority of the respondents reported that they found the process of telling their stories to be gratifying and enlightening. Due to the status in the community of most of the respondents, the sensitivity of the information and the informal coffee shop setting, the interviews were not recorded, but notes were taken during the interview and extensive notes were documented immediately after the interview. Research notes and demographic information was recorded electronically into an MS-Excel template.

Data analysis was an iterative process, running parallel to the data collection phase (Daft, 1983; Creswell, 1994; Merriam, 1998). Although several methods of analysis including narrative analysis, constant comparative analysis and content analysis were combined, the overarching approach was McCracken's (1988) five-phase approach that recommends moving from specific units to broader themes when analysing the data. Each transcript was considered in isolation and the researcher's notes and observations were studied. This process continued until the observations were compared and contrasted to each other, and finally emergent themes were consolidated to form meaning units (McCracken, 1988; Stake, 1995; Gillham, 2005). This approach was used in order to gain a deeper insight into how the participant experienced the termination of employment (Leedy and Ormrod, 2001).

Qualitative research needs to convince the reader that the study makes sense, unlike quantitative research that has to convince the reader that procedures have been followed faithfully (Merriam, 1998). In order to mitigate researcher bias that is

inevitable in a study of this nature, the initial findings, with the associated documentary evidence were discussed with two experts, one in the field of Human Resources and the other in the field of Women's Leadership Development. Subsequent to perusing the evidence they concurred with the researcher's conclusions regarding reasons women terminate their employment.

Research Limitations

These findings are limited to South African executive women who voluntarily terminated their employment contracts. It might not be possible to generalise these findings across different age or gender groups, organization levels, countries or to women who choose to remain in organizations.

Results

The interviewees were representative of a range of industries including healthcare, banking, retail, non-profit, State-owned enterprises, legal, telecommunications and advertising. Twenty-one executive women were interviewed, eight of whom were Chief Executive Officers, one a Chief Information Officer, and another, Chief Financial Officer. In addition, there were seven senior managers, two executive managers, one acting chairperson and the second-in-charge of a large financial institution. The respondents included four of the twenty-two most influential women in South Africa in the private sector (Financial Mail Special Report, 2006). Four other respondents appeared in CEO Magazine's list of South Africa's top businesswomen (CEO Special Edition, 2006).

Table 11.1 illustrates the demographics of the participants.

All women interviewed were older than thirty, with over 80% of respondents older than forty. Sixty-two percent of the respondents were white women – this reflects the current demographic profile of senior women executives in South African corporates (Republic of South Africa, 2004).

Table 11.1 Participant demographics

Item	Category	No.	%	Item	Category	No.	%
Marital status	Partnered	12	57	*No. of children*	Childless	7	33
	Single	9	43		1 child	7	33
					2 children	9	19
Age	30–39	4	19		≥ 3 children	3	15
	40–49	9	43				
	>50	8	38				
				Academic qual	Matric	2	10
Race	White	13	62		Undergrad	10	48
	Black	5	24		Postgrad	5	24
	Coloured/Indian	3	14		> 1 postgrad	4	18

Table 11.2 Participant's job size and tenure

Respondent	Size of budget (Rm)	No. of people	Tenure (years)
1	45,000	76	4
2	25,000	500	5
3	4,000	9,000	8
4	2,000	50	6
5	1,500	200	1.5
6	1,200	30,000	10
7	800	250	21
8	600	200	4
9	420	20	2
10	300	500	12
11	240	100,000	30
12	120	20	20
13	50	1,700	10
14	50	10	5
15	40	10	5
16	25	58	5
17	10	100	2
18	10	30	2
19	10	6	5
20	6	35	6
21	0.4	1	25
Total	R 81,381.40	142,766	188.5
Mean	R 4,282.89	7,512.11	8.29
Median	R 300.00	100	5

Table 11.2 illustrates the size of the income budget, the number of employees for whom each respondent was responsible, as well as the length of tenure each woman enjoyed in her previous position.

At the time of their resignations, the respondents were cumulatively managing budgets in excess of R80 billion and were responsible for approximately 150,000 people, with an average tenure exceeding 8 years.

The majority of respondents provided uninhibited accounts as to the reasons they had resigned from their organizations. In most cases it was clear that this was an issue they had pondered intensely. All of the respondents displayed insightful self-analysis regarding their decision to leave. The following words from one of the respondents summarises the profile of most of the women interviewed:

> I am almost obsessive about taking charge of my life, I am really a fighter, and I will disproportionately take responsibility for fixing things.

In addition to the aforementioned personality traits that the respondents shared, they also had several voluntary turnover determinants in common. These are grouped into the categories developed during the literature review: environmental, organizational, individual and spanning. Table 11.3 illustrates the cumulative

Table 11.3 Voluntary turnover factors

Category	Theme	Count	Unique respondents
Individual	*Make a difference*	*36*	*18*
	Freedom/autonomy	23	11
	Power	19	11
	Flexibility/balance	16	7
	Recognition	11	6
	Political acumen	*41*	*15*
	Burn Out	*28*	*13*
	Family commitments	11	8
	Life stage	5	4
Spanning	*Social networks*	*38*	*16*
	Organizational support/mentorship	*31*	*15*
	Values clash	*30*	*15*
	Shocks	*15*	*14*
	Intimidation	*28*	*13*
	Problems with manager	*23*	*13*
	Organizational relationship	18	9
Organizational	*Organizational culture*	*50*	*15*
	Job content	32	12
	Deficiency of advancement opportunities	21	9
	Organizational change	12	9
Environmental	Gender stereotyping	12	7
	War for talent	10	6
	Social pressure	3	3

frequencies, as well as the number of respondents for each of the themes identified within these categories. It is evident from the subtotals in Table 11.3 that individual, organizational and spanning factors are the most significant determinants of voluntary turnover amongst women executives. Environmental factors are relatively inconsequential.

The themes with the highest number of unique respondents appear in **bold** in Table 11.3 and will be analysed in more depth hereunder.

Need to Make a Difference

The majority of respondents sensed that they were no longer making the difference that they needed to make within their previous positions. A few respondents verbalised it as follows:

> I realised it was my dream to empower women, financially empower them. I exposed them to the best – the best offices, the best conferences, the best training. The good thing about MNC was that it was a FORTUNE 500 company, so I learnt a lot, really a lot. But suddenly everything was about the money. Beforehand money was important, but it wasn't the reason to do business, it was about the people and I hate to say this, but I had made an incredible difference in a lot of people's lives.

> All that mattered was whether I could make a difference or not. Now all that money, it seems to me, is going to the Island (referring to England) and I'm not working for that. I need to make a difference in this country, not to them. When you are younger your purpose is to make the people in your team happy, but as you get older you realise the effect you can have on your country, it is exciting and as you mature, you start seeing.
>
> Company X was starting to be my baby, I felt I would not let go of this child I had brought up even though I was moving up into a much broader responsibility. I was also made to feel as a black professional that I was responsible for building this country, so I had to heed the call of government to come on board, I felt it was my responsibility, I saw it as a platform to make a difference.

Almost three-quarters of the respondents felt that their ability to make a difference was hampered by their own lack of political acumen and negotiation ability.

Negotiation Ability

These respondents alleged their lack of political acumen and negotiation ability had led to their specific situations within their previous organizations and that, had they been more politically astute, the outcome might have been different. They illustrated their insights as follows:

> I would really have been more politically astute instead of being so open and honest. I am just naïve, I guess.
> I don't like the corporate politics. I find the corporate politics very difficult, especially when the company's values are against my values.
> I couldn't understand the game, couldn't play it, but they were both clever enough to keep me because they knew I made them look good.

Apart from their perceived lack of political acumen, participants also referred to the need for power, recognition, freedom, autonomy and flexibility. The need for power was the most important of all these factors. They referred to the value of positional power and how personal power was influenced by positional power. A few respondents were very pragmatic about the role of a powerful position, as one pointed out:

> The one great thing about having a powerful position is that you get to make the rules about working and expectations. I send them home because they have small children, and that's more important in the long run.

A few respondents alluded to the dichotomy between power in the workplace and power in the home, and how these roles were often contradictory:

> She was in charge of the USA branch, very powerful. She was starting new territories and was earning $4–5 million a year. We giggled because she said her husband still told her what to do and he ran a hardware store! It was so funny; she said he couldn't even pack his socks without her!

They were also quite disparaging about some women in powerful positions although they did not refer to men in the same light. It was almost as if women

were put under the microscope by one another, even at senior levels. One respondent eloquently described the situation as follows:

> . . . and they certainly don't want to share it with anybody else, they like the limelight. They really don't want to lose their position as the only woman in the team, because that in itself can be a very powerful position to be in. They talk about women's rights and women's issues, but what do they do? Nothing! If you look around them, there will not be another woman in sight, because they like that position too much. A lot of them are very good at self promotion.

Burnout

Thirteen of the participants spoke about extreme feelings of tiredness and exhaustion, and about being battle-weary. They showed different emotions when speaking about their previous jobs – one became tearful, another started blinking her eyes anxiously; mostly they were quite dismayed about the events leading up to their decisions. They philosophised about their situations in the following manner:

> Eventually I got to a point where I had lost who I really was – I just didn't like it. I had tiredness in me that felt like it was in my bones. I felt that if I slept for a week, it wouldn't go away, I was continually in a battle; in a fight.
>
> Wisdom only really comes with age. I really went into my shell, I needed to hibernate and just unpack and get rid of my tiredness – I used to leave home when it was dark and I came home when it was dark.
>
> I left because I was really tired. I was tired of the loneliness (I was single at the time) and I would look at the men I worked with – they were going home to a family and I was going home to nothing. All I was doing was just working all the time. I think I was using work as a crutch; it was an escape. I knew I was burnt out because my whole body came out in acne, like you have never seen before.
>
> I had one child, and then I had another child – that was a problem. I didn't stay at home at all – I just kept working and travelling when they were tiny. I had to keep my chargeable ratio the same; my bottom line wasn't allowed to go down. I was running jobs from the bed (this was before cellphones and I sometimes wonder how I managed) – it was really hectic. I just remember being exhausted most of the time. I did employ a full-time midwife though, and I remember expressing in the shower overseas just to keep the milk going.

The participants did not generally blame the organizations for their state of burnout. They recognised the role they played in the situation, as one participant remarked:

The corporate world is not necessarily a bad place. The problem is you in that place, the individual in that environment – that is the problem. You have to be bold enough to get out.

Shocks

In 14 cases, even though there were other contributing factors, it was one specific incident that took place (mostly between the organization and the individual) that caused the individual to resign.

My pride really wouldn't let me stay and one thing did happen – another person at the same level as me told me about his perks and his salary and it was twice as much as mine. That's when I decided: bugger you all!

I suggested I would do marketing and sales and the COO could run the operations, next thing they brought in somebody who I was supposed to report to, I told them "over my dead body."

I was talking to the HR director and he was telling me they were having a discussion regarding talent and that I was classified as high performing and talented, but that they wouldn't promote me this year. So I thought to myself, "what's going to change in me in a year?" and I decided to leave.

Social Networks

Sixteen of the women interviewed referred to the existence of male social networks and how they negatively impacted on their experience in the workplace. They referred to the feelings of isolation, disappointment and a sense of disbelief.

I just got to that point of total frustration; our gut always tells us what is going on. You try and you try and you try, and you aren't on the golf course, you aren't where they are, so you don't take part in their discussions, and you aren't where the discussions take place.

It's a real boys-club company, the history is important to understand – they all worked together at a previous company; everyone who gets promoted is from there. It's worse than the "Broederbond"; they really look after each other.

I really was fighting it alone; it is a very closed club up there – all [SA university] "boytjies". Some of the guys are only there because they went to [SA university] and their positions are totally out of proportion to what they can deliver.

Values Clash

Fifteen of the 21 respondents reported a values clash, either between themselves and the organization or between themselves and their immediate supervisor. They were unequivocal about compromising their values and verbalised their resolve in the following manner:

I was continually in a battle, in a fight. There was a huge clash of values and principles between the organization and me. I just felt I lost it; I felt all I was doing was fighting. Everything started conflicting with my values and principles and it just didn't go away.

There is absolutely nothing I would have done differently, absolutely nothing, because it would have meant I would have had to compromise my value system and I wasn't prepared to do that, not at all.

I left because they did something that contravened my value system, I will not go against what I believe in – my intuition and gut feeling is very strong

Although some participants felt that previously they might have compromised their values in order to ascend the corporate hierarchy, on hindsight they did not think it was worth it.

Sometimes you compromise your value system, but then you ask yourself if it's really worth it. You would still have your decent income, but you wouldn't sleep at night, and I don't think that it's worth it.

It was just a different worldview and the issue wasn't going to be thrashed out because they couldn't argue it straight on. I had stepped on one of their basic unspoken values and how could they defend that? I really thought our culture and values were something different, but then I saw there was this point that really clashed with my values. The culture and values that get espoused are the good things and that's what they tell the organization, but the real values – they are something else. Why didn't I pick it up before? I was either coming up with proposals that aligned with theirs, or else I chose not to see it.

Problems with a manager

Thirteen of the 21 respondents reported problems with their managers or a board member – somebody in the organization in a position of power. These problems related to an ego issue, a values clash or an individual who felt threatened. In some cases the participants realised that the boss simply didn't have the skill to do the job that he/she was doing. The relationship with the superior is an important factor that often prompts women to resign, either because of the poor quality of the relationship or because of a fundamental difference in their worldviews.

I thought it was going to be wonderful, but it was a disaster. The main issue was that the leadership/management was very young (30s) and mostly men. I had no relationship with the CEO at all. It was very stupid – his whole strategy was to divide and conquer; he was an awful boss.

The top guys swapped 3 times. The next guy was Italian and very smooth and I was told I was a huge threat to him. He was revolting to work with; he was so vindictive. He used to whisper to me: 'I will get rid of you'.

She would engage with me 1-on-1, but then publicly she would pretend as if we had never had the conversation. She would also pretend it was all her idea.

In the majority of cases the reasons for leaving were not about the nature of work in terms of the job, but about relationship issues.

I started and knew nothing about the job, but it ended up being about relationship issues and not about job issues. It was either him or me and so I left. I couldn't compromise what I believed in.

Organizational Culture

More than half of the respondents felt the organizational culture was really paternalistic, which they hadn't noticed previously.

Even though some of the men don't deserve their positions, there is still a feeling that if a woman has a high position, it's because she is a woman. Trying to be a female in a male dominated culture is nearly impossible.

There is a one-liner why I left – 'too male'. I didn't want to be a male anymore; I wanted to use my intuition and my EQ, and to be feminine. Now I am free to be just that.

Basically it's just too white and too male. They play in the arena of men. You need to be an alpha wolf in the pack otherwise you don't survive.

One of the more humorous stories was told by an elegant, beautiful woman (responsible for a substantial division of a global cosmetics company) regarding the pervasiveness of male culture within the organization:

> I thought to myself: 'Hey, is this what it's all about?' I get invited to a conference and get awarded a beer mug, the same as the men, for good performance, I have still got it, it's so ridiculous.

The aforementioned findings are the most significant shared determinants of voluntary turnover amongst women executives. Despite the fact that the respondents' experiences were similar in certain respects, each respondent related unique anecdotes and awe-inspiring insights regarding the role of women in business.

Lack of Organizational Support and Mentorship

A large percentage of the respondents referred to their feelings of isolation that were exacerbated due to the lack of female support at the top levels of the organization.

> We women are our own worst enemies – you didn't want to be seen supporting women in the bank. I became overtly supportive of women, but I was really criticised. Men do that all the time and they don't have a problem with that. We always back down.
>   Generally I think we women are very ethical, only to find that you are constantly creating enemies. The problem is you aren't at the same time creating friends, so you are alone, with a lot of enemies. You find you have no allies and the messenger gets killed.

The feeling of isolation and aloneness abounds above the glass ceiling. This was especially noticeable to some of the participants who had previously enjoyed organizational support that was subsequently withdrawn.

> When I was approached and wooed, there was a guy in charge. He really wanted me in that organization, so he protected me. He saw the vision for the company and he wanted me to be part of it, but then the board decided they needed a change. It was pathetic, I tell you, pathetic. The shares were split, they ousted him and in came this new broom, and the circumstances changed. Had that guy still been there, it would have been very different.
>   The CIO saw I had potential – he was so influential and really helped me in my career. He was a huge silent supporter of mine. After what has happened now I feel very disappointed because he has gone very quiet. There was another very prominent woman there, but she didn't help me at all. Now she is very friendly when I see her, but when I was fighting no one came to me. I was alone, they were quiet.

Intimidation

Thirteen of the twenty one of the participants referred to incidents of intimidation, ranging from inappropriate language and overt sexual advances to physical intimidation and sabotage – the worst incidents being death threats.

> I really had verbal abuse from my boss, always a sexual innuendo and comments: 'Oh, I see you've put lipstick on to come and see me. You know there are a lot of other professions that you can do and you don't need to train for them.'

International meetings were really difficult, they treated me with absolutely no respect and were really rude – turned their backs on me. If I argued a point, they would say that they didn't ask for my opinion and also hit the table.

When the CEO interviewed me for the first time he asked: 'Do you have the balls to run this division?' I replied: 'Do you have the balls to run me?' After that he really wanted me to work there. There was so much sexual harassment, he pushed me in the corner and said: 'You are brilliant, brilliant, I want you'.

The security guard asked me why I left late and I said because he would protect me. He gave me a funny look and asked me what would happen if one of those security guards shot me down on my way out, and he suggested that I started leaving with the rest of the staff at 5 pm.

I told my boss about some possible corruption I had accidentally stumbled across. He told me to "just be quiet, my girl". He said he would investigate, but that I shouldn't say anything to anybody. I also told the director and all she said was that she wasn't interested. The next thing I knew, there was somebody in my office putting a gun on the table. He said that if I didn't shut up, my children and I would be eating it. He then told me this thing went right to the top and if I knew what was good for me, I would be very quiet.

Discussion

This study examined the determinants of voluntary turnover amongst women executives. These were grouped into the four categories identified in the literature review, namely environmental, organizational, individual and spanning.

Table 11.4 compares and contrasts the factors associated with voluntary turnover in the study under review with those reported in the literature.

The overall findings of this study concurred with Mainiero and Sullivan (2005. p. 108) who reflected that the reasons why women leave organizations "run much deeper" than those reported in the media. The essence of the women executives –

Table 11.4 Comparison of literature review and study findings

Category	Lit review	Lit review and study	Study
Environmental	War for talent Social pressure Gender stereotyping		
Organizational	Lack of mentorship Organizational change Deficiency of advancement	Job dissatisfaction Organizational culture	
Individual	Life stage Family commitments	Negotiation ability Burnout –	Make a difference Freedom and autonomy Power
Spanning		Lack of mentorship Shocks Psychological contract Job embeddedness Social networks Manager quality	Values clash Intimidation

their competitive nature, compulsion for success, their search and dependence on freedom, autonomy and making a difference – is what drives their exit from inflexible, staid, unaccommodating organizations. However, the results of this study are contradictory to the findings of Birt et al. (2004), whose sample included mostly males and whose results indicated that organizational factors were the most important drivers of voluntary turnover.

The analysis revealed that, contrary to global trends regarding the war for talent (Cappelli, 2000; Handfield-Jones, 2000; Davis and Stephenson, 2006); the effect of environmental pull-factors such as global headhunting was not generally experienced by South African women executives. Environmental factors accounted for a very small percentage of resignations; only one person that was interviewed had accepted an offer by a global company and less than a third of the respondents mentioned environmental factors as being instrumental in their decisions to leave. Stereotyping and social pressure are often cited reasons for barriers to women's advancement (Delamont, 2001; Budhwar et al., 2005), these barriers were invisible to the respondents of this study. A possible contributing factor to this finding is that the respondents were at a stage in their lives where society's perceptions of them were less relevant then when they were younger, supporting Gratton's (2004) life-stage arguments.

The following findings, as mentioned by the majority of respondents, were consistent with the literature review: poor quality of management, job attributes and lack of mentorship (Baron et al., 2001; Campbell and Alleyne, 2002; Payne and Huffman, 2005). The combination of poor management and lack of organizational support resulted in a few of the respondents feeling isolated and deserted. Their perceived exclusion from male social networks exacerbated this experience, concurrent with the findings of Brass et al. (2004).

One of the most deplorable discoveries of this study is the high incidence and severe nature of intimidation to which women executives are being subjected. Although in some cases the intimidation was an ongoing process, in most cases it was experienced as a shock by the respondents and precipitated their decision to leave, thereby supporting the findings of Sutherland, (2003) and Sumner and Niederman (2004).

Women in this study didn't feel part of the in-group, which, according to Kleiner (2003), is an inner circle of employees who control the organization. This core group has nothing to do with the organizational structure and women are often not part of this network. Interestingly, during their meteoric careers women often imagine that they are accepted by the in-group; it is only once they have permeated the glass ceiling that the reality of their situation becomes evident. The reason for this occurrence could be that the current incumbents are threatened by their presence. In an interesting study Boone et al. (2004) found that teams tend to reject members who are demographically different from the core members and that in times of economic pressure teams tend to close ranks – the team members who differ are the first to leave. Even if there are environmental factors that promote heterogeneity, the team tends towards homogeneity. They also found that the greater the demographic distance between the person and the existing team, the quicker his/her exit from that team.

The pioneering nature of the women that were interviewed and their drive to make a difference in their communities supports the concept of off-the-job embeddedness as described by Lee et al. (2004). In addition, the respondents' need to make a difference coupled with their need for freedom and autonomy concurs with Mainiero and Sullivan's (2005) discovery, namely, that women in the later stages of their careers strive for authenticity and being true to themselves. The necessity of authenticity often results in the women experiencing a clash of values between themselves and their organizations. The values clash leads to a breach of the psychological contract, resulting in the termination of employment. This finding concurs with Lee et al. (1999) and Vermeulen (2004), but contradicts that of Robinson (1996) who asserts that a value clash does not necessarily lead to a termination of employment.

