Chapter 2
Leadership and Change Management: Examining Gender, Cultural and 'Hero Leader' Stereotypes

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2.1 Introduction

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

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

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2.2   Theoretical Framework

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

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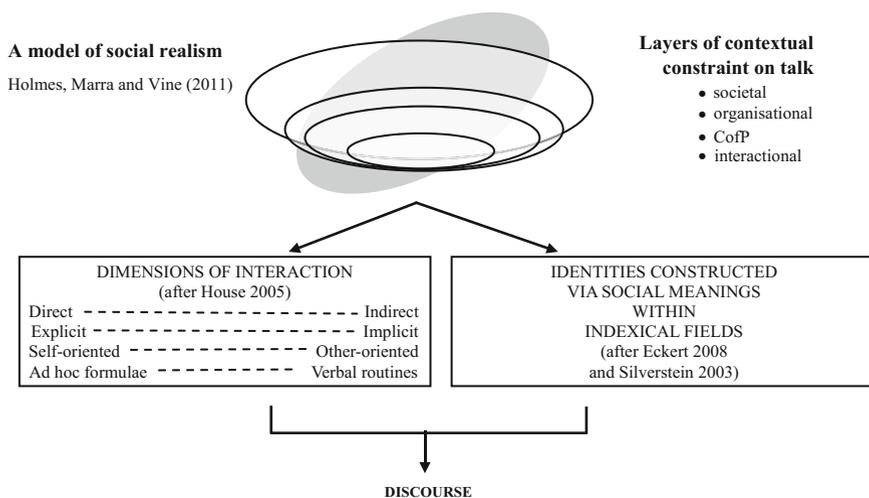

Fig. 2.1 A model of social realism

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

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

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

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[1]See also Nadler and Tushman (1990).

2.3   Methodology and Database

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

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

   The complete Language in the Workplace Project Corpus currently comprises more than 2000 interactions, involving 700 participants from 30 different New Zealand workplaces which include commercial organisations, government departments, small businesses, factories, building sites and eldercare facilities. The data used for the analysis below draws from material recorded in meetings in professional white-collar workplaces, as well as interviews conducted after the recording phase with workplace leaders. I conducted the interviews with female leaders, while Brad Jackson, an expert in leadership and a Research Associate of our team, conducted the interviews with male leaders. The first section of the analysis addresses the issue of gendered stereotypes of leadership, using a case study of a Pākehā[3] woman leader in a national organisation to examine the complex reality of leadership in action. The second section focusses on cultural stereotypes, drawing on a case study of a Māori leader in a Māori national organisation to illustrate how a modern Māori leader enacts leadership in a context where competing cultural expectations operate. The third section challenges the hero leader stereotype more generally. Using a case study of a Pākehā man in a commercial company, the analysis demonstrates that the reality of leadership often involves shared or distributed responsibility with leadership a constantly shifting and dynamic construction. The final section provides a discussion of the ways in which the three case studies illustrate that gender, cultural and hero leadership stereotypes quickly fragment when we begin to examine how specific leaders operate in particular workplace contexts.

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

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

2.4 Analysis

2.4.1 *Gender and Leadership Stereotypes*

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

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

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

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

2.4.1.1 Penelope

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

Excerpt 1
Context: interview with Penelope, Chief Executive.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Excerpt 2

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

1.   Penelope: I think responsibility's probably a better word

2.   than power or [breathy laughs]: authority:

3.   XX   mm

4.   Penelope: it's respon/sibility\\

5.   XX: //mm\

6.   Penelope: that those people have and accountability um +

7.   and sometimes that can be a bit isolating /you know\\

8.   XX :   //mm\

9.   Penelope: to hold that responsibility they might not

10.   the peer group might be elsewhere as you were saying

11.   if their peers are elsewhere in the organisation um

12.   but I mean if I- I- I don't think any of us

13. XX: mm mm

14. Penelope: it's clear from what's been said

15.   anybody has a problem with you trialling a new title

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

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

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

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

Excerpt 3

Context: Senior management team meeting of a national organisation.

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

Everyone participates in this brief humorous exchange which builds on Ralph's metaphor for the loss of income as a bleeding wound (line 1), but it is Penelope who leads the diversion with her comment *we're no longer haemorrhaging it's just a slow seepage* (lines 4–5) which elicits general laughter. Scott's extension *a bit of incontinence* (line 9) generates more laughter and evokes a mock dismayed response from Penelope, *oh dear* (line 11). Howard's metalinguistic comment *the image is wonderful isnt it* (line 13) brings the diversion to a close as he follows this with a comment which returns to the serious accounting topic, *on the income side*

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

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

2.4.2   Culture and Leadership Stereotypes

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.4.2.1 Daniel[6]

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

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

Excerpt 4
Context: interview with Daniel, Chief Executive.

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

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

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

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

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

Excerpt 5
Context: interview with Daniel, Chief Executive.

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

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

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

Excerpt 6

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

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

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

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

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

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

Excerpt 7
Context: senior managers' meeting at Kiwi Consultations; the team consists of two men and two women.

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.5   The Hero Leader Stereotype: Seamus

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

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

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

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

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

Excerpt 8

Context: interview with Seamus, Managing Director.

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

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

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

Excerpt 9

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Excerpt 10
Context: interview with Jaeson, General Manager. Paul is the Sales Manager.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Excerpt 11
Context: meeting of three managers at NZ Productions.

  1. Jae   that's the + that's that's the next question

  2.   what what sort of music do we do …

  3.   (sales jingles) go down really well..

  4.   //*sings a tune*]\

  5. Anna: /+ [laughs]\\

  6. Bren: what about

  7. Jae: //[*sings another tune*]\...

       Lots of suggestions for songs

  8. Jae: (Māori song) that's always good

  9.   normally requires the organ //[*sings a tune*][laughs]\

  10. Anna: /well maybe we could use you as back-up you know [laughs]\\

  11.   and a special guest appearance

  12. Jae: I could be the wind section

  13. Anna: //[laughs]\ oh Brendon did an impromptu talk on gas

  14. Jae: /[laughs]\\

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

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

Excerpt 12
Context: Senior management meeting at NZ Productions.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.6   Discussion and Conclusion

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

2.7   Transcription Conventions

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

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

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

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

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