

Cultural Leadership in Practice: Leadership Identity Construction in the Australian Arts and Cultural Sector

by

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I certify that the work in this thesis has not previously been submitted for a degree nor has it been submitted as part of requirements for a degree except as part of the collaborative doctoral degree and/or fully acknowledged within the text.

I also certify that the thesis has been written by me. Any help that I have received in my research work and the preparation of the thesis itself has been acknowledged. In addition, I certify that all information sources and literature used are indicated in the thesis.

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ABSTRACT

Leadership in the Australian arts and cultural sector has become, in recent decades, a prominent topic of discussion. On one hand, there is increased corporatisation in the arts that promotes leaders with strong business orientations, on the other, questions asked about the role arts leaders play in shaping our cultural and intellectual life. In these debates, we are left wondering what constitutes effective arts and cultural leadership, and how we develop it. While there is substantial research on leadership in arts and cultural organisations, it focuses predominantly on established leaders and often neglects large sections of the industry where leadership is practiced in flexible, often precarious, labour markets. We know little of how arts and cultural leaders are developed in the context of sole traders, casual workers and volunteers who are unlikely to access leadership development through traditional channels discussed in management literature. This research explores the development of leadership identity within the Australian arts and cultural sector examining nine disciplinary based cases that are within, across and outside the more frequently researched organisational context. Interviews were conducted with 41 practitioners in the disciplines of theatre, film, music, advertising, digital design, design and craft, visual arts, festival and event curation, and fashion and blogging. It uses social constructionist theories of leadership, identity and development as a theoretical lens to demonstrate how emerging leaders develop an often-complex relationship with leadership. In the face of identity regulation, or intentional social processes that impact identity construction and reconstruction, some arts and cultural emerging leaders demonstrate resistance to identifying as a leader, even when engaged in leadership practice. Building on critical approaches to leadership and leadership development, this thesis establishes that emerging leaders who engage in communities of practice, or collaborative practice that involves joint enterprise, mutual engagement and shared repertoire, are less likely to be reluctant leaders. Leadership identity development within communities of practice offers a space for positive construction of leadership identity within creative practice, mitigating against identity regulation, broadens leadership understanding and provides alternate strategies to the more individualistically oriented leader development models found in industry and organisational theory. From the case studies, five leadership

personas are formulated that demonstrate differing relationships arts and cultural workers have to leadership. This research contributes to theories of critical leadership and leadership development, particularly in the arts and cultural sector, while also offering practical recommendations to enhance industry-based leadership development.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	III
ABSTRACT	V
LIST OF FIGURES	X
1. INTRODUCTION	11
1.1. THE RESEARCH SETTING.....	14
<i>The Australian Arts and Cultural Leadership Landscape</i>	17
1.2. EXPLORATION OF KEY CONCEPTS.....	20
1.3. JUSTIFICATION FOR THE RESEARCH	30
1.4. RESEARCH QUESTION	32
1.5. RESEARCH DESIGN	34
1.6. STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS	35
2. LITERATURE REVIEW	39
2.1. LEADERSHIP THEORY	39
<i>Why Leadership?</i>	41
<i>Trait, Behavioural and Contingencies Theories</i>	42
<i>Transformational, Charismatic and Authentic Leadership</i>	44
<i>Critical Approaches to Leadership</i>	46
<i>Creative and Cultural Leadership</i>	50
2.2. LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT THEORY.....	54
<i>Leadership Development Techniques</i>	56
<i>Lived Experience and Leadership Development</i>	58
<i>Social Learning Theory and Communities of Practice</i>	59
<i>Leadership Development in the Australian Arts and Cultural Sector</i>	62
2.3. IDENTITY THEORY	64
<i>Functionalist Approaches to Leadership Identity</i>	65
<i>Social Identity Theory</i>	67
<i>Interpretative and Critical Approaches to Leadership Identity</i>	69
2.4. RELUCTANT LEADERSHIP	72
2.5. SUMMARY.....	75
3. RESEARCH PROCESS	79
3.1. RESEARCH QUESTION AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS	81
3.2. RESEARCH APPROACH	88
<i>Application of a Case Study Approach</i>	89
<i>Participant Sourcing and Interview Process</i>	90
<i>Thematic Narrative Analysis</i>	97
<i>The Role of the Researcher</i>	99
<i>Ethics</i>	102
<i>Presentation of Findings</i>	104
<i>Research Quality Criteria</i>	104
3.3. SUMMARY.....	107