Conclusions and Recommendations

The objective of this study was to determine and understand the drivers of voluntary turnover for South African women executives. A review of the literature suggested that drivers could be categorised as environmental, organizational, individual and spanning factors. Findings indicated that the environmental factors such as the war for talent and social pressure, and that some organizational factors including organizational change and advancement opportunities were not directly associated with a decision to leave. Life stage and family commitments were also not cited as the primary drivers in voluntary turnover. As predicted by the literature, organizational factors including job design issues and organizational culture, the individual factors of burnout and low political acumen, and spanning issues including lack of mentorship, organizational shocks, a violation of the psychological contract, low job embeddedness, poor social networks and managerial quality emerged as drivers of voluntary turnover in this study. Additional factors which were not suggested by the literature as being determinants of voluntary turnover included the individual needs to make a difference and needs for freedom, autonomy and power; the organizational factor of intimidation, and the spanning factor relating to a clash of values.

Organizations are failing to retain their executive female talent because of their paternalistic organizational culture, the poor quality of management and their inability to accommodate the needs of their top female performers. These include the need for freedom and autonomy; as well as a drive to make a difference, not only to the bottom line of the organization, but also to the bottom line of South Africa.

Companies that realise the costs of increased executive turnover and the benefits of retaining women executives need to engage in dialogue with their senior executives to drive systemic change their organizations. Organizations that understand the needs of their female executives and seek to create organizational climates that enable them to achieve the latter's goals will be the ones that attract and retain the best of the female talent pool.

In order to promote voluntary job tenure, women executives need to avoid having their identities subsumed by that of their organizations. Generally women need to be more astute with respect to the expectations they have of their organizations. They

should also be pragmatic regarding the terms of engagement, and ensuring roles and responsibilities are clarified. Women should be clear about their own needs, wants and aspirations, and should verbalise these to their organizations. Women executives also need to be realistic about their skills; analysing these in conjunction with the skills required by the organization. If there is a mismatch between what the organization requires and what the individual can offer, it is the dual responsibility of the organization and the individual to rectify the situation by the establishment of a training and development plan.

Mentorship is one of the most important training and development interventions for women executives, especially if organizations are serious about improving their diversity profile. The employment of mentors and coaches to assist women executives negotiate the hurdles above the glass ceiling is imperative.

Organizations should also increase the number of women at executive level. In support of the concept, Elvira and Cohen (2001) assert that executive women are less likely to leave if there are more women at their level and at levels above them in the organization. This will diminish women's feelings of isolation and exclusion from male social networks as new networks will form. It would also reduce the paternalistic organizational culture evident in most male-dominated companies. Organizations that fail to adapt to the needs of their women executives will bear costs in the long-run as women choose to join competitive organizations or to leave and start their own entrepreneurial ventures.

References

Accenture (2006). *The Anatomy of the Glass Ceiling: Barriers to Women's Professional Advancement*. Available at: www.accenture.com (accessed July 03, 2006).

Babbie, E. and J. Mouton (2001). The practice of social research. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.

Babbie, E. and J. Mouton (2005). *The Practices of Social Research*, 4th Impression. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Babcock, L., S. Laschever, M. Gelfand and D. Smal (2003, October). Nice girls don't ask. *Harvard Business Review* 81(10):14–16.

Baron, J., T. Hannan and D. Burton (2001). Labor pains: Change in organizational models and employee turnover in young, high-tech firms. *American Journal of Sociology* 106(4):960.

Birt, M., T. Wallis and G. Winternitz (2004). Talent retention in a changing workplace: An investigation of variables considered important to South African talent. *South African Journal of Business Management* 35(2):25–31.

Boone, C., W. Van Olffen, A. Van Witteloostuijn and B. De Brabander (2004). The genesis of top management team diversity: Selective turnover among top management teams in Dutch newspaper publishing, 1970–1994. *Academy of Management Journal* 47(5):633–656.

Brass, D., J. Galaskiewicz, H. Greve and T. Wenpin (2004). Taking Stock of Network and Organizations: A Multilevel Perspective. *Academy of Management Journal* 47(6):795–817.

Budhwar, P.S., D.S. Saini and J. Bhatnagar (2005). Women in Management in the New Economic Environment: The Case of India. *Asia Pacific Business Review* 11(2):179–193.

CEO Special Edition (2006). *SA's Top Businesswomen*, 5th edn. Centurion: CEO Communications.

Campbell, B. and S. Alleyne (2002). The high cost of turnover. *Black Enterprise* 33(5):61.

Cappelli, P. (2000, January–February). A market driven approach to retaining talent. *Harvard Business Review* 78:103–111.

Cappelli, P. and M. Hamori (2005), http://www.management.wharton.upenn.edu/cappelli/documents/pathtotophbr.pdf. The New Path to the Top, *Harvard Business Review*, 83(1): 25–32.

Catalyst (2004). *Women and Men in U.S. Corporate Leadership: Same Workplace, Different Realities?* Available at: http://66.249.93.104/u/Catalyst?q=cache:ERUd7yOIT5gJ:www.catalystwomen.org/files/quicktakes/Quick%2520Takes%2520-2520Turnover.pdf+turnover&hl=en&ct=clnk&cd=1&ie=UTF-8 (accessed July 25, 2006).

Catalyst (2005a). *Women 2005 Catalyst Census of Women Board Directors of the Fortune 500 Ten Years Later: Limited Progress, Challenges Persist*. Available at: http://www.catalyst.org/files/full/2005%20WBD.pdf (accessed May 21, 2006).

Catalyst (2005b). *Women Take Care, Men Take Charge: Stereotyping of U.S. Business Leaders Exposed*. Available at: www.catalyst.org (accessed May 21, 2006).

Cook, C.W. and P.L. Hunsaker (2001). *Management and Organzational Behaviour*, 3rd edn. International Edition. Boston, MA: McGraw-Hill Irwin.

Creswell, J.W. (1994). *Research Design: Qualitative and Quantitative Approaches*. London: Sage.

Cummings, T.G. and C.G. Worley (2005). *Organizational Development and Change*, 8th edn. International Student Edition. Ohio: South-Western.

Daft, R. (1983). Learning the craft of organizational research. *Academy of Management Review* 8(4):539–546.

Davis, I. and E. Stephenson 2006. Ten trends to watch in 2006. *McKinsey Quarterly*. Available at: http://www.mckinseyquarterly.com/article_page.aspx?ar=1734&L2=21&L3=33&srid=246 (accessed May 20, 2006).

Delamont, S. (2001). *Changing Women, Unchanged Men? Sociological Perspectives on Gender in a Post-industrial Society*. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Elvira, M.M. and L. Cohen (2001). Location matters: A cross-level analysis of the effects of organizational sex composition on turnover. *Academy of Management Journal* 44(3):591–605.

Financial Mail Special Report (2006). Woman power: South Africa's most influential women. *Financial Mail* July 7, 2006.

Gillham, B. (2005). *Research Interviewing: A Practical Guide*. Maidenhead: Open University Press.

Gratton, L. (2004). *The Democratic Enterprise: Liberating Your Business with Freedom, Flexibility and Commitment*. London: Prentice Hall.

Gresham, L. (2006). Winning the talent war requires a fresh benefits approach. *Employee Benefit News* 20(5):9–50.

Griffeth, R.W., P.W. Hom and S. Gaertner (2000). A meta-analysis of antecedents and correlates of employee turnover: Update, moderator tests, and research implications for the next millennium. *Journal of Management* 26(3):463–488.

Hammer, T.H. and A. Avgar (2005, Spring). The impact of unions on job satisfaction, organizational commitment, and turnover. *Journal of Labor Research* 26(2):241–266.

Handfield-Jones, H. (2000). How executives grow. *McKinsey Quarterly* 1:116–125.

Hewlett, S.A. and C.B. Luce (2005, March). Off-ramps and on-ramps: Keeping talented women on the road to success. *Harvard Business Review*:43–54.

Johns, G. (2006). The essential impact of context on organizational behaviour. *Academy of Management Review* 31(2):386–408.

Kleiner, A. (2003). Are you in with the in crowd? *Harvard Business Review* 81(7):86–92.

Krishnan, H.A. and D. Park (2005). A few good women—On top management teams. *Journal of Business Research* 58(12): 1712–1720. Available at: http://search.epnet.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=buh&an=19004017 (accessed 30/6/2006).

Krishnan, H.A., D. Park and L. Kilbourne (2006, September). The development of a conceptual model to explain turnover among women in top management teams. *International Journal of Management* 23(3), Part 1:470–477.

Kvale, S. (1996). *Interviews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Lee, T. (1987). Voluntary leaving an organization: An Empirical investigation of steers and Mowday's model of turnover. *Academy of Management Journal* 30(4):721–743.

Lee, T.W., T.R. Mitchell, B.C. Holtom, L.S. McDaniel and J.W. Hill (1999). The unfolding model of voluntary turnover: A replication and extension. *Academy of Management Journal* 42(4):450–462.

Lee, T., T.R. Mitchell, C.J. Sablynski, J.P. Burton and B.C. Holtom (2004). The effects of job embeddedness on organizational citizenship, job performance, volitional absences, and voluntary turnover. *Academy of Management Journal* 47(5):711–722.

Leedy, P. and J.E. Ormrod (2001). *Practical Research: Planning and Design*, 7th edn. Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Lotz, D. and F. Donald (2006). Stress and communication over job-levels after an acquisition. *South African Journal of Business Management* 37(1):1–8.

Lyness, K. and M.K. Judiesch (2001). Are female managers quitters? The relationships of gender, promotions, and family leaves of absences to voluntary turnover. *Journal of Applied Psychology* 86(6):1167–1178.

MRI Worldwide China Group (2006). Tips for attracting and retaining talent. *China Business Review* 33(2):28–29.

Maertz, C.P. and M.A. Campion (1998). 25 Years of voluntary research: A review and critique. In I.T. Robertson and C.L. Cooper (eds.), *Personnel Psychology and Human Resource Management*: *A Reader for Students and Practitioners*. Manchester: University of Manchester.

Mainiero, L.A. and S. Sullivan (2005). Kaleidoscope careers: An alternate explanation for the "opt-out" revolution. *Academy of Management Executive* 19(1):106–123.

McCracken, G. (1988). *The Long Interview*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Merriam, S.B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education*. San Francisco, CA: Josey-Bass.

Mitchell, T.R., B.C. Holtom and T.W. Lee (2001a). How to keep your best employees: Developing an effective retention policy. *Academy of Management Executive* 15(4):96–107.

Mitchell, T.R., B.C. Holtom, T. Lee, C.J. Sablynski and M. Erez (2001b). Why people stay: Using job embeddedness to predict voluntary turnover. *Academy of Management Journal* 44(6):1102–1121.

Musson, G. (2004). *Life-Histories, Essential Guide to Qualitative Methods in Organisation Research*. London: Sage.

Nutley, S. and J. Mudd (2005). Has the glass cliff replaced the glass ceiling for women in the public sector? *Public Money and Management* 25(1):3–4.

Oakley, A. (1997). Interviewing women: A contradiction in terms. In Roberts, H. (ed.), *Doing Feminist Research*. London: Routledge.

Payne, S. and A.H. Huffman (2005). A Longitudinal examination of the influence of mentoring on organizational commitment and turnover. *Academy of Management Journal* 48(1):158–168.

Pini, B., K. Brown and C. Ryan (2004). Women-only networks as a strategy for change? A case from local government. *Women in Management Review* 19(5/6):286–292.

Republic of South Africa (2004). *Employment Equity Report, 2004*. Available at: http://www.labour.gov.za/download/10289/Useful%20Documents%20-%20EEA%20-%20Employment%20Equity%20Analysis%20Report%202004.doc (accessed June 20, 2006).

Republic of South Africa (2006). *Employment Equity Act 1998, Act 55 of 1998: Amendments to the Employment Equity Regulations*. Available at: http://www.labour.gov.za/download/10655/Amendment%20-%20Employment%20Equity%2026%20May%202006.pdf (accessed August 13, 2006).

Robinson, S.L. (1996). Trust and breach of the psychological contract. *Administrative Science Quarterly* 41:574–599.

Rousseau, D.M. (2004). Psychological contracts in the workplace: Understanding the ties that motivate. *Academy of Management Executive* 18(1):120–131.

Senge, P.M. (1990). *The Fifth Discipline: The Art and Practice of the Learning Organization*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Stake, R.E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Sumner, M. and F. Niederman (2004). The impact of gender differences on job satisfaction, job turnover and career experiences of information systems professionals. *Journal of Computer Information Systems* 44(2):29–39.

Sutherland, M. (2003). *Factors Affecting the Retention of Knowledge Workers*. Department of Human Resources, Rand Afrikaans University.

The Businesswomen's Association and Synovate (2006). *South African Women in Corporate Leadership Census 2006*. Available at: http://www.bwasa.co.za/docs_images/Women_in_Corporate_Leadership_Census_2006.pdf (accessed May 15, 2006).

Vermeulen, S. (2004). *Stitched Up: Who Fashions Women's Lives?* Johannesburg: Jacana Media.

Welman, J.C. and S.J. Kruger (2001). *Research Methodology*, 2nd edn. Cape Town: Oxford University Press Southern Africa.

Winterton, J. (2004). A conceptual model of labour turnover and retention. *Human Resource Development International* 7(3):371–390.

Yukondi, V. and J. Benson (2005). Women in Asian management: Cracking the glass ceiling? *Asia Pacific Business Review* 11(2):39–148.

Chapter 12
Empowering Women Empowering Cultures

Deirdre Tedmanson

Editors' Introduction Having discussed out some of the systemic dynamics that undermine women's leadership in the context of business organizations, we now extend our analysis to women's leadership roles within their communities. In itself, this also provides important perspectives on these individuals' functioning within their organizational contexts. In a global setting where the most propitious leadership styles are interactive, systemic and complex, one of the challenges is to deal with the cultural and religious backgrounds of various participants in an organization. These various backgrounds create multi-layered variables that account for differences in leadership style and may conflict with a more Western view of leadership. Tedmanson's study of women from colonized cultures and how they lead both as community leaders and in organizations helps the reader to understand the systemic challenges and contributions that cultural diversity engenders. One of the most important contributions of the paper is that it makes us aware of how community interaction is an important training ground for organizational leadership, and also poses challenges to a reductionist understanding of organizational leadership. In the community realm, women have the freedom to lead on issues they consider important and procure the kind of change that has real effects for those they care about. This should inspire a rethinking of organizational leadership in more relational terms. It also emphasizes these women's leadership capacities in the various spheres of their lives and thereby helps us to debunk the infamous public-private split that has led to the devaluation of women's leadership capacities for centuries.

D. Tedmanson (✉)
School of Psychology, Social Work and Social Policy, University of South Australia, Adelaide, Australia
e-mail: deirde.tedmanson@unisa.edu.au

Introduction

It's impossible to write about being Indigenous, being a woman and the challenges of leadership without reflecting on my own feelings and experiences, the things that guide and inspire me, and the tough aspects of playing all these roles at the same time. Huggins, 2004

Diversity of Indigenous Contexts

While estimates vary the accepted United Nations calculation is that approximately 370 million Indigenous[1] peoples, consisting of thousands of distinct groups, live in some 90 countries on every inhabited continent in every climate zone of the world and comprise about 6% of the world's population (UN WGIP, 2006, p. 10). From the outset the diversity of Indigenous contexts both across nations and also within nations, is acknowledged. The plurality of Indigenous contexts from localities in India, Africa, Northern Europe and Asia, to Canada, North America, Australia, New Zealand, Latin America, the South Pacific and elsewhere include many variations in political and economic contexts, lifestyles and ambitions. A complex web of factors influences, limits or facilitates strategies and choices available to Indigenous communities. Many accounts of organizational issues and Indigenous peoples tend simplify and essentialize *"the"* Indigenous interest. Such proscriptive definitions of what "Indigenous people" are, think, do or say, obscure the hybridity and complex intersectionality of the contemporary lived experience of many Indigenous peoples. The romantic Indigenous stereotype of reified "spiritual healer" or "noble warrior" may be as limiting to contemporary Indigenous aspirations and as self serving of non-Indigenous western interests, as any other neo-colonial imposition. The dynamic relations of power in and between Indigenous life-worlds are not static or simplistic but multi-layered and sophisticated. Socio-political and historical understandings of how the political economy of colonisation and neo-colonial control has variously destroyed, dispossessed, defined, erased or contained Indigenous peoples suggest a more heterogeneous and powerful acknowledgement of Indigenous agency is called for.

However, this is not to suggest that traditional spiritual, ecological and cultural attachment to land, culture and self determination is not the fundamental human right of Indigenous peoples, as acknowledged in the UN Declaration of the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007). Recognition of cultural affiliation to land shared by Indigenous peoples everywhere, affords a sentient stance that facilitates respect for forms of human agency distinct from Western rationalities (Tedmanson, 2009). While Indigenous peoples and their cultures are each unique, many share a "holistic approach to relationships across social, ecological and spiritual dimensions" (Whiteman, 2009, p. 103; LaDuke, 1999). For many Indigenous cultures this holistic world view emerges from a deep seated ecological belief in the interconnection of all life forms and awareness that people derive their individual and collective identity from the lands of ancestors (Whiteman, 2009; Whiteman and Cooper, 2000; Bird Rose, 1992, 1996, 1997). This Chapter focuses on aspects of the shared cultural experience of Indigenous women leaders and how particular way of organizing and particular styles of leadership emerge from and are enacted within the bicultural space that Indigenous leaders must navigate.

Centrality of Land to Culture and the Trauma of Dispossession

Affiliation to Land is a core ethical value common across Indigenous cultures and is central to a shared world view of ways of being in the world. As Mahood (2000, p. 12) explains, "places ... hold special significance ... a form of consciousness in which the landforms are the psychological terrain of the people who inhabit them ... literally, not metaphorically, ... to revisit country is not only to reanimate it but to walk the contours of one's own deep self, both individual and shared." This "holistic" ecological and cultural connection to land is shared by Indigenous cultures across the world, irrespective of geographic location and language differences. American First Nations Anishinabe leader Winona LaDuke (1995) suggests a sentiment common to most Indigenous peoples:

The Earth is our Mother. From her we get our life, and our ability to live. It is our responsibility to care for our mother, and in caring for our Mother, we care for ourselves. Women, all females, are the manifestation of Mother Earth in human form. We are her daughters and in my cultural instructions: *Minobimaatisiiwin*. We are to care for her. I am taught to live in respect for Mother Earth. In Indigenous societies, we are told that Natural Law is the highest law, higher than the law made by nations, states, municipalities and the World Bank. That one would do well to live in accordance with Natural Law ... With those of our Mother ...

Just as Land as central to an ontological sense of Indigeneity so too is the experience of trauma both material and "psychic", caused by the violent appropriation of traditional Lands through colonial invasion. Indigenous Australian writers Gladys and Jill Milroy (2008) explain: "Aboriginal people never "wandered" far from country and always struggled to stay close to it. We did not leave it but were taken from it and we still grieve for country we lost, as our country grieves for us". Across the other side of the world Kenyan Masaai leader Margaret Koileken (cited in FIMI, 2006, p. 32) shares similar sorrow:

... land is our heritage, our life. Without land, we are useless as Indigenous peoples. When we lose land, we lose culture; we lose language and identity. After that is lost, you are no longer yourself. You are no longer the Indigenous person you used to be. You are only a shell of yourself .... Through the loss of land you become assimilated, which is the beginning of your end.

The continuing effects of dispossession and cultural alienation resulting from colonial domination include not only political and economic disempowerment but the denial of many fundamental cultural, social and human rights (Cunningham, 2006; Kaldor, 2001; Mander and Tauli-Corpuz, 2006). Such effects are amplified by an increasingly globalised world economy where local dislocation renders Indigenous peoples a "fourth world" of disadvantage and vulnerability.

Not only bodies but minds are colonised through the assimilating practices of "first" world economic regimes which impose governance approaches, commodify human interaction and either directly or indirectly seek to eradicate subsistence cultural traditions (Mander and Tauli-Corpuz, 2006). Power is thus inscribed through forms of neo-liberal western governance, practices of knowledge/truth formation and new modes of political subjectivity (Dean, 2002).

Continuities in the history of colonization show discipline, violence and control of racialized "others" is ongoing, constitutive of and reflecting both modern biopolitical power and older sovereignties. As Ashcroft et al (1995) argue *post*-colonial does not mean *after* colonialism, it begins when the colonisers arrive and doesn't finish when they go home. For Indigenous communities, daily life experience in a globalised world today does not only mean grappling with the historical legacies of past colonisation, managing ongoing racism, alienation and dispossession – but having to do so from within a dominant culture paradigm that suggests only Eurocentric western ways of knowing and being, managing and organising can render a viable future for Indigenous peoples. Indigenous societies are thus dominated epistemologically as well as economically, creating complex challenges for Indigenous leaders and managers within a broader political climate often antipathetic to Indigenous holistic and ecological values.

Gender Dimensions of "Deep Colonisation"

The cultural status and role of women within Indigenous communities will vary according to local cultural context. Values regarded as universal will always play out differently within diverse Indigenous settings. However a common ethos shared by most Indigenous societies is the emphasis placed on the complementarity of gender roles as having at times different responsibilities but of equal status to the maintenance of cultural traditions and the ongoing functioning of communities (Prindeville, 1999, 2000; Portman and Garrett, 2005; Barkdull, 2009). Bird Rose (1996, p. 2) contests the widely held Eurocentric bias that stereotypically portrays Indigenous societies as antiquated and patriarchal. She describes processes of what she terms "deep-colonization", whereby western notions of gender relations are transferred inappropriately onto Indigenous contexts. She argues male dominated professions, informed by non-Indigenous (European) epistemologies, have developed colonizing practices that assume the subordination of Indigenous women, as if they were without "socially relevant power" and only peripherally acted upon within Indigenous socio-cultural domains. Bird Rose (1996, p. 2) suggests the continued marginalization of women perpetuates "the colonising practices of conquest and appropriation" through embedded institutional practices that erase the "autonomous power and presence of Indigenous women". She argues this occurs through misattributions about the way "gendered land locates women spatially and cosmologically". Bird Rose (1996, p. 5) highlights instead:

> Dreaming women, along with Dreaming men, created the world, and in so doing created sites of autonomous power for women. Women from generation to generation produce their social power, their histories, their spiritual and philosophical growth. Sites hold the potential for the power which women unfold in their lives in dialogue with men; the complementary of the dialogue is ensured by the presence of women's sites and women's Law . . .. In carrying on ritual, women celebrate and regenerate themselves, their country, their knowledge, their power, their community . . .

Similarly, in a study of the role of women in Native American Ute communities in Colarado, parts of Wyoming, New Mexico and Nevada, Osburn (1998) shows how the matrilineal structuring of kinship systems and gender roles remains largely intact despite the legacy of the imposition of a more patriarchal system through the US Government's reservations policies. Osburn (1998, p. 23) argues women were held in high regard in Indigenous societies and "participated in councils, were active in warfare and provided leadership and power in spiritual matters".

In the contemporary context, it is Indigenous women, already the most impacted upon by the legacy of colonial violence and dispossession, who have been at the fore-front of rebuilding their communities: from initiating local self-help groups; managing Indigenous organizations and community development programs and/or fighting for human, land and property rights in local, national and international forums, Indigenous women have emerged in disparate localities around the world as key leaders organizing political and social innovations for their communities (Taylor and Stauss, 2007; Cunningham, 2006; Foro Internacional de Mujeres Indígenas, 2006; Raj, 2002). It is the stories of some of these women this Chapter highlights in order to explore how Indigenous women are doing leader ship "differently".

Global Implications

In arguing for a rethink of the contribution of women in globalized leadership, Werhane (2007, p. 427) suggests: "The most effective global leaders will be those who are not only visionary, but who are used to working with a diverse population collaboratively rather than in a traditional leadership–follower dynamic". In a clever juxtapositioning of stakeholder and leadership theory Werhane (2007, p. 430) presents a case-study placing Bayaka "Pygmy" communities in Africa at the centre of a dialogue about corporate relations with mining multinationals. She argues how a shift in perspective and thinking enables the "taking into account" of these Indigenous communities, "not merely as strange tribes somewhere in Africa" but as "real people that . . . matter and matter deeply". Werhane uses this example to elucidate the increasing salience of adaptive, moral and ethical leadership to contemporary global challenges. She argues that the leadership style of women may provide for greater communal and less hierarchical approaches and that these approaches are imperative to organizational life in the future. An ethical leader under this rubric will not only embody her personal, professional and organizational values but also expect the same of those around her. Such leaders will literally practice the leadership style they "preach": "embodying their personal values in their professional and social lives" (Werhane, 2007, p. 433).

This Chapter argues that Indigenous women, already the most marginalised, incorporate key cultural values about the interconnectedness of people to each other and to the environment and that such embedded values reflect the imperatives for innovative global leadership styles to which Werhane (2007) refers. Many Indigenous women have generated a form of organizing informed by a cultural wisdom that is not just institutionally productive but an expression of their sense of

an ethical way of "being in the world". This Chapter explores the narratives, experiences and perspectives of Indigenous women leaders from different localities as forms of systemic, ethical and "wisdom" leadership. It reveals the commonality of moral and ethical leadership qualities exhibited by Indigenous women to suggest their deep commitment to cultural values, cultural efficacy, consistency and renewal forms the strength of their leadership style. The deeply held commitment to their Indigeneity expressed by the women in this Chapter permeates both their work and personal lives. They "walk the talk" of ethical leadership. Each acts as a mentor, undertaking responsibilities "both ways" – accountable to their communities on terms that are bounded by cultural expectations and responsibilities, as well as accountable to the dominant cultural context within which their more formal public and professional roles are located.

As "wise women" elders, a portrait of leadership is drawn that is deeply rooted in these women's sense of themselves as Indigenous women. Each embodies a form of "cultural organizing" that is congruent with a values system in which the borders of "public" and "private" life are porous and transparent. Each models a sense of themselves as integrally interconnected to a communal heritage that is both part of a timeless continuity while also being dynamic in the present. Many speak of leadership as a form of cultural "custodianship" held in trust to be passed on for future generations of young women to follow.

From the outset I locate myself as a non-Indigenous Australian who, like others with a heritage back to the earliest invasion of the Australian continent, has had family intersections to Indigeneity "whited" out across generations, denying the rightful place and active presence of such intersections in the formation of hybrid family histories and identity. As such I do not in any way claim to speak for others but rather seek to profile stories of extraordinary Indigenous women in their own words. In so doing I acknowledge the power and generosity of the many Indigenous women who have mentored and guided me in my professional (and personal) life, showing by their example just how humbling and inspirational "wise women's" leadership can be. It is the stories of empowering women, empowering cultures that this Chapter aims to both elucidate and celebrate. The Chapter turns to an exploration of culture as identity and culture as leadership before relating Indigenous women's organizing styles to theories of ethical, transformational and wisdom leadership.

Culture as Identity

Mothers, Daughters, Leaders

Jackie's Story

Jackie Huggins is a prominent Australian Indigenous leader from Queensland's Bidjara and Birri-Gubba Juru peoples, who holds many executive level management and leadership positions in organizations across the nation. Huggins is also a "single mum" (she states), an author, activist and media commentator. Huggins holds

formal "mainstream" leadership roles as Professor and Deputy Director of the University of Queensland's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Studies Unit. She is also a Director of the Telstra Foundation, a Board member of the Queensland Centre for Family Violence Research, a Board member of the Queensland Heritage Council – and Patron and Director of many other community organizations and philanthropic Foundations. Huggins has been a significant and outspoken national Indigenous leader as the previous first head of an Indigenous women's unit in a Commonwealth agency, co-Chair of Australia's Reconciliation Council and convenor of the Indigenous stream at the Australian Prime Minister's 2020 national summit. In 1997 Huggins was a Commissioner for the *National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families* (Stolen Generations Report) and is attributed as having been particularly influential in shifting public opinion in the decade that followed, which ensured a national apology was finally secured for all Indigenous Australians. In 2001 Huggins received an Australia Medal for her work with Indigenous people on reconciliation, literacy, women's issues and social justice.

In speaking of her leadership style Huggins (1998, p. 32) says: "throughout my life my driving force has always been my Aboriginality in whatever I do." She suggests her Aboriginality impacts on every facet of her work and that being born Indigenous means being born political: "political awareness and action is a way of life". Racism and sexism are cited by Huggins as the biggest challenges she has faced in her organizational and leadership roles while connection to Indigenous culture is cited as having empowered her to overcome all obstacles. Huggins (2004, p. 2) states that the core of her identity is her Aboriginality and that it is this which defines her as both a person and as a leader:

> When I look in the mirror each morning, I see a black face. As I look a bit longer, I see the face of a woman. My first identity is that of my race. So with all the trials and tribulations of being a female Aboriginal leader, that is what I feel I face up to first. Accordingly, my deepest connection and priority is to Indigenous people.

Huggins early journey to leadership is told in her collection of historical and autobiographical work entitled *"Sistergirl"* (1998) in which she weaves her personal story through a first-hand account of the history of Indigenous women in Australia, from servitude to seniority. She pays honour to her culture, her community and particularly her mother. She describes her approach to leadership as deeply connected to and entwined with family/ kinship roles and responsibilities; duty to older and younger Indigenous women; and responsibilities for honouring the social justice, egalitarian and liberation ethos inherent in the political struggles of her people. Huggins infuses her leadership approach with both a vision and a depth of moral compassion that embraces the diversity and common humanity of those in the "mainstream" she seeks to educate or influence. She describes an inclusive and participatory style through which she engages with, aims to transform and inspire those around her. Huggins (2004, p. 3) argues that to become engaged in organizational life is to spark a "chain reaction" which spirals people into taking on greater leadership roles: "it's vital for older leaders to mentor, communicate and allow young

people to lead also". Huggins (2004, p. 4) suggests this is a "very Aboriginal thing to do . . . it is a culturally appropriate transfer of roles that involves respect in both directions – from the younger to the older and the older to the younger".

> In addressing all the difficult sides of leadership – and they are very real – I should also reflect on the wonderful aspects of being identified as someone who cares for their community. That is why it is so important for women to make themselves known in different capacities within their own communities. If your community doesn't know who you are, leadership is much harder, much less legitimate . . . Once your community sees you doing things for it, people feel and show pride and support which is the greatest of gifts and reinforcements. It far outweighs the difficulties of leadership.

Huggins (2004, p. 4) speaks of culture, community connectedness and kinship support as key aspects of leadership for Indigenous women. She describes how she has maintained her respect for traditional beliefs and trust in her ancestors to guide her as a leader of her people; stating that her cultural identity provides the pride and strength that enables her to mentor younger Indigenous women as future leaders:

> Every day I speak to my Mother who passed on . . . Every day I ask her to guide me in my journeys. When I have to speak at a big event, when I am restless and nervous, I meditate for a few moments and I feel her tap on my shoulder to tell me she is there with me. She then calls in the ancestors and I am surrounded by them. They tell me to "go for it". Which is what I have done – and tell my young sisters to do also.

For Huggins there is congruence between her sense of cultural identity as an Indigenous Australian woman, her cultural duties as a mother and daughter, her inter-generational responsibilities to younger Indigenous women and her "public" roles as an academic, executive manager of organizations and Indigenous leader campaigning for social justice for her people.

"Mum Shirl"

Shirley Smith (nee Perry) was an iconic Australian Indigenous woman of the Waradjuri people of New South Wales who became during her lifetime one of the most productive and infamous Indigenous leaders of the Aboriginal civil rights movement. Smith was named a "national living treasure" by Australia's National Trust just prior to her death in 1998. "Mum" Shirl was one of fourteen children who grew up in the Erambie Mission. While functionally illiterate in English she spoke several Aboriginal languages fluently. Based in Redfern (then known as "the Block"), an inner Sydney urban Aboriginal "ghetto" suburb, her organizing leadership began when as a young woman she made prison visits to her brother. From this time on she worked to support Aboriginal prisoners, established a range of organizations and programs "culturally appropriate" to Aboriginal people and campaigned for civil and legal rights.

The name "Mum Shirl" came when Smith kept replying, "I'm his Mum," to officials querying her relationship with prisoners (Refshauge, 1998) as she tirelessly visited hundreds of Aboriginal people in goals across the country to draw attention to the disproportionate incarceration of Indigenous people and the number

of "deaths in custody". "Mum Shirl" fostered 60 Aboriginal children while campaigning for the establishment of the Aboriginal Medical Service, the Aboriginal Legal Rights Service, the Aboriginal Children's Service and the Aboriginal Tent Embassy – all major Aboriginal controlled organizations and programs still operating today. These organizations commenced as "collectives" and still incorporate Aboriginal mores in their organizational procedures: such as providing for "sorry business" and ensuring Indigenous values are reflected in organizational custom and practice. These were the first Aboriginal community controlled organizations in Australia to institutionalize an Indigenous style of management which overtly asserted self-determination as a core strategic value. With other activists Mum Shirl was a guiding strategist behind the pivotal Gurindji campaign for land rights in the 1970s. "Mum Shirl" created herself as a cultural identity and her name became synonymous with a nurturing but also fearless style of charismatic Indigenous leadership:

> She had an aura about her; a strength . . . she had a great capacity to intimidate even the best of Ministers and bureaucrats. When one met her one could not help but be moved by her commitment and dedication to Aboriginal people. She regarded such an approach as necessary to improve the lot of Aboriginal people . . . (Refshauge, 1998)

While primarily an activist, Mum Shirl's organizing stemmed from her commitment to Indigenous culture and drive for strengthening the resistance of her people to injustice. Her identity became an icon of Indigenous women organizing and through her "call to service" she formed the "backbone" (see parallels to stories of Native First Nations American women leaders in Barkdull, 2009), of the Indigenous "cause", leading many lasting organizational innovations. "She comforted the afflicted – but she didn't promise not to afflict the comfortable" (Refshauge, 1998). Mum Shirl referred in her autobiography (1992) to her pride in her culture, about where she was born, the relationships she had with her parents (who were drovers) and in particular, the relationship she had with her grandfather, an elder of her people. She dedicated her "story" to her grandfather.

Kunmanara Wilson

At the opening of the 2000 Sydney Olympics, Kunmanara[2] Wilson, elder and senior law woman of the Anangu Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara peoples of the Australian central western desert, led 350 Anangu women in a many thousands of years old "awakening story" Inma (ceremony) which was watched by millions around the world. Wilson was a traditional Pitjantjatjara woman born in the central western desert who spoke several Indigenous languages before learning English. Kunmanara Wilson was a deeply respected and powerful Ngangkari (traditional healer), a cultural leader passionate in sharing her knowledge of Aboriginal cultural law and traditions who influenced the institutional and policy environment for "remote" traditionally oriented Indigenous Australians – particularly women – for several decades. Wilson embodied her cultural beliefs and organized from her vision of a more tolerant society which would protect, support, maintain and sustain

Aboriginal traditional law and culture. Her aim was to ensure that Aboriginal people in "remote" traditional contexts could maintain their way of life, law, language, family, rituals and ceremony within a "modern" nation state. She argued Indigenous "traditional" culture and customs could co-exist with globalization and were complimentary to, not incommensurate with a more globalized world order. Wilson led a "cultural revival' in traditional communities that sought to reposition traditional rituals, story-telling, art and music as productive assets, rather than as artefacts of a static "dying" culture.

Wilson's leadership was infused with and mediated through, traditional forms of communication, such as art, music, oral stories and Inma (ceremony) and she modelled Indigenous modes of negotiating. Rather than relying on western style bureaucratic meetings alone, Wilson "sang" her causes and was a highly respected artist painting in the desert tradition who told the "stories" of her people as a strategic means to influence policy settings and opinion makers. Wilson was an instrumental figure in the campaign that culminated in the APY Land Rights Act (1981), which ceded a tenth of South Australia back to the control of the traditional owners of the region; the first such return of traditional lands to the self-determination of a designated group of Indigenous peoples of its kind in the world. She instigated and helped establish organizations such as the Pitjantjatjara Council, the Alukura Birthing Unit and the Ngaanyatjarra Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara (NPY) Women's Council in 1980 – which is still operating as one of the largest and most influential remote area Indigenous women's organizations in Australia.

Wilson advocated for better outcomes for Aboriginal children and led support for women to combat violence and abuse in remote communities, influencing the establishment of Government inquiries such as *The Little Children Are Sacred Report*, and *Children on the APY Lands Commission of Inquiry*. A Parliamentary tribute paid at the time of her death (Weatherill, 2009) stated:

> Kunmanara Wilson has deeply touched the lives of many people, not just South Australians, but many people across the country and around the world from as far away as Canada, the United States, Israel and New Zealand. Kunmanara Wilson was a strong woman, who was passionate about her beliefs that we as humans have a responsibility to one another, to the earth and the cultural integrity for all People.

Wilson's leadership was rooted strongly in her identity as an Anangu woman and her sense of deep connection to the Lands of which she was a part. Her style was charismatic and transformational with a unique approach to employing cultural practices to evoke change. Her art work was often emblematic of a key issue she sought to bring attention to and lead change about. Wilson did not simply use text or verbal means to communicate but worked as a "shaman" across mediums to engage the senses of sound and sight when conveying strategic messages. At the time of her death in late 2009 Wilson was mentoring a group of young Anangu women in cultural practices while also guiding them in the development of professional careers and key Indigenous organizational roles. Her funeral or "sorry camp", held in her "remote" community homeland, was attended by thousands of people and conducted in keeping with traditional Anangu ritual and customs.

Wilson's "inspirational" leadership reveals a coherent cultural style in which she strategically and conspicuously lived the message she wished convey: of the strength, power, resilience – and relevance – of Indigenous women and cultures in a contemporary globalised context. In words accompanying one of her well known paintings, which formed part of the *Tjilpi Pampa Tjutaku* campaign for better aged care for Anangu to be located "on country", Wilson (1995) contemplated the impossibility of ever being forced to leave her traditional Lands: ". . . they would have to drag me like a bullock". Reversing the western fixation on reverence for youth and encapsulating instead more ancient Indigenous traditions about respect for the wisdom of elders, Kunmanara Wilson (1995) prophetically counselled: ". . . look after the old people – because *they* are the future".

Mankiller

Stories of Indigenous Australians Huggins, "Mum Shirl" and Wilson portray the incorporation of cultural identity in women's leadership as ethical, inspirational, charismatic and transformative, but are not unique. In Canada, the US, New Zealand and elsewhere stories of culture as identity in leadership prevail. The autobiography of Wilma Mankiller and Wallis (1999) is an inspirational story of a Cherokee woman who became one of the first female Chiefs of a Native American tribe. Mankiller is a powerful figure in the Native First Nations American activist movement, drawing support from third world nationalism and the civil rights movement in the US. Mankiller's autobiography reveals a highly political and forceful leadership, informed by commitment to her community and to the further development of young Cherokee women into leadership positions. Mankiller and Wallis (1999, p. 45) describes how her ability to overcome challenges to her leadership was buttressed by an unswerving faith in the "old Cherokee injunction to 'be of a good mind.' Today it's called positive thinking." Mankiller (2008) sees herself as breaking ground into institutional fields previously dominated by patriarchal and white western/Eurocentric cultures so that younger women can follow in her footsteps, observing that: "Prior to my election, young Cherokee girls would never have thought that they might grow up and become chief."

Radiating the "Spirit"

Voyageur's (2008) study of sixty four of the ninety female chiefs of Canada's First Nations communities highlights the leadership and politics dilemmas each leader experiences but also highlights the importance of their identities as Indigenous women to their ability to keep the "fire alive" in their role. Voyageur (2008) styles these leaders: the "fire-keepers of the twenty-first century" for their capacity to maintain their status and roles as cultural leaders in their families and communities, while at the same time negotiating the complex terrain of legislative, political, managerial and economic sustainability for their communities in elected roles as Chiefs. Until changes to the Indian Act in 1951, the elected office of "Chief" was a male

only domain – despite First Nations women having played important leadership roles in communities for centuries.

Brayboy and Morgan (1998, p. 341) identify themes of "Indianness, spirituality, bonding, reciprocity/inclusiveness" as well as the sense of "otherness" that is generated by racism, in their phenomenological study of four Native American women leaders "cultural, educational, professional and relational experiences". Similarly Barrios and Egan (2002) reveal biculturalism and identity as important issues in the stories of Native American respondents they studied. In her study of the life stories of four Native American (Ute) women leaders of human service organizations Barkdull (2009, p. 128) identifies five strands within the central theme of identity: "knowing "*who I am*"; turning points; "walking in two worlds" (biculturalism); the call to service and women as the "backbone" [through] gender and matrilineality". All of these organizational leaders expressed "a deep respect for traditional spiritual beliefs and practices that were handed down through their own families and for those of other Native American peoples" (Barkdull, 2009, p. 129). Their words echo the sentiments of Indigenous women leaders from other continents, other contexts – each expressing the centrality of culture to who they are and how their work, the seamlessness of their sense of the inter-connection between family, culture, kin, community – their "Indigeneity" as being core to their leadership styles:

> I radiate a glow of energy. I radiate spirit of who I am as an Indian woman. It's respect for myself, for my body, for my mind, and my spirit.
> My grandmother on the Navajo side—I felt like that was part of my identity—her teachings and who she was. She taught me our Creation stories, where we come from, the ceremonies behind them, the purposes. These stories tell us about our stages of life . . . and the whole meaning behind it . . . . Now I provide that for my children. And from there moving into adolescence, the puberty ceremony that my grandmother was there for—letting us know who we are.

Leadership Styles

Walking in "Two Worlds" – Working in a Global Context

In her discussion of the role of women leaders in a globalized world referred to above in this Chapter, Werhane (2007, p. 426) suggests the increasingly "flat" and interconnected nature of the organizational world means that "what we once called "externalities" are [becoming] part of an interrelated networked global system". She suggests it is no longer possible for problems such as environmental degradation to be "outsourced" or for issues of "cultural diversity" to be viewed purely in transactional terms as "opportunity costs" and cites examples of where accommodations of traditional and tribal practices have been necessitated (see also Mead et al., 2003). Werhane (2007, p. 429) suggests that as rights based perspectives and the "proximity" of cultures increases through the "flattening" effects of globalization, individuals and groups will increasingly "exist in mutual

reciprocal relationships" and that worn out "mind-sets" about "leader-follower"/ hierarchical styles of leadership – preoccupied with power and authority – will give way to "ethical", "transformational" and "empowering" styles of leadership more often exemplified by women. "Transformational" leadership is defined in this context as a "relationship of mutual stimulation and elevation that converts followers into leaders and may convert leaders into moral agents" (Burns, 1978, p. 3 cited in Werhane, 2007, p. 432). Ethical leadership is by nature value congruent and consistent with the style of women's leadership Werhane (207:432) profiles: "inspirational rather than directive . . . participatory rather than hierarchical" and more aimed at empowering others through an envisioned future that meets community and global standards about "moral worth", than with self-interest or control.

Stories of Indigenous women exemplify the leadership styles and kinds of leadership qualities drawn out in Werhane's (2007) analysis. While few leadership studies focus exclusively on Indigenous contexts and the organization studies literature has been critiqued for privileging "gender blind" and/or "race-neutral" perspectives (see e.g., Muller, 1998; Cox and Nkomo, 1990; Nkomo, 1992; Calás and Smircich, 1996; Benschop, 2006; Sinclair, 2005) the emergent global manager is likely to be a transcultural leader, dextrous with the inter-cultural space; sensitive to diverse perspectives and able to "live" in more than "one world" while maintaining a strong sense of identity and ethics.

Categories such as "woman" and "Indigenous" are not fixed and immutable but socially constructed, with fluid, permeable boundaries and multiple variations of intersectionality (Essers, 2009; Benschop, 2006; Thiessen et al., 2006). However, in contemporary studies, autobiographical narratives and life stories of Indigenous women's leadership, Indigenous culture is emphasised and unwavering respect for "traditional" Indigenous values is frequently expressed.

The ability and challenges of "walking in two worlds" (Barkdull, 2009, p. 130; Muller, 1998, p. 8; Marshall and Tedmanson, 2000) is a theme in all studies of Indigenous women leaders and a unique skill that enables dexterity of coping with ambiguity in the liminal space "between" Indigenous and non-Indigenous experiences. In a study of Indigenous women leaders by Brayboy and Morgan (1998, p. 353) however, all of the women expressed a strong disinterest in succumbing to pressure to surrender their "Indigenous cultural practices in order to achieve success as defined by a European dominant society".

Indigenous women interviewed in a study by Taylor and Stauss (2007, p. 131) describe their leadership styles as "democratic and collaborative" and focused on achieving collective benefit for their organizations and communities. Many portrayed humility about the notion of "leadership" itself, viewing leading as a "circular" process of collective reflexivity and the garnering of respect through their demonstrations of wisdom as "humble nurturers" (Taylor and Stauss, 2007, p. 131). Qualities of being "humble, nurturing, respectful, traditional" in exercising leadership are also conveyed by Indigenous women in a study by Krumm (1998, p. 21) and resonate with the leadership styles illustrated in the life stories of Huggins, Smith, Wilson and Mankiller discussed above in this Chapter.

Wisdoms

Professional and academic writing about women's leadership has tended to focus on ways for women to progress their careers and shatter glass ceilings. Newer work is emerging that seeks to question the western world view prevalent in management thinking and to posit new paradigms for social change, canvassing for example: systemic leadership and ethical responsiveness (Calori, 2003; Painter-Morland, 2008; Werhane, 2007; Calas et al., 2009), reflexivity and relational paradigms (Cunliffe, 2009; Kellett et al., 2006; Baltes, 2004) and the role of "wisdom" in leadership (McKenna et al., 2009; Bailey et al., 2008). Such newer approaches privilege the reflexive and relational nature of leadership within a more humanistic world view where the interconnectedness of people in organizations and moral concerns about the social impact of collective actions are no longer considered peripheral issues. Leadership is thus repositioned as a philosophical pursuit guided as much by issues of the spirit as by strategy. "Leadership guided by the spirit taps into the invisible web that runs through and connects everyone" (Bailey et al., 2008, p. 22).

In discussing wisdom principles for evaluating leadership McKenna et al (2009, p. 179) suggest "wise people respect experience and tradition and use this resource appropriately". Wise people are reflexive and perceive the cultural-historical dimensions of human engagement. The stories of Indigenous women reveal their cognisance of "self in context" when cast in leadership roles. Leadership is spoken of as a "duty" to be enacted rather than a job to be performed. Leadership for the Indigenous women cited is a way of "being" in the bi-cultural worlds they navigate, an expression of Indigenous solidarity and agency, as distinct from career choice alone. As Grojean et al (2004, p. 186) suggest, "authentic" leadership is selflessly ethical in that it is values led and "connected to friends, family and community whose welfare may be more important than one's own". This resonates with the lived experiences of leadership in action shared by Indigenous women in the studies cited above.

Giving Back

In a study by Prindeville (2002) of 47 Indigenous women leaders participants described contribution to the welfare of their communities as paramount expressing strong levels of a "public service ethic" in all that they strove to achieve. McCoy (1992) similarly found that obligations to community and advancing Indigenous well-being were the primary motivations amongst Indigenous women leaders. Prindeville and Gomez (1999) cited service to Indigenous community as of greater concern than self interest amongst Indigenous women leaders. All of these Indigenous women speak in some way of assuming leadership roles or of wanting to develop their leadership skills through a desire to "heal the people" and expressed a deep regard for an Indigenous "spiritual" dimension to their work which was both cultural and altruistic. As Barkdull (2009, p. 133) notes the life stories of the Indigenous women leaders she studied revealed that "the integration of

spirituality into everyday activities and the valuing of harmony and balance were sources of sustenance for the women as they navigated personal, career and political challenges". Kummara Wilson was a *ngankaeri* or traditional "healer" who embodied and practiced her culture *as* her way of exercising leadership. Huggins speaks of drawing on her ancestors as part of affirming her own sense of self and her ability to enact her leadership roles and "Mum" Shirl's autobiography is infused with her sense of Indigenous kinship ties while Mankiller has spoken of her modelling Indigenous agency to young women as an indivisible component of her cultural responsibility as a prominent Indigenous leader. In Muller's (1999:9) study Indigenous women leaders spoke of how one's cultural protocols are subtlety communicated, "cultural traditions are unwritten and passed down from elders" whereas in non-Indigenous organizations "everything is documented, with deadlines and regiments". Another woman describes encountering "white" non-Indigenous patriarchy and masculine projections about "women's roles" onto Indigenous domains: ". . . in our mythology, in the legends . . . it's never been where the woman was put in the background or taken a secondary role . . . never . . . it's been a full partnership" (Muller, 1999, p. 12). As another Indigenous woman leader in Muller's (1999, p. 15) study explained:

> I make people understand what I believe in . . . using my traditional beliefs to persuade people . . . something that's very deep seated in us [pertaining] to land, water . . . there's a certain way we expose our emotions to get our point across . . . a certain body language we use to express our emotion that these things are sacred . . . in those kind of issues [a non-Indigenous person] would speak to it in a way there's no feelings . . . what's more meaningful to them is the economics . . .

Bird Rose (1996) suggests Indigenous approaches to taking responsibility are marked by sophisticated abilities to simultaneously encompass "differentiation and complementarity". In Australia the Pitjantjatjra term *"Ngarpartji-Ngarpartji"* means reciprocity – "I do for you/you do for me" – conveying the sense that we are always dynamically and reciprocally interconnected. Motifs of "reciprocity" and interconnectivity are common to many Indigenous cultures world-wide (particularly subsistence cultures), as symbolic of a systemic approach to distributing care equitably through interdependence without centralisation. People are not portrayed as self actualizing or self-sufficient but as interconnected. The integrity of leadership is only one part of a continuum of interdependence of relationships which sustains all. There is an ensemble of knowledge that comprises Indigenous cultural leadership underpinned by wisdom drawn from "elders", family, kin and connected to an ecological dimension. Land and the environment are also connected in cycles of interdependence where the boundaries between the human and non-human world are porous. To Bird Rose (1996, p. 10) we are part of one ecological continuum, part of the "consciousness" of the landscape we inhabit and responsibility for leadership is derived from that connection to ancestors and "country":

> Boundaries of care are, on the one hand, geographical: people are 'born for country', and thus are born to responsibilities for that country. To know what one is responsible for is also to know where one's responsibilities stop, and thus where the next group or country takes over. On the other hand, there are also responsibilities that are not linked to country, or that

are specifically linked to a multiplicity of countries (matrilineal social totems, subsection totems, for example). Thus, the very multiplicity of contexts through which the richness of life is structured ensures that no country/group is isolated, no boundary impermeable, no self-sufficiency total.

As the stories of the Indigenous women cited suggest, leadership is not a destination or "thing", it is an activity, a story, a journey, a responsibility, an emotional experience, growing knowledge to be shared and passed on to others – through autobiography, through paintings, through stories, through embodied examples and mentoring inter-generationally. It is part of a "stepping up" to organizational authority in a struggle of resistance to western dominations and a demonstration of the resilience of Indigenous cultures in sustaining a "collective" and continuous identity. It is part of a sum – not the total, or as Mahood (2000, p. 25) puts it: ". . . at all the points of intersection I feel the other journeys, ancestral, contemporary, historic, imaginary. They are all under my skin". Indigenous cultures tend comprehend knowledge and "holistic" wisdom as qualitatively different more readily than non-Indigenous cultures.

Wisdom is not just about the acquisition of knowledge but also about how to act, do and "be in the world". Wisdom enables people to garner what they know and the ambiguity of uncertainty – the "unknown" – into creative sense-making (Painter-Morland, 2008). Weick (2001, p. 167 cited in Painter-Morland, 2008) terms this "heedful inter-relating" or "acting thinkingly". It is a form of ontological acuity (McKenna et al., 2009, p. 185) which brings together the relational, symbolic and transcendent "the prosaic and higher virtues, the short and long term goals, the contingent and the absolute, the self and the collective . . .". If the challenge is not what to "do" but what kind of person to "be" then Indigenous women leaders demonstrate a strong sense of "who" they are, drawing a deep sense of agency from their Indigeneity. Cunliffe (2009, p. 94) argues ethical and moral actions are embedded in relational understandings informed by a critical reflexivity. She suggests a "philosopher leader" is woven of three strands: relational; morals/values and reflexivity. This is the "circular", "nurturing", intuitive, pensive, communally oriented and engaged style of female leadership which Werhane (2007) points to as the leadership style best suited to global futures. It is also the "voice" we hear echoing through the narratives of Indigenous women leaders buttressed by the inclusion of an additional strand – the ecological, valuing of relations to land and animal realms, of all nature which lies at the core of Indigenous epistemologies (Bird Rose, 1996, p. 10):

> Subjectivity, in the form of consciousness, agency, morality, and law are part of all forms and sites of life: of non-human species of plants and animals, of powerful beings such as Rainbow Snakes, and of creation sites, including trees, hills and waterholes. These terrains are sentient.

Conclusion

While there is great diversity in the lived experiences of the millions Indigenous peoples around the world there is a commonality in a deep sense of interconnectedness through attachment to Land and sense of collective rather than individual cultural

identities. There is also a shared Indigenous experience of alienation, dispossession and trauma through the ongoing effects of the often violent appropriation of Indigenous lands through colonization. While popular western conceptualisations of the Indigenous domain may emphasise patriarchal dominance many Indigenous cultures are historically matriarchal or encompass strong reciprocal roles for men and women as having respected reciprocally inter-dependent roles of status in keeping with a "holistic" and spiritual view of human co-existence within an ecological metaphysics that emphasises the inter-relatedness between human beings, the non-human domain and the earth.

Colonization brought Eurocentric notions of patriarchal domination and western modes of organization, governance and management to Indigenous domains. Indigenous women have not only endured the brunt of some of the worst aspects of colonial violence, racisms and assimilation policies, such as the forced removal of children, the break-down of community structures and the degradation of cultural life but many are also the current and future leaders of business, human service and political organizations that are managing the repercussions of colonization and rebuilding, renewing and empowering Indigenous communities and negotiating economic and social development for their communities.

Critique of leadership literature suggests there is an overemphasis on technical, behavioural and essentialist approaches to understanding leadership (see for example Ghoshal, 2005). There have been relatively few studies and little empirical or theoretical research that explores Indigenous women's leadership. However, in those studies, autobiographies and life stories about Indigenous women's leadership available strong common themes emerge about the importance of culture to identity, the privileging of nurturing and inclusive styles of leadership and a deep sense of "giving back" to Indigenous communities – of leadership as a duty and part of a cultural ethic of care and connectedness.

This Chapter has highlighted some of these themes such as the depth of Indigenous women's cultural identity as key to "sense-making" in leadership roles. As Huggins says, "my first identity is that of my race … accordingly my deepest connection and priority is to Indigenous people". The importance of Indigenous culture to identity is a sentiment echoed throughout all studies and stories of Indigenous women's leadership – it is prioritized over gender, role and context and is cited as the source of pride and purpose in the "enactment" of leadership. Leadership is also generally viewed in terms of responsibility to one's community and Indigenous culture rather than as a bounded role, an occupation set of behaviours or attribute of individuality. It is framed as transformational in orientation rather than transactional. Most Indigenous women leaders view inter-generational mentoring of younger women as intrinsic to their duty as leaders while also acknowledging the support, mentoring and central role of family, kin and elders in their own leadership journeys. Indigenous figures like Wilson and Mankiller have exemplified their cultural pride through an enactment of leadership that incorporates story telling for future generations. If "authenticity" in leadership is characterised in the literature as encompassing reflexivity and self-awareness, leading through values, being passionate about a purpose, leading with heart and acting in ways congruent with one's value system (Cunliffe, 2009) then the stories of Indigenous women lead-

ers reveal the predominance of this style – but focused on maintaining culture and empowering others by "giving back", rather than improving profits or sustaining growth.

This "showing by example" and embodying leadership is evident in the stories of women leaders profiled in this Chapter. The lived stories of Indigenous women add to our understanding of the complex intersections of gender and culture but within a postcolonial context that is a uniquely pan-Indigenous experience. There is congruence between Indigenous women leader's cultural values and their emphasis on "nurturing", inspiring and transforming those around them as part of their empowering by "doing" of their own culture. It creates according to Huggins a "chain reaction" and she suggests it is a "very Aboriginal thing to do", to mentor and empower others to follow in one's footsteps. For many there is a "spiritual" dimension to their role which has a cultural link to the interconnected nature of Indigenous "world views" which tend emphasises wisdom over knowledge or material gain. While the tensions and challenges of occupying "two worlds" in the intersectional space between cultures may pose challenges it also denotes a dexterity which fits the mode of leadership deemed s necessary in an increasingly "flat" 'globalised world (Werhane, 2007; Cunliffe, 2009).

This Chapter suggests a greater understanding of Indigenous women's leadership is of relevance to broader studies of women's organizing and helps illuminate emerging conceptualisations about the importance of "authentic", participatory, inspirational, ethically responsive and "wisdom" oriented leadership (Painter-Morland, 2008; McKenna et al., 2009; Cunliffe, 2009).

As this Chapter has sought to highlight some inspiring aspects of Indigenous women's leadership, it will end with the words of an Indigenous *Tsistsistas* proverb. This proverb serves to emphasise how important "empowering women" are to the capacity of Indigenous peoples to resist and overcome the assimilating legacies of domination and violent conquest many have endured: ". . . a nation is not conquered until the hearts of its women are on the ground . . . then it is finished, no matter how brave its warriors or how strong their weapons". Stories of Indigenous women leading reveal the cultural strength of brave hearts journeying forward on firm ground.

Notes

1. The term Indigenous is used in this Chapter as the term most commonly referred to in the UN Declaration, however many localities use different terminology – for example it is more common in Australia to use "Aboriginal" for peoples on the mainland. It is acknowledged that other localities may prefer terms such as "First Nations" or e.g., Native American and wherever possible locality appropriate language is used.
2. 'Kunmanara' is the Pitjantjatjara term used as a mark of respect in place of the deceased person's name which is not to be mentioned after death. Kunmanara Wilson passed away in October 2009 and her Anangu families and communities along with many women in Australia grieve her passing.

References

Ashcroft, B., G. Griffiths and H. Tiffin (eds.) (1995). *The Post-colonial Studies Reader*. Newyork, NY: Routledge.

Bailey, D., K. McNally Koney, M. McNish, R. Powers and K. Uhly (2008). *Sustaining Our Spirits: Women Leaders Thriving for Today and Tomorrow*. Washington, DC: NASW Workers Press.

Baltes, P. (2004). The two faces of wisdom: Wisdom as a general theory of knowledge and judgment about excellence in mind and virtue vs wisdom as everyday realization in people and products. *Human Development* 47:290–299.

Barkdull, C. (2009, May). Exploring intersections of identity with native american women leaders. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work* 24(2):120–136.

Barrios, P. and M. Egan (2002). Living in a bicultural world and finding the way home: Native women's stories. *Affilia: Journal of Women and Social Work* 17:206–228.

Benschop, Y. (2006). Of small steps and the longing for giant leaps. Research on the intersection of sex and gender within workplaces and organizations. In A. Konrad, P. Prasad and J. Pringle (eds.), *Handbook of Workplace Diversity*. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Bird Rose, D. (1992). *Dingo Makes Us Human*: *Life and Land in an Australian Aboriginal Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bird Rose, D. (1996). Land rights and deep colonising: The erasure of women. *Aboriginal Law Bulletin* 3(85):6–13.

Bird Rose, D. (1997). *Nourishing Terrains Australian Aboriginal Views of Landscape and Wilderness*. Canberra: Australian Heritage Commission.

Brayboy, M. and M. Morgan (1998). Voices of Indianness: The lived world of native American women. *Women's Studies International Forum* 21:341–354.

Burns, J. (1978). *Leadership*. New York, NY: HarperCollins.

Calás, M. and L. Smircich (1996). From the 'woman's' point of view: Feminist approaches to organization studies. In S.R. Clegg, C. Hardy and W.R. Nord (eds.), *Handbook of Organization Studies*. London: Sage.

Calas, M., L. Smircich and K. Bourne (2009). Extending the boundaries: Reframing 'entrepreneurship as social change' through feminist perspectives. *Academy of Management Review* 34:3.

Calori, R. (2003). Learning from diversity: Philosophical perspectives. *International Review of Sociology* 13(3):591–605.

Cox, T. and S. Nkomo (1990). Invisible men and women: A status report on race as a variable in organization behavior research. *Journal of Organizational Behavior* 11:419–431.

Cunliffe, A. (2009). The Philosopher leader: On relationalism, ethics and reflexivity A critical perspective to teaching leadership. *Management Learning* 40:87.

Cunningham, M. (2006). Indigenous women's visions of an inclusive feminism. *Development* 49(1):55–59.

Dean, M. (2002). Powers of life and death beyond governmentality. *Cultural Values: Journal of Cultural Research* 6(1):119–138.

Essers, C. (2009). Reflections on the narrative approach: Dilemmas of power, emotions and social location while constructing life-stories. *Organization* 16(2):163–181.

Foro Internacional de Mujeres Indígenas (International Indigenous Women's Forum) FIMI (2006) *Mairin Iwanka Raya*. Retrieved June 21, 2008 from http://indigenouswomensforum.org/vaiwreport06.pdf

Grojean, M., C. Resick, M. Dickson and D. Smith (2004). Leaders, values, and organizational climate: Examining leadership strategies for establishing an organizational climate regarding ethics. *Journal of Business Ethics* 55:223–241.

Ghoshal, S. (2005). Bad management theories are destroying good management practices. *Academy of Management Learning and Education* 4(1):75–91.

Huggins, J. (2004). Indigenous women and leadership: A personal reflection. *Indigenous Law Bulletin* 6(1):5–7.

Huggins, J. (1998). *Sister Girl: The Writings of an Aboriginal Activist and Historian*. St Lucia: UQP.

Kaldor, M. (2001). *New and Old Wars: Organized Violence in a Global Era*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Kellett, J., R. Humphrey and R. Sleeth (2006). Empathy and the emergence of task and relations leaders. *Leadership Quarterly* 17:146–162.

Krumm, B. (1998). Leadership reflections. *Tribal College Journal* 9(3):24–27.

LaDuke, W. (1995). *The Indigenous Women's Network – Our Future, Our Responsibility*. Retrieved June 21, 2008, from http://www.ratical.com/co-globalize/WinonaLaDuke/Beijing95.html

LaDuke, W. (1999). *All Our Relations: Native Struggles for Land and Life*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Mahood, K. (2000). *Craft for a Dry Lake*. Sydney: Anchor.

Mander, J. and V. Tauli-Corpuz (2006). *Paradigm Wars: Indigenous Peoples' Resistance to Globalization*. London: Sierra Club Books.

Mankiller, W. and M. Wallis (1999). *Mankiller: A Chief and Her People*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Mankiller, W. (2008). Introduction. In A. Hurtado (ed.), *Reflections on American Indian History: Honoring the Past, Building a Future*. Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press.

Marshall, M. and D. Tedmanson (2000). *Indigenous Perspectives on Management Video Set and Resource Book*. Adelaide: David Unaipon College of Indigenous Education and Research.

McCoy, M. (1992). Gender or ethnicity: What makes a difference? A study of women tribal leaders. *Women & Politics*, 12(3):57–68.

McKenna, B., D. Rooney and K. Boal (2009). Wisdom principles as a meta-theoretical basis for evaluating leadership. *The Leadership Quarterly* 20:177–190.

Mead, E., A. Wicks and P.H. Werhane (2003). *Exxon-Mobil in Chad and Cameroon*. University of Virginia Charlottesville, VA: Darden Publishing Company.

Milroy, G. and J. Milroy (2008). Country is lonely. In S. Morgan, T. Mia and B. Kwaymullina (eds.), *Heartsick for Country: Stories of Love, Spirit and Creation*. North Fremantle, WA: Fremantle Press.

Muller, H. (1998). American Indian women managers: Living in two worlds. *Journal of Management Inquiry* 7(1):4–28.

Shirl, M. and B. Sykes (1992). *Mum Shirl: An Autobiography*. Sydney: Mammoth.

Nkomo, S.M. (1992). The emperor has no clothes: Rewriting "race in organizations". *Academy of Management Review* 17(3):487–513.

Osburn, K. (1998). *Southern Ute Women: Autonomy and Assimilation on the Reservation*. Albuquerque, NM: University of New Mexico Press, pp. 1887–1934.

Painter-Morland, M. (2008). Systemic leadership and the emergence of ethical responsiveness. *Journal of Business Ethics* 82:509–524.

Portman, T. and M. Garrett (2005). Beloved women: Nurturing the sacred fire of leadership from an american indian perspective. *Journal of Counselling and Development* 83:284–291.

Prindeville and Gomez (1999). American Indian women leaders, public policy, and the importance of gender and identity. *Women & Politics* 20(2):17–32.

Prindeville, D. (2000). Promoting a feminist policy agenda: Indigenous women leaders and closet feminism. *Social Science Journal* 37:637–645.

Prindeville, D.M. (2002). A comparative study of Native American and Hispanic women in grassroots and electoral politics. *Frontiers*, 23(1):67–89.

Raj, R. (2002) ed. Women at the Intersection: Indivisible Rights, Identities, and Oppressions, Centre for Women's Global Leadership NY: Rutgers.

Refshauge, A. (1998) Ministerial Statement, Deputy Premier, Death of 'Mum Shirl' Colleen Shirley Smith – Parliament of NSW, April 29, 1998 Retrieved December 22, 2008 from http://www.parliament.nsw.gov.au/prod/PARLMENT/hansArt.nsf/V3Key/LA19980429006

Sinclair, A. (2005). *Doing Leadership Differently: Gender, Power and Sexuality in a Changing Business Culture*. Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press.

Taylor, M. and K. Stauss (2007). Native American women who lead human service organizations. *Journal of Ethnic & Cultural Diversity in Social Work* 15(1–2):123–146.

Tedmanson, D. (2009). *Book Review: Ciaran O'Faircheallaigh and Saleem Ali Earth Matters: Indigenous Peoples, the Extractive Industries and Corporate Social Responsibility*. Sheffield: Greenleaf Publishing, 2008, in *Organization Studies* 30(9):1009–1012.

Thiessen, M., P. Hendriks and C. Essers (2006). R&D knowledge transfer across national cultures. In D. Pauleen (ed.), *Cross-Cultural Perspectives on Knowledge*. Englewood, CO: Libraries Unlimited.

United Nations International Working Group on Indigenous Affairs (IWGIA) (2006). *The Indigenous World,* ECOSOC Consultative Status. Retrieved October 28, 2009 from http://www.who.int/mediacentre/factsheets/fs326/en/index.html

United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2007). *Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples,* adopted by the General Assembly on September 13, 2007 Retrieved June 1, 2009 from http://www.un.org/esa/socdev/unpfii/en/declaration.html

Voyageur, C. (2008). *Firekeepers of the Twenty-First Century*, McGill-Queens Native and Northern Series 51. Newyork, NY: McGill-McQueens University Press.

Weatherill, J. (2009) Ministerial Statement, Minister for Aboriginal Affairs, Death of Kunmanara Wilson – House of Assembly, Parliament of South Australia, October 16, 2009 Retrieved October 20, 2009 from http://www.leadershipforwomen.com.au/Tributes/Mrs%20Kunmanara%20Wilson.htm

Weick, K. (2001). The attitude of wisdom. In K. Weick (ed.), *Making Sense of Organizations*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Werhane, P.H. (2007). Women leaders in a globalized. *World Journal of Business Ethics* 74: 425–435.

Whiteman, G. and W.H. Cooper (2000). Ecological embeddedness. *Academy of Management Journal* 43:1265–1282.

Whiteman, G. (2009). All my relations: Understanding perceptions of justice and conflict between companies and Indigenous peoples. *Organization Studies* 30(1):101–120.

Wilson, M. (1995). They might have to drag me like a bullock. *Ngaanyatjarra Pitjantjatjara Yankunytjatjara Women's Council: Report on the Care Needs of the Aged*, Alice Springs: NPY.

Chapter 13
Every Girl Is a Leader: Organizing for Political Life in Chicago

Kristin McCartney

Editors' Introduction The inspiration that can be found in the emergence of grass-roots leadership movements is continued in this chapter. It is unfortunate that the literature on leadership focuses almost exclusively on adults. In the process, much of the relational dynamic that informs grass-roots leadership movements are lost from sight. McCartney analyses the emergence of leadership in girls between the ages of 12 and 23 in community-based organizations that address horrendous challenges in poor communities. These women self-organize and lead within their communities rather than depending on more institutional and top-down interventions, and do so with surprising success. They thus demonstrate the tenacity and capabilities of women even in adverse conditions. What characterize these leadership initiatives is its basis in caring relationships, and the clear message it sends that any girl can, and should be a leader.

In the last decade, Chicago has seen the emergence of community-based organizations addressing interpersonal violence, media justice, ableism, and the sex trade, led not by adults, but by girls between the ages of 12 and 23. Besides listening to girls themselves and supporting their work on the ground, I encourage scholars to read the primary literature that girls have produced announcing themselves as leaders, thinkers, and organizers. I have drawn on the reports, curricula, articles, websites, and media produced by girls for girls to foreground the rigor and cogency of their analyses.[1] I offer an incomplete literature review of work that is collective, ongoing, and transformative, not to advocate for these girl activists, but to try to open new paths in political philosophy and leadership theory.

To frame the significance of girls' leadership, I want to follow the thread in political philosophy that is based in the human endeavor to live a good life, not

K. McCartney (✉)
Department of Philosophy, DePaul University, Chicago, IL 60614-3208, USA
e-mail: kpmccartney@gmail.com

the exigencies of governance and rule. As philosopher Wendy Brown reminds us, politics emerge not just from the *polis* but from *politeia*, "an ancient Greek term marking the singularly human practice of *constituting* a particular mode of collective life through the generation of multiple associations, institutions, boundaries, mores, habits, and laws." *Politeia* more than government "refers always to a condition of plurality and difference, to the human capacity for *producing* a world of meanings, practices, and institutions..." (p. 38). In the conditions of late modernity, it is not at all certain that such political life is even possible. First, political life requires a level of political participation not available under a professionalized administrative state. Second, many suspect that the alienating economic and political technologies of the twentieth century have erased our very ground for creating worlds of meaning.[2] Girl-led organizations confront a social milieu that is hostile to girls and even hostile to the very possibility of political life.

I begin with Brown's work, because she is a very astute and influential political thinker, whose most lauded work, *States of Injury* (1995), charged that identity politics capitulate to (not precipitate) the late modern subversion of the political by reducing the terms of political participation to narrow self-interest. I think Brown is mostly wrong about identity politics and that girl-led organizations, amongst others, complicate her concerns.[3] However, I think Brown is completely *right* in her assertion that "political spaces are scarcer and thinner today" and in her belief that we must rehabilitate the space of politics if we want to contest "postmodernity's disarming tendencies toward political disorientation, fragmentation, and technologizing" (p. 50). The most compelling way to contravene this understandable skepticism is by getting very specific about how identity-based groups like girl-led organizations work. Their activism is still burgeoning, and, arguably, our political circumstances may be even graver than Brown imagines,[4] but we could do much worse than following girls' lead.

This essay is Chicago-specific to reflect how political and social scenes have real geographic parameters. The city machine, the economic base, the composition of neighborhoods, and histories of resistance critically frame the struggles and priorities of a city. It matters that Chicago is one of the nation's most segregated cities, that it elected Harold Washington, one of the first African American majors, but now has extended the Daley dynasty, that it remains a site of growth and investment in the deindustrialized Rust Belt. Local institutions make a strong difference in the city's activist profile. Access Living has helped make the city an innovator in disability politics, while Beyond Media Education has documented and drawn national attention to the city's grassroots antiracist organizations. Since it can easily take an hour-and-a half to travel from the Southside to the Northside or from the Northside to the Westside on public transportation, organizations are closely associated with neighborhoods and citywide coalitions can be almost prohibitively difficult to carry off. Whatever an organization's alliances or funding across the country, it needs to be able to mobilize people locally if it will mobilize people at all. The organizations I focus on here are independent from one another, but their memberships and boards of directors often overlap, pointing to the intense locality of the work and its dependence on a word-of-mouth, friend-of-friend network.

Local support is vital for women and girls organizations, because they receive a very small fraction of foundation and government funding. The Association of Women in Development reported in 2003 that only 0.6% of aid dollars had gender equality as a principal objective and only 7.3% of US foundation giving went to "women and girls" programs or initiatives ("The Illinois Status of Girls Report" Press Release). This means that organizations share resources like meeting space, rely on donated time and equipment, and require a steady and generous volunteer and community base. Women and girls groups depend on the kind of nonprofessionalized "bridge leadership" that typified women's participation in the civil rights movement (Robnett, 1997). This is even more the case for groups that tackle what political scientist Cathy Cohen has called cross-cutting issues that fracture community support girls who are stigmatized and isolated in their own communities. The Women & Girls Collective Action Network produced "Communities Engaged" (CE) and "The Illinois Status of Girls Report" to direct attention to grassroots groups already doing work that is substantially under recognized.

Finally, making space for girls is a principle aim of organizing. The Young Women's Action Team (YWAT) began as a project to address the street harassment of young women and now is taking on the pervasiveness of harassment on buses and the el. YWAT has not only studied the use of public space, they have directly transformed it by flyering storefronts, talking with boys and men hanging out of the corner, and organizing a girls march and party through the streets where girls felt most vulnerable. In "Doin' It: Sex, Disability, and Videotape," The Empowered Fe Fes used a camera to transgress boundaries, following the Fe Fes on a fieldtrip to a sex store, interviewing people on the street about sex and disability, and recording girls with disabilities on dates. Both the Broadway Youth Center and the Young Women's Empowerment Project (YWEP) sustain drop-in space, where girls can come without passing through a gauntlet of security guards, entrance interviews, drug tests, or i.d. checks. Girl-led organizations need to make sense against a backdrop that changes block-by-block, sensitive to details like streetlights and surveillance cameras, the curb that becomes impassable in winter, the store clerk that will let a girl use his phone. Philosophers like Brown do not understand that the minutia of negotiating everyday life is not postmodern triviality, but points to the depth of girls' knowledge of social spaces and the identity-based systems of oppression they must cross through and defy.

The Significance of Centering Girls

In thinking through the terms of organizational theory, it helps to remember Hannah Arendt's approving description of political passion as channeling "the organizational impulses of the people themselves" (p. 518). Political philosophers could make good use of organizational theory's "systems intelligence" to rethink their judgment of the efficacy and scope of political movements. Movements have institutional histories and learning curves, and while philosophers are attracted to

problems of conceptual consistency, as "complex adaptive systems," organizations are themselves shot through with pluralism, contradiction, and struggle. They are "shaped not only by those in positions of authority, but by all who participate in it" (Painter-Morland 509). Alex Poeter, director of the Brighton Park Neighborhood Council comments, "There's a new awareness of the fact that... the movement is a living organism and to be always evolving, we have to just get over ourselves" (Spatz 15).

Adopting a more localized approach to leadership that allows for emergent growth does not have to succumb to a "tendency toward positioning without mapping" and a practice of resistance that "goes nowhere in particular, has no inherent attachments, and hails no particular vision...." (Brown 49). The imperative of directionless inclusion and diversity seems to doom movements to rigidity and stultifying particularity. Slavoj Žižek expresses this concern well when he claims that identity-based movement are focused on

> "identifying the specific problems of each group and subgroup (not only homosexuals but African-American single, unemployed lesbian mothers, and so on)"

(p. 1001) to a degree of marginality that expresses a hidebound, essentializing political correctness that is the antithesis of the pluralism of political life. Cathy Cohen offers the contrary view in her influential "Punks, Bulldaggers, and Welfare Queens" (1997). From her perspective, the point of focusing "not only homosexuals but African-American single, unemployed lesbian mothers, and so on" is not to offer inclusion, but to bring into focus that "it is the multiplicity and interconnectedness of our identities which provide the most promising avenue for the *destabilization and radical politicalization*" of our political lives (p. 480). When we *recenter* our political discourse to close attention to marginalized identities, we gain insight into the spatialized parameters of political life.

INCITE! founder and scholar Andrea Smith explains why she focuses on women within communities of color, "we can put ourselves in the center of analysis, and, if it doesn't work for us, it's not working for our communities" (Interview 31). When pushed on the implications of recentering political movements, she clarifies:

when we're talking about putting something in the center of analysis, that center isn't static. There may be a time when we say we put people with disabilities in the center of analysis or people who are transgendered in the center of analysis.... the constant that happens there is by doing this, it's not just about including them again in a program that was designed with them not in mind. But what issues do you see with this new center that you wouldn't otherwise see (Interview 32). According to Cohen, such a recentering would often mean "building a political analysis and political strategies around the most marginal in our society" (p. 480). The most marginal are not placed at the center to become a vanguard or a neglected symbol for change, but for the purpose of kaleidoscopically expanding and challenging the limits of our collective political imagination. Youth, especially girls, are excellent candidates for this recentering, not because girls have particularized interests that deserve equal representation, but because any emancipatory project would also have to include a *politiea* made up of the work, concerns, and lives of girls.

This leads us to the biggest difference between political organizations and corporate or service organizations. All organizations *are* shaped by those who participate in them, but political organizations *should* be shaped by those who participate in them. This normative stake leads us back to the significance of girl-led groups claiming that leadership is a capacity, not just of *any* girl, but of *every* girl.

The Interpellation of Girls and Youth

To think about girls in political life, it is necessary to first trace the worlds they travel through where girls are not recognized as political agents. Youth traditionally have been politically marginalized, subordinated to paternal authority, and subject to confinement or conscription when left to the state. One of the principal tropes in political philosophy is the transition from minority to majority, naturalizing an artificial, if inviolable separation between dependence and independence in political life. Civil rights groups have long attempted to secure for youth basic liberal concessions, such as suffrage and contractual authority. But it is not an absence of rights, but the imposition of nearly constant monitoring that is distinctive and troubling to youth activists. Schools are the primary agent of intercession, with regimented tracking, standardized testing, monitoring in areas including health, hygiene and sexual activity, even psychological caretaking in the form of guidance counseling. Outside of the classroom, youth are subject to curfews and regulations about the use of public spaces from parks to shopping centers; their sex lives and reproductive choices are also subject to scrutiny and state intervention.

This intense mediation is a hallmark of the modern turn to biopolitics, what Michel Foucault identified as the shift from a sovereign authority over death to the governmental management of life. The development of the natural and social sciences, particularly the science of statistics, heralded the creation of a state interest in population in terms of longevity, health, disease, and reproduction. Youth, in inhabiting a critical threshold between childhood and adulthood, carry with them the burden of these statistical projections – the future of the social organism – and thus are primed for administrative intervention in education and employment, in their domestic and sexual lives.

In all instances, the biopolitical has not just been inflected by race, sex, sexuality, and disability, it has constituted the re-imagining of social givens as indices on the arc of human development. Ladelle McWhorter observes after Foucault that the state's imperative to manage populations almost inexorably becomes a reason to "purify" those populations. And this movement to manage goes a long way toward explaining the existential divide between the lives of youth who are figured as vital to the health and well-being of the nation and those who are figured as diseased and deviant, the boy next door and the teenaged superpredator. All youth cultures involve social transgression, especially in terms of sexual activity and drug use, but a significant gap exists between the normalized cosseting of white middle-class "kids" and pathologized fear of Black and brown youth.

This is all to say that while "troubled" youth, especially youth in communities of color, are represented as abandoned or neglected, this very representation is the result of extremely focused interpellation of youth in schools, the criminal justice system, and through social services – daily dramatized on the nightly news and in serialized crime dramas. Most readers should be well aware of the scandalous disparities evidenced in how youth are treated. I rehearse them here, not because I imagine they are news to anyone, but because I would like us to imagine the felt reality of constant scrutiny, the sense of constriction and dehumanization attendant to the institutional practices used to govern youth. The failure of the major urban school systems to graduate more than half of the student body is now infamous, but the way the schools are run is just as telling. Disciplinary attention is directed at every part of the student's person: her clothing, her hair, her accessories, her posture, her "attitude", and her tone are all subject to inspection and intervention. Her family and friends are treated as suspect known associates, not intimates. Metal detectors, security officers, and city police carrying handcuffs and tasers are placed throughout schools. Video cameras monitor students, while movement through school grounds is strictly controlled. Most urban schools offer such little viable preparation for jobs that they are called pipelines to prisons, but, moreover, they just plainly mirror prisons in their very form and function. The significance of youths' consignment to these institutions does not escape youth, who also know that foster care, the juvenile justice system, and criminal justice system wait to absorb those who need further containment.

On the street, anti-gang ordinances and zero tolerance policies introduced with the war on drugs allow for policing that applies "immediate and harsh responses to even minor violations, with little or no consideration for individual circumstances" (INCITE, 2009, p. 17). Another measure that inordinately effects youth is "quality of life" policing: "a practice of heavily policing a number of normally non-criminal activities such as standing, congregating, sleeping, eating and/or drinking in public spaces, as well as minor offenses such as graffiti, public urination, panhandling, littering, and unlicensed street vending" (INCITE, 2009, p. 17). "Hanging out" while Black or brown and young, especially when queer or gender non-conforming, is itself illicit. Harassment in transitional zones in constant, and even spaces that are meant to be welcoming become battlegrounds – such as the harassment of youth of color in the West Village and targeting of "towering muscled youths" (i.e. Black gay teens) congregating outside of Boystown's Center on Halsted. The Chicago Alliance Against White Supremacy directly diagnoses how these tense border encounters are not caused by youth's deviance, but manufactured by whites' unacknowledged and "presumed exclusive access to and control of a particular space, public or private" ("Is Racial Profiling Racist?" 3). The segmentation of space via visible identities, especially when backed by security and police intervention, exemplifies how biopolitical practices are both individualizing and generalizing. They are motivated by a concern for populations, the distribution and management of classes, but enact themselves intimately on the embodied person (Mendieta 54). Transgendered girls are subject for suspicion and arrest just for being transgendered girls, but it is always a particular girl who has to live with being searched, handcuffed, put into custody, a particular girl who has to carry the experience and a record.

The pervasive monitoring of youth strikingly makes little attempt to mask the amount of discretion claimed by institutionally empowered adults. A whole host of rules come into play, but there is little administrative accountability, much less ethical accountability, in the understaffed and overworked offices responsible for youth oversight. Listening to girls, it is difficult not to suppose that only a fraction of the abuses of power that occur are publicized, such as when a school security officer gets caught on tape breaking a 16-year old girl's wrist or when another adult confirms that a district attorney has told Black students that he "could end their lives with a stroke of his pen."[5] We need only follow mother Gail Noble's extraordinary efforts to aid her falsely arrested son to see how even the semblance of fair and competent treatment required a highly organized team of advocates bringing pressure to bear through media campaigns, ready to document each step in the process, guessing about unsaid presumptions and the measures not taken.[6] Every day, mothers and fathers, daughters and sons, and youth with no one to look out for them, have to negotiate incredibly complicated bureaucracies where each factotum's whim – a decision to take a girl at her word or dig deeper – can mean the difference between freedom and institutionalization. The flip side of authority's official reach is that there is little latitude for private individuals or community-based organizations to offer essential services from food to housing to childcare without having to negotiate a raft of regulations and risking catastrophic legal consequences.

What is patently obvious to girl-led organizations is that institutions ostensibly meant to protect girls, not only leave them vulnerable, but are actually sources of violence and disempowerment in their own right. YWEP, the organization that works with girls who trade sex in Chicago, makes certain to name individual and *institutional* sources of violence. One of the deepest problems is that the institutions that are meant to address individual violence – the cops who are supposed to police pimps or the social workers who are called to intervene in cases of child abuse – are not trusted, not willing, or not well-equipped to help. In their participatory action research study, *Girls do what they have to do to survive* (Girls), YWEP found that. Girls are denied help from systems such as DCFS [Department of Child and Family Services], police and the legal system, hospitals, shelters, and drug treatment programs because of their involvement in the sex trade, because they are trans girls or because they are queer, because they are young, because they are homeless, and because they use drugs (p. 30). Institutional threats and failures mean that in the home, in the workplace, and on the street, girls have to see to their own safety. This leads to isolation and the privatization of girls' resistance to identity-based violence born out of racism, misogyny, homophobia, transphobia, and ableism. The stakes of girls' engagement in social transformation and collective action could not be more serious.

Girls Holding Space

It is difficult to know where to begin in a survey of the political work of girl-led organizations. I think there is a temptation to identify tasks like sitting on a board of directors or crafting a press release as more important than sharing practices of

self-care or organizing a field trip to a sex shop, but the participatory diversity of these organizations is key to their organic girl-centric and girl-directed growth. All of the organizations I cite adamantly oppose any narrative that would trivialize the choices girls make. And yet I do not want to underestimate the degree of structure and care evidenced in girls' organizational choices. The groups well understand the need to balance what organizational theorists Jane Collier and Rafael Estaban identify as some of the paradoxes of systemic leadership: balancing hierarchy and participation, unity and diversity, asymmetry and mutuality.

At the most basic level, girl-led organizations distinguish themselves by creating material, conceptual, and affective space that girls can hold for themselves. "Holding space" is a Buddhist spiritual practice, but activists have adapted it to describe how through actions as simple as a gentle reminder or as complicated as actual sanctuary, girls need to set aside time and room to reflect, gather energy, and be with others. At the most concrete and practical level, this very literally has meant the creation and maintenance of physical spaces where girls can gather themselves without judgment and with nearly unconditional access. The Broadway Youth Center, a shelter for LGBTQ homeless youth, offers "young people a fluidity of engagement." Director Lara Brooks explains, "In our daily drop-in program, you don't have to talk to a case manager to get food or take a shower. You don't have to disclose your life story to meet some of your basic human needs" (CE 51). YWEP also offers a drop-in service including food, clothing exchanges, access to works, condoms, and art supplies. This center is open very limited hours, but it is geared toward what girls say "they think they need to stay safe, feel supported and take care of themselves" (Girls 12). Both organizations practice harm reduction, an approach to drug use, sex work, or other "at-risk" behaviors that does not demand abstinence or promote criminalization as "solutions" to the challenges girls face. YWEP promises, "we give practical options, no judgments, and we respect the choices that girls make. We will work with any girl to find resources that she thinks will be helpful to her" (Girls 12).

One of the paradoxes of girl-centered spaces is that they are best left unstructured and unconditional – without hoops and open all hours – but securing this kind of space requires considerable institutional support. For this reason, one of the immediate goals of harm reduction is to make it possible for girls to articulate the ways in which they already carve out space for themselves in the larger world. This means fostering solidarity with other girls in similar situations, so that they can hold ground together – whether that means confronting a john, a cop, or the boys on the corner. Even opening a single relationship, knowing one other person that will share info or know when to expect you, can make a huge difference in the control and safety a girl feels navigating her world. This is as true for girls who face street harassment as for those who trade sex for money or face ableist bullying in school. Cultivating networks of trust and support with other girls is one of the best ways girls can look after themselves.

Girl-led organizations also hold space by creating caucuses or support groups. When an organization sponsors a time and place for girls to get together without determining what will happen in that group, it tells girls that their issues are worth

time, attention, and collective action even if they are not sure what they need or want to do. In 2006, the Brighton Park Neighborhood Council made a conscious decision to create programming that was welcoming to queer and questioning youth by forming a community-based Gay-Straight Alliance. According to Jessie Avilez, the first youth coordinator, the group began through "small group discussion with other fellow queer people, who identified the need for a safe space. People do not realize that LGBTQ people exist within their community, and this lack of visibility leaves the younger people at a higher risk for problematic situations" (CE 50). Just extending safe space to youth who felt endangered in their homes and schools was transformative, because the invitation itself established that some community members acknowledged and valued LGBTQ youth in their own neighborhood. If girls' identities are themselves a source of stigmatization and isolation, one of the most powerful countermeasures is for established community-based organizations to make a place at the table for them.

"Hanging out", being together with no express purpose, is also a cornerstone to developing solidarity. A signature event for the Empowered Fe Fes is their spa day, where they take care and celebrate the bodies of girls with disabilities. YWEP recognizes that girls' resiliency is connected to practices of soothing and empowering self-care, so prosaic occasions that give allow girls to give each other sustenance and pleasure, from potlucks to dance parties, are actually critically important. Black lesbian poet Audre Lorde's "The Power of the Erotic" is an important essay that girl-groups return to when reclaiming their persons from post-traumatic stress, disassociation, and shame. Lorde writes that there are many elements to the erotic "the first is in providing the power which comes from sharing deeply any pursuit with another person the open and fearless underlining of my capacity for joy." She goes on to explain that the "deep and irreplaceable knowledge of my capacity for joy comes to demand from all of my life that it be lived within the knowledge that such satisfaction is possible (p. 53)." Many theorists are uncomfortable with the affective, therapeutic, and seemingly privatized strands of identity-based organizing, but the impact of this kind of work in building resistance in public life is undeniable. When YWEP found that it underestimated how internalized racism, sexism and colonialism effected their organization, they expanded and strengthened this focus to the organization's benefit. They tell us: "Through retreats, team building exercises, sister healing circles and developing an internal analysis, we worked – and continue to work – to achieve our goal of building solidarity and leadership as a whole with our youth membership" (Girls 13).

The leadership of girls is exercised in connection and collectivity. Although political philosophers often look for explicit and uniform rules for participation and order, girl-led organizations are impressively sensitive to the phenomenological and psychological profiles of different settings for collective action. Political philosophers have done little to explore these dynamics, but as Kathie Sarachild presented at the First National Women's Liberation Conference in 1968, "Our feelings will lead us to our theory, our theory to our action, our feelings about that action to new theory and then to new action." Political life paradigmatically combines thinking and action, but feminists and anticolonial thinkers have gone on to centralize

affect, while girl-led organizations and others are bringing out the importance of enduring relationships. This is not contrary to intellectual and conceptual engagement. Many girls could not begin to see their own power without a systemic analysis of institutional violence and oppression, but developing critical awareness is not an end in itself. According to YWEP, it "helps girls find their greatest resources – one another" (Girls 33).

Finally, girls hold space for themselves in redefining the terms of how they are known and what they know in the world. In his wonderful essay about racialized space, Eduardo Mendieta explains how Foucault conceptualized knowledge itself as spatializing, with epistemologies depending "the ability to render something legible, visible, surveyable, and localizable" (p. 44). And, indeed, much "knowledge" about girls is aimed at pinning them down and putting them in their place. But knowledge is also spatialized in another sense, through the creation of disciplines, the domains of expertise and experts. The solution for almost all of the girl-led groups has been to reclaim their expertise on the subject of their own lives and redraw the boundaries of what adults think they know about them using participatory action research.

In participatory action research, community members frame the questions, design the methodology, collect the data, analyze the information, and work with others to take action. In the past, researchers had contacted and interviewed YWEP members, but failed to capture their message. The girls noticed that "Every study we found showed us as powerless" (Girls 14). So, they decided that they needed to embark on their own project as "a response to all of those researchers, doctors, government officials, social workers, therapists, journalists, foster care workers and every other adult who said we were too messed up or that we needed to be saved from ourselves" (Girls 5). Their research findings *and* the fact that they produced the research themselves contradicted the conclusions that authority figures had drawn about girls' agency and abilities.

The methods YWEP used reflected their values and experiences. To alleviate some of the difficulty of asking girls to write about traumatizing experiences, they directed outreach workers to take down girls' accounts in conversation. YWEP created the Girls Fight Back journal, a blank zine that allowed girls to take their time in describing their own tactics of resiliency. The journal questions purposely focused on girls' strengths, "because the girls would be filling it out themselves and talking about individual violence experiences can be triggering" (Girls 18). Filling out the journal itself was also "a healing and empowering tool" allowing many girls to articulate for the first time the positive actions they took for their own survival. Because outreach workers are other girls who have traded sex, YWEP was able collect over 107 Girls Fight Back journals and talk with over 500 girls. Their data was wide in scope and bookended by the insight they had gained from earlier workshops and explored in focus groups. Finally, they parlayed their research into the development of a social justice working group within their organization and created a fifty-five page toolkit that shared girls' tactics and accomplishments with each other. Here is what the girls of YWEP said about the research: "Doing this research was empowering because it shows that girls in the sex trade do care about our lives. It promotes a

sense of community. We care about fighting back. We care about helping each other and we have each other's back" (Girls 20).

Participatory action research is subject to one important limit factor. As Nancy Campbell and Susan Shaw found in studying harm reduction practices in needle-exchange programs, even the most stringent policies of noninterference end up producing norms. The proliferation of harm reduction paradigms led some drug users to give false statements; it "incited drug users to locate and voice ethical practices" and identify themselves with "the norms and goals of those programs" (p. 699). So, one must question the degree to which drop-in centers, support groups, and research projects can actually maintain their claims to girl-leadership and independence when "adult allies" are inevitably an influential part of the organization. Some counterweight to this critique lies in the fact that the kind of leadership promoted reflexively includes a critique of adult definitions. But the ultimate difference between harm reduction programs is the extent to which girl-led organizations have committed themselves to handing over their actual organizational structure to the determination of members.

YWAT, YWEP, the Empowered Fe Fes, and FUFA all share in common their installation of girls to primary leadership positions within the organization. To Alex Poeter, "youth organizing requires a deep belief that you cannot change things without viewing youth as equals in society" (Spatz 8). Viewing youth as equals requires treating them as equals without questioning their judgment or commitment to social change. In YWAT, this means that an adult ally may facilitate, but that the girls themselves are responsible for proposing and executing the projects that the group undertakes *and* for identifying and adapting to the dynamics of the group. For example, in the beginning of YWAT, founding members could rely on their longstanding relationships to negotiate decision-making and conflict, but as new members joined they found that special care needed to be taken to make explicit the organization's norms and not create in-groups and out-groups. Responding to new members' feelings of exclusion, YWAT set time aside for connection at every meeting, went on a series of retreats, and codified many of its practices. It also began distinguishing between founding members, "core members" (those currently responsible for decision-making), and associate members who were being integrated into the group and prepared to take over. The girls themselves decided how to shape the growth of the organization.

YWEP also asks its members to do the primary work of running the organization: "adults DO NOT do all of the important work and DO NOT make all of the important decisions" (Girls 9). YWEP has graduated roles for members that include research, peer-to-peer counseling, political education, and organizational work. From zine-making leading all the way to siting on the board of directors, YWEP has set up a system to allow girls to train each other to move through "leadership ladder". Notably, much of this work is paid, including training. The average of $25 for 2 h labor is not enough to support girls or turn their activism into a job, but it communicates that the project actually values the girls' resources.[7] In the practical sense, the stipends give girls a little more room in how they spend their time. This is not "saving" girls, but opening some time and energy for the techniques

of self-care, solidarity with other girls, and movement towards collective organizing that supports the work to do for themselves.

Lastly, girl-lead organizations make space for themselves by educating others and collaborating with other girls. Women and Girls CAN noticed that "Youth-driven and youth-led groups are particularly adept at partnering: groups such as the Rogers Park Young Women's Action Team, Females United for Action (which is itself a coalition), the Broadway Youth Center and the Young Women's Empowerment Project regularly attend one another's events, partner to hold joint public events, and lead workshops for each other" (CE 14). The groups sponsor town hall meetings in their communities – providing political education and getting feedback for where their projects should go next. They give workshops to social service groups and in schools to help transform those institutions, and they produce the literatures that I have cited in this essay. More ephemerally, girl-led groups have altered the conversation in Chicago's progressive community, influencing changes in the city's annual Dyke March and the strategic goals of the Chicago contingent to the 2010 US Social Forum.

The fiercely urgent, but enduring work of social transformation does not end with a policy victory or election, and most activists understand that ending endemic interpersonal and institutional violence is a task of generations that will not be completed in any single person's lifetime. Although the efforts of girl-led organizations are often strongly localized, their vision for a world where every girl is a leader is radical and far-reaching. The space of the political is meant to gather people together into a common project for the common good, but we seem to live in a world in which a truly emancipatory politics does not have popular support. The fact that girls must lead a radically asymmetrical campaign for their own survival does not mean that their work does not rise to a politics. On the contrary, a *tache d'huile* guerilla strategy of creating focused strongholds of collective action (strongholds that eventually pool together like splattered oil) may be one of our best chances for participating in anything like political life in late modernity. Girls are telling us that they are the solution, not the problem. It is time for us to take them at their word.

Notes

1. I use the term "girls" to follow the most common way these groups name themselves. In the organizations I cite, this includes cissexual, gender nonconforming, and transgender girls.
2. This critique began with the industrial revolution, gained ground after World War I, and became almost incontrovertible with the rise of fascist regimes, concentrations camps, and the use of atomic weapons. Simone Weil, Martin Heidegger, Theodore Adorno, and Hannah Arendt are all thinkers of an evacuated modernity. "Globalization" has become the latest trope for understanding the transnational movement of capital and people that exacerbates this loss of culture grounding. Frederick Jameson and Zygmunt Bauman address this in their philosophical writings.
3. Most of Brown's examples of identity politics are drawn from white middle-class feminist organizations of national scope and their organizational issues have more to do with leaders

replaying the moralizing role cast for white middle-class femininity than their use of identity politics. Linda Alcoff's *Visible Identities* (2006) offers a more nuanced reading of identity politics.

4. For antiracist thinkers, the brutalizing tide of modernity is located centuries earlier in the beginning of European conquest and still pervasively structures global systems of oppression.

5. The girl is Pleajhai Mervin, the district attorney is Reed Walters. He gained infamy in the Jena 6 case.

6. I saw Gail Noble speak at the 2009 Allied Media Conference in Detroit. Her story can be found at http://www.metroactive.com/metro/10.29.08/news-0844.html.

7. Along similar lines, YWAT runs a Girl University in leadership that provides a modest stipend to girls for each session they attend.

References

Arendt, H. (2000). In P. Baehr (ed.), *The Portable Hannah Arendt*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.

Boggs, G.L. (1998). *Living for Change: An Autobiography*. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota.

Brown, W. (1995). *States of Injury: Power and Freedom in Late Modernity*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Burack, C. (2004). *Healing Identities: Black Feminist Thought and the Politics of Groups*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

Campbell, N. (2000). *Using Women: Gender, Drug Policy, and Social Justice*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Campbell, N. and S. Shaw. (2008). Incitements to discourse: Illicit drugs, harm reduction, and the production of ethnographic subjects. *Journal of Cultural Anthropology* 23(4):688–717.

Chicago Alliance Against White Supremacy (2009). Is racial profiling racist? *CAWS Newsletter*. http://chicagofreedomschool.org/initiatives/movement-building-and-organizing/caawsletter-08-09-1 (accessed October 7, 2009).

Cohen, C.J. (1997). Punks, bulldaggers, and welfare queens: The radical potential of queer politics? *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* 3:437–465.

Cohen, C. (1999). *The Boundaries of Blackness*: *AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Collier, J. and R. Esteban. (2000). Systemic leadership: ethical and effective. *The Leadership and Organizational Development Journal* 21(4):207–215.

Doin' It: Sex, Disability and Videotape. (2007, April 25). Interview with the Empowered FeFes. *Eight Forty-Eight, Chicago Public Radio*. http://www.wbez.org/Content.aspx?audioID=10326 (accessed December 1, 2009).

INCITE! Women of Color Against Violence (2009). *Law Enforcement Violence Against Women of Color & Trans People of Color: A Critical Intersection of Gender Violence & State Violence*. CD-ROM Toolkit. Redmond, WA: INCITE!

James, J. (1999). *Shadowboxing: Representations of Black Feminist Politics*. New York, NY: St. Martin's Press.

Kellogg, S.H. and M.J. Kreek (2005). Gradualism, identity, reinforcements, and change. *International Journal of Drug Policy* 16:369–375.

Kellogg, S.H. and M.J. Kreek (2006). *Color of Violence. The Incite! Anthology*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Kellogg, S.H. and M.J. Kreek (2007). *The Revolution Will Not Be Funded: Beyond the Non-profit Industrial Complex*. Cambridge, MA: South End Press.

Lamm, N. (2006). Activism embodied: A roundtable with Leslie Feinberg, Geleni Fontaine, and Shira Hassan. *Clamour Magazine* 37. http://clamormagazine.org/issues/38/people.php (accessed November 15, 2009).

Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister Outsider: Essays and Speeches*. Trumansburg, NY: The Crossing Press.

Lugones, M. (2003). *Pilgimages: Peregrinajes*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

McGillicuddy, Kim and Annette Fuentes (1997). Funding youth organizing: Strategies for building power and youth leadership. *Funders' Collaborative on Youth Organizing*. http://www.fcyo.org/toolsandresources (accessed November 15, 2009).

McWhorter, L. (2009). *Racism and Sexual Oppression in Anglo-America: A Genealogy*. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press.

Mendiata, E. (2004). Plantations, ghettos, prisons: US racial geographies. *Philosophy & Geography* 7(1):43–59.

Meyer, K. (2008, September 18). Group empowers young women with disabilities. *Chicago News: abc7chicago.com*. http://abclocal.go.com/wls/story?section=news/disability_issues&id=6396748 (accessed November 12, 2009).

Painter-Morland, M. (2008). Systemic leadership and the emergence of ethical responsiveness. *Journal of Business Ethics* 82:509–524.

Robnett, B. (1997). *How Long? How Long? African American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights*. New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Rogers Park Young Women's Action Team. (2006). *What Street Harassment Looks Like*. http://www.youngwomensactionteam.org (accessed October 7, 2009).

Rogers Park Young Women's Action Team. (2007). *YWAT Curriculum*. http://www.youngwomensactionteam.org

Rogers Park Young Women's Action Team. (2007). *Engaging Young Men as Allies: A Summary Report of Survey Research*. http://www.youngwomensactionteam.org (accessed October 7, 2009).

Rogers Park Young Women's Action Team (2006). *Young Women Can Make a Difference Organizing*. http://www.youngwomensactionteam.org (accessed October 7, 2009).

Rooks, N.M. (2006). *White Money/Black Power: The Surprising History of African American Studies and the Crisis of Race in Higher Education*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Smith, A. (2003, June 24). *Interview with Maria Cotera. Global Feminisms: Comparative Case Studies of Women's Activism and Scholarship*. Ann Arbor, MI, University of Michigan. http://www.umich.edu/~glblfem (accessed October 20, 2009).

Smith, A. (2006, June 1). Without bureaucracy, beyond inclusion: Re-centering feminism. *Left Turn*. http://www.leftturn.org/?q=node/396 (accessed October 7, 2009).

Smith, A. (2009a, July 18). *What Is the Purpose of Education?* Allied Media Conference. Detroit, MI: Wright State University.

Smith, A. (2009b, March 5). *Another Politics Is Possible: Women of Color Organizing*, DePaul University, Chicago, IL.

Spatz, M. (2005). *At a Crossroads: Youth Organizing in the Midwest*. Occasional Paper No. 7. September 2005. Funders' Collaborative on Youth Organizing. http://www.fcyo.org/toolsandresources

Transformative Justice Teach-In Zine (2009, June 6). *Created at DePaul University Transformative Justice Gathering and Teach-In*. http://www.transformativejusticezine.org/2009/06/meanwhile-check-this-out.html (accessed October 15, 2009).

Women & Girls Collective Action Network (primary authors Ann Russo and Melissa Spatz) (2007). *Communities Engaged in Resisting Violence*, Chicago, IL. http://womenandgirlscan.org/category/writing/ (accessed July 15, 2009).

Young Women's Empowerment Project (2009). *Girls Do What They Have to Do to Survive: Methods Used by Girls in the Sex Trade and Street Economy to Fight Back and Heal*. http://youarepriceless.org/node/190 (accessed October 20, 2009).

Žižek, S. (1997). Multiculturalism, or, the cultural logic of multinational capitalism. *New Left Review* 225:28–51.

Chapter 14
Women Leading a Responsible Global Business

A Study of Dame Anita Roddick, Founder of the Body Shop

Nicola M. Pless

Editors' Introduction We end the collection with a study of Dame Anita Roddick, the founder and former CEO of the Body Shop. After having been exposed to Collier and Esteban's description of "systemic leadership", and Uhl-Bien, Marion and Kelvey's analysis of "complexity leadership theory", as well as some of the more practical exposés of these dynamics in various contexts, we would like to challenge the reader to track some of these dynamics in the life of Anita Roddick. In this paper, it becomes clear that Roddick exemplifies what Pless and Maak identify as "responsible leadership," which certainly displays certain parallels with what the other authors call "systemic leadership" or "complexity leadership theory". Roddick managed to read and navigate a very complex set of dynamics, taking into account the global environment in which the Body Shop interacts, providing outlets for indigenous products, and being profitable as well. Pless argues that Roddick is an exemplar of the female archetype of leadership. Here we seem to have come full circle... The question that emerges once again is: Is it wise to maintain the notion of a "female archetype" of leadership? Does it not do more damage by entrenching dangerous stereotypes that continue to undermine women's leadership capacities? Well, yes, and no. The "female archetype" at least indicates that there is an alternative to patriarchal leadership theories, and as such, it creates the possibility of change. All of the authors in this volume will agree that this archetype has been socially constructed, but that does not make its effects, both positive and negative, less real. Maybe the best we could hope for is that "systemic leadership" may offer an alternative to both male and female archetypes that would allow both men and women, to lead in different, more relational and more contextually sensitive ways.

N.M. Pless (✉)
ESADE Business School, Ramon Llull University, Sant Cugat 8072, Spain
e-mail: nicola.pless@esade.edu

Since the call for responsible leadership of the European Foundation for Management Development (EFMD, 2005) the discussion around responsible leadership has intensified both in business practice and academia. Given the gap between the loss of trust and confidence in leaders to improve the lives of people on this planet (Gallup, 2007) on the one hand and the rising expectations of stakeholders that leaders behave not only ethically, but also socially responsibly by contributing to the common good, responsible leadership has become a concept of increasing relevance for business leadership. In this article I want to shed some light on the question of what responsible leadership can mean in business practice. I approach this question by applying a "positive organizational scholarship" approach (Cameron et al., 2003) and examining the case of Dame Anita Roddick. The reason for choosing Anita Roddick is that she is as a widely acknowledged prototype of a responsible leader who has not only built a corporate responsible organization and influenced the academic discussion on CSR, ethics and business' role in society, but whose personal actions also had a sustainable impact on legislation (animal testing), standards in the business world (fair business practice, stakeholder engagement), community development (trade with disadvantaged communities) and raising consumer awareness regarding social, ecological and human rights issues.

I begin the paper with an outline of my understanding of responsible leadership. I then introduce the roles model of leadership (Maak and Pless, 2006a, b) as a framework to study the question of what it means in business practice to lead responsibly. This allows to shed some light on different components of responsible leadership behavior from stewardship and citizenship to storytelling. The analysis of Anita Roddicks's leadership in light of this framework results in a picture of a woman and role model for leading business responsibly in a global stakeholder society. After having analyzed her leadership behavior I discuss the relationship between responsible leadership and the female archetype of leadership. I show that there are indeed striking parallels between the two concepts and argue that responsible leadership requires qualities that are defined as being female (e.g. caring for others). Yet, I also argue that the female archetype is first and foremost a social construction of gender relations and that the qualities of a female archetype are by no means restricted to women, but can also be developed and applied by men. I conclude that we need a paradigm change towards a new model of leadership that takes social responsibility seriously and fosters the application and development of "female" leadership principles.

Foundations of Responsible Leadership

What Is Responsible Leadership?

Responsible leadership is a social and moral phenomenon that was pushed onto the agenda not only by recent scandals and the pressing issues that affect life on our

planet, but also by the realization that multinational corporations and their leaders have an enormous potential for contributing to the betterment of the world. Against this background I study leadership in the larger context of "leading business in society" making reference to the debates on CSR, sustainable development and corporate citizenship. Theoretically, responsible leadership draws from findings in leadership ethics, developmental psychology, psychoanalysis, stakeholder theory and systems theory and aims to examine and understand the dynamic processes between leaders and stakeholders (as followers) that lead to responsible leadership behavior and responsible action for social change.

The notion of responsible leadership reflects the fact that corporate responsibility is first and foremost a leadership challenge, which requires leaders who care, who are morally conscious, open towards the diversity of stakeholders inside and outside the corporation and who are aware of and understand the responsibilities of business in society. Drawing on the work of Burns (1978, 2003), Ciulla (1995, 1998, 2006) and Freeman et al. (2006) I understand responsible leadership as a values-based and principle-driven relationship between leaders and stakeholders who are connected through a shared sense of meaning and purpose through which they raise one another to higher levels of motivation and commitment for achieving sustainable values creation and social change (Pless and Maak, 2006).

While traditional leadership research focuses on cognition and behavior and clinical psychologists add emotions to decode the leadership texts (Kets de Vries et al., 2004, p. 477), responsible leadership research examines the leadership dynamics in the context of stakeholder society and includes the ethical perspective – the norms, values and principles.

What Is Responsible Leadership Behavior?

To analyze the phenomenon of responsible leadership it is necessary to specify what exactly one is looking for. Maak and Pless have recently introduced a "roles model of responsible leadership" (2006a, b), which helps understand responsible leadership behaviors vis-à-vis different stakeholders. They argue that people who lead businesses in society are embedded in a network of stakeholder relations with direct reports, customers, suppliers, peers, family, community etc. To mobilize different stakeholders (with different backgrounds, values and sometimes conflicting interests) to collaborate and to work together for a commonly shared vision, leaders need to exercise certain roles. The roles model of responsible leadership is composed of nine roles which form a *gestalt* and describe different characteristics of a responsible leader: Maak and Pless (2006b) distinguish between values-based roles such as the leader as steward, as citizen, as servant, as visionary and the operational roles of the leader as coach, networker, storyteller, architect and change agent (see Fig. 14.1). In the following I will use this model as an analytical framework to examine the behavior and actions of Anita Roddick with regard to selected roles.
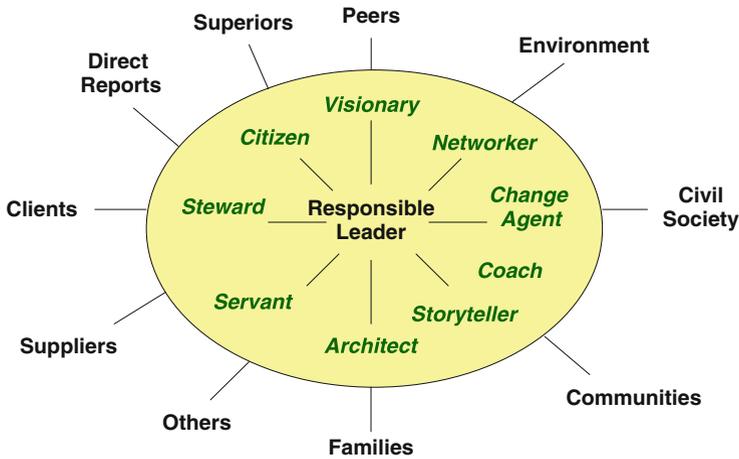
Fig. 14.1 The roles model of responsible leadership (*source*: adapted from Maak and Pless, 2006b, p. 107)

Applying the Roles Model of Responsible Leadership

The Leader as Visionary

We learn from Anita Roddick's biography that the start of The Body Shop was driven by a need to make a living for herself and her children and guided by a vision based on ideals of the environmental, peace and liberation movement (Roddick, 1991). The vision was to "be counterculture" to the traditional cosmetics industry, which she criticized for lacking product integrity and customer orientation (expensive, over-sized and unnecessary fancy product packaging) and for imposing a beauty dogma on women that undermines their self-esteem.

> It is immoral constantly to make women feel dissatisfied with their bodies. It is immoral to deceive a customer by making miracle claims for a product. It is immoral to use a photograph of a glowing sixteen-year-old to sell a cream aimed at preventing wrinkles in a forty-year-old. (Roddick, 1991, p. 15)

Her approach to business had been based on values such as care, honesty, fairness and respect, which she could hardly separate from The Body Shop's values (Roddick, 1991, p. 123). She followed the motto to make "profits with principles" (Roddick, 1991). As company executive she stated in 1990:

> I run my company according to feminine principles... principles of caring, making intuitive decisions, not getting hung up on hierarchy or all those dreadfully boring business-school management ideas; having a sense of work as being part of your life, not separate from it; putting your labor where your love is; being responsible to the world in how you use your profits; recognizing the bottom line should stay there – at the bottom. (Roddick, cited in Helgesen, 1990, p. 5)

While her vision was rather vague and intuitive and in the beginning dominated by the text of "being counterculture", this changed in 1984 through the "defining moment" (Badaracco, 1997) of going public that required a deliberate leadership decision. Thrown back on their values, principles and ideals and what is important in life the Roddicks decided for a values-based vision: to use business a catalyst for social change (Roddick, 1991, p. 141).

The Leader as Steward

The metaphor of the leader as steward makes references to both being a custodian of values, a stronghold to protect professional and personal integrity, and "steering a business responsibly and respectfully even through troubled waters, thus protecting and preserving what one is entrusted with" (Maak and Pless, 2006a, p. 46). To illustrate the role of the leader as steward I like come back to the going public of The Body Shop in 1984.

The change in ownership that such a step involves can be understood as a defining moment (Badaracco, 1997) for a company and its leadership. Questions that arose at that time were: Would the Body Shop change its identity and go mainstream? Or would it stick to its roots? In such a critical moment the values and identity of a firm and its leadership are tested. However, instead of falling for shareholder value and abandoning the organizational heritage the Roddicks rethought the meaning of "being counterculture" in the context of the London Stock Exchange and asked themselves some fundamental reflective questions: "[W]hat were the social responsibilities of business? Should not a business that relied on the community for its success be prepared to give something back to the community? Should there not be a trade in goodwill as well as in commerce?" (Roddick, 1991, p. 109) They soon realized that with the wealth, status and power in the business community "The Body Shop had both the potential, and the means at its disposal, to do good." (Roddick, 1991, p. 109) In fact, they made a principled decision to leverage this potential and use business as a force for social and environmental change, which led to the formulation of The Body Shop's mission: "To dedicate our business to the pursuit of social and environmental change." (The Body Shop International, 2004) Essentially, this decision was driven by an interplay of head, mind and heart, by critical thinking, passion and values:

> We believed that it was possible to shift from a value system of ever-increasing profits to one in which core values were concerned with human and social issues and were founded on feminine values like love and care. (Roddick, 1991, p. 24)

Ultimately, they did not only preserve the core values of the firm but laid the foundation for a business model based on corporate responsibility. It consists of a values mission "Our reason for being" The Body Shop International, 2004a trading charter, a values strategy and the core principles, which are: "Protect our Planet," "Defend Human Rights," "Support Community Trade," "Activate Self-Esteem," and

"Against Animal Testing" (The Body Shop International, 2004d). Through lobbying, campaigning, volunteering programmes and fair trade, these principles are actively turned into responsible business practice.

The story of going public is an example of responsible leadership. It exemplifies the role of the leader as a steward and stronghold who maintains personal and professional integrity, who protects what she is entrusted with, and who steers the company responsibly and respectfully through defining moments of change, using values as a moral compass to ensure economic and social values creation.

The Leader as Servant

The metaphor of the leader as servant was conceived by Robert Greenleaf (1977/2002). According to his concept, leadership is not about the grandiosity of a leader but about those he or she serves. This has profound implications for leadership. It implies that leaders need to serve followers to achieve a common and good purpose. They need to be able to recognize, respect and *care* for the needs of others. Key questions for the servant leader are "Do those served grow as persons? Do they, *while being served*, become healthier, wiser, freer, more autonomous, more likely themselves to become servants? And, what is the effect on the least privileged in society? Will they benefit or at least not be further deprived?" (Greenleaf, 2002, p. 27)

Care, justice and responsibility are motivational texts that recur in different forms in Anita Roddick's biography. As a leader Roddick translated this drive into a caring service idea which is not restricted to customer relationships, but is a fundamental attitude towards stakeholders: "the twin ideals of love and care touch everything we do: how we view our responsibilities, how we treat our staff, how we educate and communicate, how we relate to the community and the environment" (Roddick, 1991, p. 141). Servant leadership becomes visible in leaders' actions with regard to serving and caring for the needs of different stakeholders. Under Anita Roddick's leadership the service idea had been translated into a caring business practice vis-à-vis different stakeholders:

- *Caring for employees* means treating each individual with respect, providing a healthy and safe work environment, providing balanced working conditions and meaningful work. It was a declared objective for Roddick to humanize the workplace (1991, p. 159) for instance by setting up a child development center and offering volunteering programs for employees that give them the chance to engage in campaigning and community service during work hours. (The Body Shop International, 2004e)
- *Caring for customers* and their needs by selling fair products, declaring product ingredients and refraining from animal testing and by serving the psychological needs of customers through campaigns on activating self-esteem and raising awareness for topics like domestic violence.

- *Caring for communities* by giving something back. From the beginning Anita Roddick had followed a business in society approach based on the understanding "that wherever we traded we were an integral part of that community, with consequent responsibilities and duties that could not be ducked" (Roddick, 1991, p. 150).
- *Caring for the environment* by protecting resources (recycling principle), opposing animal testing, raising awareness in business and society for environmental protection.
- *Caring for suppliers* and offering fair business conditions. In 1989 Roddick has started a community trade initiative that represents a landmark business-in-society innovation and is an example of how servant leadership can be applied.

The idea behind the initiative is to enable underprivileged communities like for instance Amazonian Indian tribes to trade their products in a fair way and to benefit from the knowledge and expertise of an international company. From Roddick's perspective these community relationships are not just about business and trade, they are meaningful in themselves. "It is about exchange and value, trade and respect, friendship and trust" (The Body Shop International, 2004c). Over time this initiative has developed in the firm into an integrated Community Trade program with over 35 suppliers in 25 countries. Community trade can be understood as a practical example of servant leaders' commitment to social change. Yet, it requires on the one hand a certain degree of humility, modesty and also moral imagination (Johnson, 1993) and on the other hand a willingness and desire to support others, specifically stakeholders, and to care for their interests and needs (Maak and Pless, 2006a, b). We like to point out that feminist researchers (Gilligan, 1982; Noddings, 2003; Held, 2005) argue that such a sense of care which is inherent in servant leadership is closely related to the female archetype.

The Leader as Citizen and Change Agent

The leader as citizen is concerned about civic health (Schudson, 1998) and shares an interest in producing public goods (Dagger, 1997, p. 100). A basis of citizenship is a sense of belonging to a certain community in which a person becomes active as a citizen. Belonging as a need for attachment is an important aspect in the biography of Anita Roddick. Citizenship engagement is also driven by a sense of responsibility which develops throughout life. For Anita Roddick it manifested itself during her adolescence when she marched with the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament and went on vigils in support of the Campaign for Freedom against Hunger. As a leader she used this citizenship spirit as a means of turning the "The Body Shop vision – of making the world a better place – into reality" (Roddick, 1991, p. 141).

In 1985, the first year as a public company, Anita Roddick and The Body Shop started the TBS's campaigning trail following the motto that "businesses have the

power to do good" (Roddick, 2005). Since then more than 30 campaigns were conducted against animal testing and for protecting the planet, activating self-esteem and defending human rights. Many of the campaigns were carried out in cross-sector cooperation with environmental and human rights organizations, among them Greenpeace, Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch. For Anita Roddick being a businesswoman and being an active political citizen were no opposites. On the contrary, she stated that

> . . . political awareness and activism must be woven into the fabric of business. In a global world, there are no value-free or politically disentangled actions. The very act of organizing on a global basis is political because of culture, geography and differing value systems. (Roddick, 2000, p. 168)

Even though Anita Roddick had been personally involved in many of these campaigns they are usually a collaborative endeavor of different stakeholders and need to be run by employees in the company. An important task for her as a leader was to set an example for campaigning, to provide a campaigning platform ("We use our stores and our products" Roddick, 2005, p. 2), to create a culture of citizenship, to communicate that citizenship is an integral part of doing principled business and to use influence as a leader to mobilize different stakeholders to take coordinated action for the common good (e.g. gaining support from NGOs to become alliance partners, mobilizing staff to run the campaigns and inspire customers to support them by signing petitions etc.) (Roddick, 1991). Some of these campaigns have resulted in legislative actions like the ban on animal testing in the UK, have set standards in the business world (fair trade business practice) and have contributed to awareness raising on social, environmental and human rights issues among consumers and in business, academia and society. In this sense campaigning can be understood as a form of "transforming leadership" (Burns, 1978, 2003) with the leader as an active citizen functioning as a responsible agent of change.

The Leader as Networker

As feminist leadership research shows the metaphor of the leader as networker is closely related to the female understanding of leadership and to the notion of the "web of inclusion" (Helgesen, 1990). Anita Roddick understood herself as a relationship builder and a networker: "the bliss of my job is networking – finding people with visions similar to mine, or even greater." (Roddick, 1991, p. 228)

Feminist researchers (Chodorow, 1978; Gilligan, 1982) understand the need for attachment and connectedness as a characteristic of a female identity concept, which contributes to an understanding of "self-in-relations" (Gilligan, 1982). It prototypes what Sally Helgesen has called a *strategy of the web*, which "concentrates on drawing others closer, and by strengthening the lines and orbs that knit the fabric together. Empathasizing interrelationships, working to tighten them, building up strength, knitting loose ends into the fabric, it is a strategy that honors the feminine principles of inclusion, connection, and what Carol Gilligan calls 'being responsible in the

world'." (Helgesen, 1990, p. 58). In line with this feminine relationship understanding, Roddick pictures herself as a leader in the middle of a web of relations. This image forms a sharp contrast to the traditional hierarchical understanding where the leader sits alone at the top, a place where others cannot get close. Instead of leading from the top her preferred style was leading from the middle by being connected with, and close to others, even physically and emotionally. Her leadership occurred in relationships with different stakeholders. It was experiential and tangible, it was practical not rhetorical and it integrated what feminist theorists call "hand, brain and heart" (Rose, 1983) as the following citation illustrates. The citation describes a situation during one of her networking trips to developing countries:

> Living leadership, and leadership by experience and not by rhetoric. So like going to visit one of our community trade projects – no founder ever goes and sits in a bloody mud hut for 3 days holding babies, with flies or fleas. But that was the expectation of the people I work with, that I'd be doing that, that I'd be in the middle. They were absolutely and rightly expecting me to be right in the middle of Afghanistan to see if I could find a community trade project. (Roddick, 2002, vol. 4, pp. 24–29)

This understanding of leadership makes reference to some of the relationship texts of the female culture such as being caring (instead of indifferent), being close (instead of distant), being relationally connected (instead of relationally disconnected and independent), being cooperative (instead of overly competitive), being intuitive (instead of purely logical), being emotional and loving (instead of purely rational) and being empathetic (instead of exploitative) (see also Morgan, 1997).

According to Roddick this approach has also shaped the relationship culture within the organization: "the twin ideals of love and care touch everything we do: how we view our responsibilities, how we treat our staff, how we educate and communicate, how we relate to the community and the environment" (1991, p. 141). In fact, it forms the basis of an inclusive stakeholder network approach that not only embraces stakeholders from the business world (like employees, customers, suppliers, franchisees and shareholders) but equally involves stakeholders that represent society and the environment and that sees "stakeholders as sources of strength rather than instability" (Roddick, in Wheeler and Sillanpää, 1997, p. vii)

In essence, leading as a principled and visionary networker is an activity of relating, of growing and sustaining the web of stakeholder connections and of caring for the network members. It implies a drive to realize a common vision in and through stakeholder engagement.

The Leader as Storyteller[1]

Anita Roddick knew that the people she worked with were searching for something more than just doing a job – "they also want to learn and find meaning in their life. They are open to leadership that has a vision, but this vision has to be communicated clearly and persuasively, and always, always with passion." (2000, p. 79) Robert McKee argues in exactly the same direction stressing that if CEOs want to inspire people they have to unite an idea with an emotion and the best

way to achieve that is by telling a compelling story (2003, p. 6). Being brought up with fables and fairy tales herself Anita Roddick believed in the power of stories. Storytelling had become one of her leadership principles which she had passionately practiced since the start of The Body Shop to motivate sales staff, but also to communicate The Body Shop idea convincingly to external stakeholders. For her "leadership is fundamentally about communication and dialogue" (Roddick, 2000, p. 93), "[c]ommunication is the single biggest word to leadership" (Roddick, 2002, vol. 10, pp. 34–35). "Wittgenstein said, words create the world. You've got to have a language of socially responsible business." (Roddick, 2002, vol. 1, pp. 23–26) This language helped her to create a culture of responsible business. The analysis of my personal interview with Anita Roddick in 2002 showed that storytelling served her as a form of leadership that enabled her to achieve different objectives: to connect to different stakeholders, to inspire people, to create a values-based sense of identity among followers, to foster a cooperative and humane working environment, to build common glue in a global network and to lead through times of change.

To conclude, our analysis of Anita Roddick's life, her achievements and behavior shows that as a leader she integrated different roles which together form a consistent *identity script of responsible leadership*. Furthermore, this analysis underscores her practical contribution to redefining the purpose of business and her role-modeling for leading business responsibly in a global stakeholder society.

Responsible Leadership and the Female Archetype

The portray of Anita Roddick stands in stark contrast to "the ruthlessly hard-driving, strictly top-down, command-and-control focused, shareholder-value-obsessed, win-at-any-cost business leader" that the late Ghoshal (2005) criticized in his last and seminal article "Bad Management Theories Are Destroying Good Management Practices". It is noteworthy that the attributes criticized by Ghoshal represent a leadership understanding that for a long time was understood as representing "good" as in effective leadership. Characteristics like caring for values and people, considering the needs of others, showing emotions, being intuitive and empathetic and having a preference for being in the "middle" rather than at the top of the hierarchy were seen as signals of weakness and devaluated as representing a female style. In an interconnected global stakeholder environment with more flexible and systemic forms with flatter and more networked configurations and an ethical call for responsible leadership we observe that the old leadership model is gradually replaced by a new leadership paradigm (see Table 14.1) which values many of the characteristics of a female code of leadership, yet without neglecting the positive sides of the male code.

If the new leadership paradigm values female characteristics, than the question arises if only women have the capacity to lead responsibly. There are both empirical observations and theoretical arguments that let me conclude that this is not the case.

Table 14.1   The changing leadership paradigm

Old leadership model	New leadership model
• Leader at the top of a hierarchy	• Leader in the middle of a network
• Independent self	• Self-in-relations
• Competitive	• Cooperative
• Separated from followers	• Connected to followers
• Superior	• Servant
• No emotions	• Leading with head, hand and heart
• Using people	• Caring for people
• Linear thinking	• Systems thinking
• Values-neutral	• Values-based

While Anita Roddick is a responsible leader and a woman, it can be observed that there are a number of socially responsible enterprises led and/or founded by men who act as responsible leaders and display similar visionary, caring and integrative qualities like Anita Roddick (e.g. Ray Anderson of Interface and Jeff Schwartz of Timberland in the US, Ibrahim Abouleish of Sekem in Egypt, Pierre Tami of Hagar in Cambodia). It seems that the capacity to apply responsible leadership characteristics is not restricted to women, but that both women and men are capable of doing so.

On the other hand, one can object that empirical studies demonstrate the existence of behavioral differences between women and men with women showing a greater propensity to collaborate, taking responsibility for keeping a group together, contributing to others' tasks, putting the needs of others above their own etc. (Miller, 1976; Gilligan, 1982; Axelrod, 1984; Lipman-Blumen, 1992). Yet, developmental psychologists understand existing differences between women and men not as innate characteristics, but as social construction of gender and result of socialization processes throughout the lifespan starting with infant upbringing (Chodorow, 1978). If we understand gender archetypes as a social construction and not as innate characteristics then we can assume that both women and men have the potential to develop necessary "female" qualities for responsible leadership. This requires, though, to rethink socialization and education processes (starting with kindergarten, primary and secondary schools and continuing at all stages of adult education: colleges, universities, executive education and also in learning and development departments in organizations) in order to foster the development of values, virtues and qualities (such as connecting to, caring for and integrating others' diverse needs) necessary for responsible leadership both in girls/women and boys/men.

Yet, when talking about gender archetypes and changing existing realities we have to be aware of the purpose they have served so far in business and society which also gives us a sense of the magnitude of the change project. So far gender archetypes have served to structure Western thinking and reality in a dichotomous way: black-white, nature-culture, female-male, etc. Following the Cartesian subject-object logic the former attributes are usually devalued in favor of the latter enabling exploitation of nature (Merchant, 1980), traditional division of labor

between women and men, low social status of female professions (Pless, 1998) and discrimination against women and minority groups in business (Catalyst, 2005). It has also helped to create a certain "male" leadership reality as described by Ghoshal (2005). In this context female characteristics have been marginalized for a long time with the consequence that both men and women with career ambitions rather practiced a "male" approach (Lipman-Blumen, 1992). While this reality was to a certain degree efficient for managing bureaucratic and hierarchical organizations it looses its efficiency in a changing leadership environment. Adaptation to a changing environment requires organizational change towards a culture that values the positive attributes of both the "male" archetype (e.g., fair competitiveness, reflective assertiveness, independent moral thinking) and the "female" archetype and actively fosters the practice of responsible leadership. This can be achieved by integrating "female" principles into existing performance management and reward systems (Pless and Maak, 2004) and by adapting objectives and design of leadership development programs (Pless and Schneider, 2006).

I like to conclude this paper with a quote of Dame Anita Roddick:

> Leaders in the business world should aspire to be true planetary citizens. They have global responsibilities since their decisions affect not just the world of business, but world problems of poverty, national security and the environment. Many, sad to say, duck these responsibilities, because their vision is material rather than moral. (Roddick, 1991, p. 226)

Even though this call is more than 16 years old it is more urgent than ever.

Note

1. In 1996 Warren Bennis published an article in the *Harvard Business Review* entitled "The leader as storyteller".

References

Axelrod, R. (1984). *The Evolution of Cooperation*. New York, NY: Basic Books.
Badaracco, J.L. (1997). *Defining Moments: When Managers Must Choose Between Right and Right*. Boston, MA: Harvard Business School Press.
Bennis, W. (1996). The leader as storyteller. *Harvard Business Review* 74(1):154–161.
Burns, J.M. (1978). *Leadership*. New York, NY: Perennial.
Burns, J.M. (2003). *Transforming Leadership*. New York, NY: Atlantic Monthly Press.
Cameron, K.S., J.E. Dutton and R.E. Quinn (eds.) (2003). *Positive Organizational Scholarship: Foundations of a New Discipline*. San Francisco, CA: Berrett-Koehler.

Catalyst (2005). *Women "take care," men "take charge:" Stereotyping of U.S. business leaders exposed*. Research report, New York. Online. Available: http://www.catalyst.org/publication/94/women-take-care-men-take-charge-stereotyping-of-us-business-leaders (accessed August. 2, 2008).

Chodorow, N. (1978). *The Reproduction of Mothering*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Ciulla, J. (1995). Leadership ethics: Mapping the territory. *Business Ethics Quarterly* 5(1):5–28.

Ciulla, J. (1998). *Ethics: The Heart of Leadership*. Westport, CT: Quorum.

Ciulla, J. (2006). Ethics: The heart of leadership. In Th. Maak and N.M. Pless (eds.), *Responsible Leadership*. London/New York, NY: Routledge.

Dagger, R. (1997). *Civic Virtues: Rights, Citizenship, and Republican Liberalism*. New York/Oxford, NY: Oxford University Press.

EFMD (2005). *Globally responsible leadership: A call for engagement*. Online. Available http://www.efmd.org/html/Responsibility/cont_detail.asp?id=041207trlv&aid=051012qnis&tid=1&ref=ind (accessed October 18, 2005).

Freeman, R.E., K. Martin, B. Parmar, M.P. Cording and P.H. Werhane (2006). Leading through values and ethical principles. In R. Burke and C. Cooper (eds.), *Inspiring Leaders*. London/New York, NY: Routledge.

Gallup International Association (2007). *Gallup international voice of the people*. http://weforum.org/en/media/Latest%20Press%20Releases/voiceofthepeoplesurvey, accessed January. 26, 2007

Ghoshal, S. (2005). Bad management theories are destroying good management practices. *Academy of Management Learning & Education* 4(1):75–91.

Gilligan, C. (1982). *In a Different Voice*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Greenleaf, R.K. (1977/2002). *Servant Leadership. A Journey into the Nature of Legitimate Power & Greatness*, 25th anniversary edn. New York, NY/Mahwah, NJ: Paulist Press.

Held, V. (2005). *Ethics of Care*. New York, NY/Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Helgesen, S. (1990). *The Female Advantage. Women's Ways of Leadership*. New York, NY: Doubleday.

Johnson, M. (1993). *Moral Imagination: Implications of Cognitive Science for Ethics*. Chicago, IL/London: University of Chicago Press.

Kets de Vries, M.F.R., P. Vrignaud and E. Florent-Treacy (2004). The global leadership life inventory: Development and psychometric properties of a 360-degree feedback instrument. *International Journal of Human Resource Management* 15(3):457–492.

Lipman-Blumen, J. (1992). Connective leadership: Female leadership styles in the 21st-century workplace. *Sociological Perspectives* 35(1):183–203.

Maak, Th. and N.M. Pless (2006a). Responsible leadership: A relational approach. In Th. Maak, and N.M. Pless (eds.), *Responsible Leadership*. New York, NY/London: Routledge.

Maak, Th. and N.M. Pless (2006b). Responsible leadership in a stakeholder society – A relational perspective. *Journal of Business Ethics* 66(1):99–115.

McKee, R. (2003). Storytelling that moves people. *Harvard Business Review* 81:5–8.

Merchant, C. (1980). *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and Scientific Revolution*. San Francisco, CA: Harper and Row.

Miller, J.B. (1976). *Toward a New Psychology of Women*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press.

Morgan, G. (1997). *Images of Organization*, 2nd edn. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Noddings, N. (2003). *Caring: A Feminine Approach to Ethics and Moral Education*, 2nd revised edn. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Pless, N. (1998). *Corporate Caretaking: Neue Wege der Gestaltung organisationaler Mitweltbeziehungen*. Marburg: Metropolis.

Pless, N.M. and T. Maak (2004). Building an inclusive diversity culture – Principles, processes and practice. *Journal of Business Ethics* 54:129–147.

Pless, N.M. and T. Maak. (2006). Towards a relational theory of responsible leadership: Paradigmatic thoughts & ethical reflections. Conference manuscript, 66th Annual Meeting of the Academy of Management, Atlanta, GA, August 11–16, 2006.

Pless, N.M. and R. Schneider (2006). Towards developing responsible global leaders: The PwC Ulysses experience. In T. Maak and N. Pless (eds.), *Responsible Leadership*. London/New York, NY: Routledge, 213–226.

Roddick, A. (1991). *Body and Soul: Profits with Principles – The Amazing success Story of Anita Roddick*. New York, NY: Crown Publishers.

Roddick, A. (2000). *Business as Unusual*. London: Thorsons.

Roddick, A. (2002). Interview with Anita Roddick. Conducted by N. Pless, London, February 11.

Roddick, A. (2005). About Dame Anita Roddick. Available http://www.anitaroddick.com/aboutanita.php (accessed July 7, 2005).

Rose, H. (1983). Hand, brain and heart: A feminist epistemology for the natural sciences. *Signs* 9(1):73–90.

Schudson, M. (1998). *The Good Citizen*. New York, NY: The Free Press.

The Body Shop International (2004). *Our reason for being*. Available http://www.thebodyshopinternational.com/web/tbsgl/about_reason.jsp (accessed November 1, 2004).

The Body Shop International (2004c). *What is community trade*. Available http://www.thebodyshopinternational.com (accessed November 1, 2004).

The Body Shop International (2004d). *Our values*. Available http://www.thebodyshopinternational.com/web/tbsgl/values.jsp (accessed November 1, 2004).

The Body Shop International (2004e). *Values Reporting: Individual Stakeholder Accounts for Employees*. Updated as at February 29, 2004. Available http://www.thebodyshopinternational.com/web/tbsgl/images/Employees_ISA_2004.pdf (accessed November 1, 2004).

Wheeler, S. and M. Sillanpää (1997). *The Stakeholder Corporation*. London: Pitman Publishing.

Conclusion

Patricia H. Werhane and Mollie Painter-Morland

This collection of seemingly disparate essays is held together by a number of overlapping and important themes, questions and assumptions. A basic assumption underlies all these chapters. That assumption is that leadership models are socially constructed, and how they are constructed has very real consequences for women leaders. The limited number of women in top leadership positions in organizations attests to the fact that some of these leadership models are gender biased while at the same time ingrained into our thinking. It is our contention that a lot will need to be changed to create a space within which women and girls can successfully play their leadership roles. The question is: What are the most fruitful ways to go about procuring these changes? We start with an analysis of earlier feminist strategies in order to develop a historical context for our new proposals.

The women's movement in the 1960s began as a protest against male dominated leadership in education, health care, politics and commerce. Underlying that protest was a deeply rooted critique of socially constructed hierarchical models of leadership and the attempt to refocus that construction. At least in America these individualistic hierarchical models derived their philosophical impetus from the 18th individualism on which that country was founded, an almost universally accepted viewpoint, as the great French raconteur of America in the nineteenth century, Alexis DeTocqueville discovered (De Tocqueville, 1851). The confusion, of course, was a misidentification of individualism with hierarchical and male-dominated models of leadership and the dismissal of Adam Smith's insight over 200 years ago that "Man can subsist only in society... All the members of human society stand in need of each others assistance..." (Smith, 1759; II.ii.3.1) This way of defining leadership as "Gardner" has dominated most of the literature on leadership almost until the twenty-first century. More importantly, the domination of that mental model is often depicted as THE definition of leadership rather than a socially constructed (and thus revisable) Western male mindset. It is that mindset that is persistently under attack in these essays.

To revise these allegedly traditional mindsets, each essay tries both to challenge the individualistic, hierarchical leadership model and to replace it with new models of leadership that are more inclusive, more relational and fit better in this new century of globalization. We start with an analysis of the options available to women in their quest for recognition of their leadership roles. It seems that there are basically

the following options: (1) Make the uniqueness claim, i.e. emphasizing the unique leadership capacities that women have, and the valuable role it plays within contemporary organizations. This position mainly draws on women's capacity for an "ethics of care" and "transformational leadership"; (2) Make the equality and human rights claim, i.e. arguing that men and women have equal rights, equal opportunities and equal capacities; (3) Argue that gender is socially constructed, and that these constructions do influence, in very real terms, what women, and men, can or cannot do within their leadership role. Feminist theorists have criticized the "valorization" (1st) and universal humanist (2nd) positions because of the oversimplifications and/or generalizations that characterize these accounts. The hierarchical, binary nature of accounts of gender within the 1st positions and the abstract universalizing characteristics of the 2nd position were explained as the result of social constructions, which in and of themselves display specific power interests. The 3rd position therefore does not deny the 1st or 2nd positions, but argues that both the uniqueness claim and the equality claim draw on social constructions arising from particular performative utterances, which often go unchallenged (This schematic analysis is our own, but draws on insights derived from Ely and Padavic (2007)); (4) This position poses various challenges to the social constructivist approach's preoccupation with language, categories and labels. This could be described as a materialist account, which wants to take the embodied reality of women seriously. Some, such as Elizabeth Grosz, point out that nominalist arguments about categories and labels do not resolve the real and very particular material challenges that women face. Grosz argues that we should focus on how real material forces enable certain representations, rather than focusing on representation itself (Kontturi and Tiaimen, 2007). This critique is also related to the fact that social constructivism often uncritically assume that women can easily "reframe" or "rewrite" their own stories and thereby change their realities. This puts an undue burden on women and also underestimates the engrained societal beliefs, prejudices, and material conditions that resist conscious reformulation.

In this volume, we started with papers that defend the uniqueness claim, drawing on research that emphasizes the large contribution that women make as transformational leaders, or leaders with moral imagination. However, the various papers in this volume also recognize that perceptions regarding the unique capacities of women influence the functioning of women as "transformational leaders", "relational leaders", or "systemic leaders". As such, the authors deal with the available "archetypes", but maintain a strong commitment to the position that these are social constructions that can and should be challenged. An awareness of the difficulties in changing the tacit influences that inform social constructions is also displayed in many of the chapters.

The question of how these social constructions can be challenged and changed therefore requires a more in-depth analysis from the perspective of systems thinking. A substantial part of the volume draws our attention to the systemic context within which these social constructions are created, maintained and challenged. Without an understanding of the tacit influences that impact leadership dynamics in various contexts, no change is possible. Werhane begins with the claim that even seemingly innate ingrained habits can be revised, and thus we can change our thinking about

leadership. Collier and Estaban redefine leadership as systems-based, and point out some of the inherent paradoxes of these organizational systems. Uhl-Bien and her co-authors develop a more theoretical framework for what they call "complexity leadership". Painter-Morland draws out the challenges that complex adaptive organizations pose and analyzes how the circulation of tacit influences may both foreclose and enable the emergence of new models for leadership. These chapters suggest that a more relational definition of leadership will provide a better fit for complex organizations and systems in today's global political economies. The question is whether there is sufficient openness towards such leadership models and whether the conditions for nurturing them exist in organizations.

The influence of organizational dynamics on the emergence of leadership models is another pervasive theme in these essays. These authors agree with Amatai Etzioni that "[W]e are born in organizations, educated by organizations, and most of us spend much of our lives working for organizations. We spend much of our leisure time paying, playing and praying in organizations. Most of us will die in an organization, and when the time comes for burial, the largest organization of all – the state – must grant official permission." (Etzioni, 1964, p. 1) New formulations of leadership are embedded in organizations and the systems in which and with which they interact. As a result, they rely on environments conducive to systemic leadership dynamics. Collier and Esteban, Uhl-Bien et al, and Painter-Morland all argue that certain nurturing conditions have to be present for systemic leadership to flourish. These include openness towards criticism, a commitment to participative decision-making and collaboration, building trust and displaying humility. New models of leadership are complex, collaborative, nourishing, and transformative in their effects on an organization. Such adjectives are often identified with women in leadership positions, as Rosener and Werhane point out. Of course that need not be the case, and many men in identified leadership positions exhibit these characteristics as well.

This approach presents a clear alternative to top-down leadership thinking. Because we are embedded in organizations that themselves are part of larger complex adaptive systems, leadership must be grounded there rather than in a mind set that imagines that there is a vertical hierarchy rather than the interweaving of networks. One might speculate that it is odd that such models are so late in emerging in our social histories. Human beings have been embedded in political, religious and economic networks since the beginning of recorded history, and since the industrial revolution the Western world, at least, human individuals in networked relationships have developed complex economic enterprises that are embedded in local, national and global systems. The embeddedness of leadership challenges organizational hierarchical models that depict the leader at the pinnacle of the organization with various ranks of followers cascading below in a triangular modality. While recognizing that leadership is that, leading, and thus there are likely to be followers at various levels or a large organization despite collaboration and a flattened hierarchy, these essays reflect a different formulation of "hierarchy." As James D. Thomson puts it,

> . . . it is unfortunate that [hierarchy] has come to stand almost exclusively for degrees of highness or lowness, for this tends to hide the basic significance of hierarchy for complex organizations. Each level is not simple higher than the one below, but is a more inclusive

clustering, or combination of interdependent groups, to handle those aspects of coordination which are beyond the scope of any of its components. (Thompson, quoted in Scott, 1987, p. 36.)

Despite the optimism that many of the chapters display in terms of the excellent fit between "systemic leadership" or "relational leadership" and contemporary organizational needs, the authors are also very realistic about the fact that we still have a very long way to go before women will comfortably occupy leadership positions. What seems to be a reoccurring phenomenon is that organizations that fail to create these non-hierarchical models are alien to women and as a result, women are increasingly leaving those organizations. This exodus is highly questionable if companies want to model themselves as diverse organizations. This volume draws on existing research into the factors required for successful and sustainable women's leadership, but it also questions some of the conventional wisdom in this regard. Often, despite the existence of support structures such as women's networks and mentorship programs, women still find themselves excluded from the "boys' club" that dictates who and what is considered as "ideal leaders". These dynamics exist as a result of beliefs and prejudices that persist despite formal policy to the contrary. It also has to do with the very real, material forces that women encounter in their environment. Much more research has to be done on this last aspect, and in this regard, authors in gender, leadership and organization need to draw on the work done in contemporary philosophical feminism.

The need for more nuanced analyses of the inhibiting forces that women encounter is urgent. There is no doubt that much is overlooked in the blindspots that our current theorizing about women's leadership display, with real effects in practice. In a recent study Catalyst, a U.S think tank, points out that multinational companies that have three or more women in senior executive positions and/or at least three women on their Boards have up to 33% greater return on their investments than similar companies with fewer women in senior positions! (Catalyst, 2010). So it is to long-term economic peril of economic organizations not to recognize the talents of women and reorganize their leadership models. And indeed, women and girls often find alternative ways of leading themselves outside, alongside, and sometimes even despite of formal organizations and institutions. When left to their own devices, as McCartney and Tedmanson demonstrate, women can self-organize is very promising ways. These leadership initiatives must be acknowledged and celebrated, and organizational theories may learn a great deal from studying it.

Taken together these essays present new thinking about complex systemic leadership that represents critical components in this century of globalization. Unfortunately, this volume does not offer an integrated thesis on what this new leadership model should entail. In fact, doing so may have been a bit premature. Much more research, both in the theoretical and the empirical realms, will be required before this is possible. What we did instead is to offer various interdisciplinary perspectives on what we believe are important trends in the study of gender, leadership, and organization. We hope that these perspectives will stimulate the process of drafting more detailed integrated theoretical positions on gender, leadership and organization, which can then lead to empirical explorations.

In our minds, one of the most important contributions made by a collection of this sort, is that it highlights trends and reasserts questions that have to be answered in the process of theory formulation. One of the most salient elements in this collection is the fact that contemporary leadership dynamics are *relational.* This insight is not necessarily new, but the implications of this may not have been fully thought through. As Joanne Cuilla (2004, p. xv) states, "Leadership is not a person or a position. It is a complex moral relationship between people, based on trust, obligation, commitment, and emotion and a shared vision of the good." The question that this perspective elicits is where this takes us in terms of our thinking around gender, leadership, and organization.

We believe that it holds great potential for drawing on the diverse strengths of various individuals in navigating the turbulent waters of our time. Global leadership, as conceived in these essays is defined as "a process by which [diverse groups of people] are empowered to work together synergistically toward a common vision and common goals..." (Austin and Leland, 1991, p. 8). Given this definition all of these authors would agree with Nancy Adler's claim that "global leaders.... address people worldwide... [G]lobal leadership is neither domestic nor multidomestic: it focuses on cross-cultural interaction." (Adler, 1997, p. 175). As free enterprise spreads globally in diverse cultural settings, there are both opportunities and needs for the new leadership models developed in these essays. Enterprises that fail to recognize this simple conclusion will probably fail in these developing markets as well.

References

Adler, N.L. (1997). Global leadership: Women leaders. *Management International Review* 37: 172–196.

Astin, H.S. and C. Leland (1991). *Women of Influence, Women of Vision*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.

Catalyst (2010). www.catalyst.org (accessed May 21, 2010).

Ciulla, J. (2004). *Ethics, the Heart of Leadership*, 2nd edn. Westport CT: Praeger.

De Tocqueville, A. (1851). *Democracy in America*. New York, NY: A.S. Barnes & Co.

Ely, R. and I. Padavic (2007). A feminist analysis of organizational research on sex difference. *Academy of Management Review* 32(4):1121–1143.

Etzioni, A. (1964). *Modern Organizations*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Kontturi, K.-K. and M. Tiainen (2007). Feminism, Art, Deleuze, and Darwin: An interview with Elizabeth Grosz. *NORA – Nordic Journal of Women's Studies* 15(4):246–256.

Scott, W.R. (1987). *Organizations: Rational, Natural, and Open Systems*, 2nd edn. Englewood Cliffs NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Smith, A. (1759, 1790, 1976). In D.D. RaphaelandA.L. Macfie (eds.), *Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

About the Authors

Yvonne Benschop is Professor of Organizational Behavior at the Institute for Management Research Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands. Current research interests include the organizational changes brought about by gender mainstreaming and diversity management and the gendering dynamics of networking and impression management. Recent publications appeared in *Organization*, *Human Relations*, *Gender, Work and Organization* and *Organization Studies*.

Desray Clark is a management consultant, learning integrator and executive personal & leadership coach and facilitator for the People Business Group in South Africa. She received her MBA from the Gordon Institute of Business Science at the University of Pretoria where she teaches part-time. Her research focuses on women executives in South Africana companies.

Jane Collier is a Fellow in Business Ethics and Corporate Accountability at the Judge Business School, Cambridge University. She is the author of many articles on business ethics and leadership. She has served as editor of *Business Ethics: A European Review* and is currently Chair of the Co-Operative Insurance Society, and a member of several international ethics organizations. She has consulted with KPMG on ethics training and is a Trustee of the Institute of Business Ethics in the UK.

Rafael Esteban is a sociologist and a White Father. He works establishing new church communities to serve the needs of the increasing and less fortunate populations in the UK. He does some teaching to groups – mainly on the on issues around the problems created by hierarchical stances within the Catholic Church.

Ine Gremmen is a post doc researcher at the Institute for Management Research of Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands. She has (co-) published on care and ethics in the *Journal of Medical Ethics* and *Nursing Ethics*, on methodology in *Feminism & Psychology*, and on gender and social networks and networking in the *Journal of Management & Organization*.

Mary Hartman, Professor Emeritus at Rutgers University, is a social historian specializing in women's history and gender studies. She served as Dean of Douglass College at Rutgers and initiated a number of nationally recognized programs for

women at Rutgers. She is the author of several books including *Leading the Way: Young Women's Activism for Social Change.*

Nicola Kleyn is a Senior Lecturer in Marketing at the Gordon Institute of Business Science at the University of Pretoria, South Africa. Her fields of expertise are in marketing strategy, branding, consumer behavior and ethics. She has published on marketing and ethics in the *Journal of Business Ethics* and *the International Marketing Review.*

Russ Marion (Clemson University) is author of the books, *The Edge of Organization* (1999) and *Leadership in Education* (2001); co-editor of the book, *Complexity Leadership*; editor of a special issue of *The Leadership Quarterly* on leadership and complexity; and author of numerous articles on leadership, including one that was honored in 2001 as best paper of the year by *The Leadership Quarterly* and the Center for Creative Leadership. He co-organized workshops on complexity leadership at the Center for Creative Leadership and at George Washington University. Marion has presented on complexity leadership at the India Institute of Technology, the Institute for Management Development in Switzerland, in workshops on destructing complex movements at the US Department of Defense, and in a number of conference venues.

Kristin McCartney is a doctoral candidate at DePaul University. Her dissertation reconstructs the influence of lesbian culture(s) within early US women of color feminisms and finds continuities of method and practice between this work and contemporary queer thought that centers coloniality, gender nonconformity, disability, serostatus, and reproductive justice. McCartney has articles forthcoming in International Studies in Philosophy and Radical Philosophy Review.

Bill McKelvey (PhD, MIT, 1967) is Professor of Strategic Organizing, Complexity Science and Econophysics at the UCLAAnderson School. Current research: Complexity & Power-law Science, "smart parts" logistics, coevolution of Aristotelian causes, complexity leadership, stock-market volatilies, memetics, IS/IT alignment, practitioner-relevance of b-schools, & agent-based computational modeling. He is a co-editor of the Sage Handbook of Complexity and Management; editor of the Routledge Major Work on COMPLEXITY (5 volumes). Has 60+ papers on complexity-science applied to organizations/management.

Mollie Painter-Morland (PhD) is Associate Professor of Philosophy at DePaul University in Chicago and serves as Associate Director of its Institute for Business and Professional Ethics. For many years, she was the Director of the Centre for Business and Professional Ethics at the University of Pretoria in South Africa, and she remains involved there on part-time basis. She is the author of "Business Ethics as Practice: Ethics as the Everyday Business of Business", Cambridge University Press (2008), and co-editor, with Patricia H. Werhane, of "Cutting-edge Issues in Business Ethics: Continental Challenges to Theory and Practice" (Springer, 2008).

Dr. Nicola M. Pless is Associate Professor in the Department of Social Sciences at ESADE Business School (Ramon Llull University) and a former Vice President and

member of the group of directors of a leading international financial services firm. She holds a PhD in Management (University of St. Gallen) and an Executive degree in Clinical Organizational Psychology from INSEAD. She has published three books and several articles in outlets such as Journal of Business Ethics, Academy of Management Learning & Education.

Judy B. Rosener, Professor Emeritus at University of California, Irvine, has taught and done research in the area of diversity for over 30 years. In addition to her path-breaking article we include in this collection, she is the author of *America's Competitive Secret, Women Managers* at Oxford University. She is currently working on a book about sex-based brain, hormonal and Socialization differences between men and women. She is an active member of the International Women's Forum.

Deirdre Tedmanson is a Lecturer in the School of Psychology, Social Work and Social Policy at the University of South Australia where she teaches social analysis, community development and project management. Deirdre's research interests include social and political theory; critical organizational studies; gender and sociocultural factors in entrepreneurship; post-colonialism; Indigenous movements, governance, and social justice and participatory action research methodologies. She has won a number of academic awards for excellence in research and community engagement.

Mary Uhl-Bien is Howard Hawks Chair in Business Ethics and Leadership and Co-Director of the Institute for Innovative Leadership at the University of Nebraska. Her research interests are complexity leadership, relational leadership, and followership. She is senior editor of the Leadership Horizons series for Information Age Publishers and is on the editorial boards of *Academy of Management Journal, Academy of Management Review, The Leadership Quarterly, Leadership,* and *International Journal of Complexity in Leadership and Management*.

Patricia H. Werhane is the Wicklander Chair of Business Ethics and Managing Director of the Institute for Business and Professional Ethics at DePaul University and Professor Emeritus at the University of Virginia. Professor Werhane has published numerous articles and is the author or editor of over twenty-five books including *Moral Imagination and Management Decision-Making.* She is the founder and former Editor-in-Chief of *Business Ethics Quarterly*, and she is an Academic Advisor to the Business Roundtable Institute for Corporate Ethics and an active member of The Chicago Network, a forum for women leaders.

Name Index

Subject Index