4.	INDUSTRY SECTORS: AN OVERVIEW OF THE CASE STUDIES.....	108
4.1.	THE AUSTRALIAN ARTS AND CULTURAL SECTOR	109
	<i>The Precarious Labour Market of the Arts and Cultural Sector</i>	<i>115</i>
4.2.	INTRODUCING THE NINE CASE STUDIES	119
	<i>Theatre</i>	<i>121</i>
	<i>Film</i>	<i>122</i>
	<i>Music</i>	<i>124</i>
	<i>Advertising.....</i>	<i>126</i>
	<i>Digital Design.....</i>	<i>129</i>
	<i>Design and Craft</i>	<i>131</i>
	<i>Visual Arts.....</i>	<i>133</i>
	<i>Festival and Event Curation</i>	<i>135</i>
	<i>Fashion/Blogging.....</i>	<i>137</i>
4.3.	SUMMARY.....	139
5.	LEADERSHIP IN THE AUSTRALIAN ARTS AND CULTURAL CONTEXT	141
5.1.	HOW PARTICIPANTS ENGAGE WITH THEIR COMMUNITIES.....	141
	<i>Theatre</i>	<i>142</i>
	<i>Film</i>	<i>144</i>
	<i>Music</i>	<i>147</i>
	<i>Advertising.....</i>	<i>149</i>
	<i>Digital Design.....</i>	<i>151</i>
	<i>Design and Craft/Visual Arts</i>	<i>152</i>
	<i>Festival and Event Curation/Fashion/Blogging</i>	<i>155</i>
5.2.	LEADERSHIP ACROSS THE CASE STUDIES.....	157
5.3.	WHAT THE CASE STUDIES REVEAL ABOUT ARTS AND CULTURAL SECTOR LEADERSHIP	161
	<i>Leadership is Strongly Associated with Headship.....</i>	<i>162</i>
	<i>Leadership Development is Individualistic in Approach.....</i>	<i>164</i>
	<i>Arts and Cultural Leaders are Visionary.....</i>	<i>165</i>
	<i>Personality and Leadership are Strongly Associated</i>	<i>166</i>
	<i>Successful Arts and Cultural Leaders Combine Leadership with Practice</i>	<i>167</i>
5.4.	SUMMARY.....	169
6.	CONTRIBUTORS TO LEADERSHIP IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION	171
6.2.	EVIDENCE OF IDENTITY REGULATION IN THE ARTS AND CULTURAL SECTOR	174
	<i>Knowledge and Skills</i>	<i>174</i>
	<i>Definition</i>	<i>177</i>
	<i>Group Categorisation/Affiliation</i>	<i>180</i>
	<i>Hierarchical Location</i>	<i>180</i>
	<i>Rules of the Game.....</i>	<i>181</i>
	<i>Gender Roles and Leadership Identity</i>	<i>183</i>
	<i>Active Participation in Leadership Discourse</i>	<i>186</i>
	<i>Location</i>	<i>189</i>
	<i>Egalitarianism.....</i>	<i>192</i>
6.3.	SUMMARY.....	194

7.	THE IMPACT OF IDENTITY REGULATION ON LEADERSHIP IDENTITY.....	196
7.1.	LACK OF CONFIDENCE.....	197
7.2.	LEADERSHIP RELUCTANCE	199
7.3.	BUILDING POSITIVE LEADERSHIP IDENTITY.....	208
	<i>Evidence of Communities of Practice in the Research Case Studies</i>	<i>208</i>
	<i>How Communities of Practice Support Positive Leadership Identity Construction</i>	<i>212</i>
7.4.	SUMMARY.....	218
8.	THE LEADER PERSONAS	223
8.1.	CONSTRUCTING THE PERSONAS: THE ROLE OF SENSEMAKING	223
	<i>Communities of Practice as Sites of Sensemaking</i>	<i>224</i>
	<i>Interviews as Sites of Sensemaking</i>	<i>225</i>
	<i>Research Process as the Site of Sensemaking.....</i>	<i>226</i>
8.2.	LEADER PERSONAS.....	227
	<i>The Collector</i>	<i>227</i>
	<i>The Learner.....</i>	<i>231</i>
	<i>The Outsider</i>	<i>234</i>
	<i>The Underdog</i>	<i>237</i>
	<i>The Community Builder</i>	<i>239</i>
8.3.	THE LEADERSHIP PERSONAS IN CONTEXT	240
8.4.	HOW THE PERSONAS HELP SUPPORT ARTS AND CULTURAL LEADERSHIP	244
8.5.	SUMMARY.....	245
9.	CONCLUSION.....	249
9.1.	KEY FINDINGS OF THE RESEARCH STUDY	250
9.2.	IMPLICATIONS FOR THEORY AND PRACTICE	254
	<i>Theoretical Implications</i>	<i>255</i>
	<i>Practical Implications.....</i>	<i>258</i>
9.3.	LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	267
9.4.	FURTHER RESEARCH DIRECTIONS.....	269
9.5.	A PERSONAL REFLECTION.....	271
	APPENDIX 1: INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH.....	274
	APPENDIX 2: CANDIDATE INFORMATION SHEETS	276
	PRIMARY PARTICIPANTS.....	276
	SECONDARY PARTICIPANTS.....	278
	APPENDIX 3: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROMPTS	280
	APPENDIX 4: DEMOGRAPHICS OF PARTICIPANTS.....	281
	BIBLIOGRAPHY	284

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE 1: IDENTITY REGULATION, IDENTITY WORK AND SELF-IDENTITY	83
FIGURE 2: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN RESEARCH STAKEHOLDERS	100
FIGURE 3: UNESCO FRAMEWORK FOR CULTURAL STATISTICS	113
FIGURE 4: THEATRE PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS	121
FIGURE 5: FILM PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS.....	123
FIGURE 6: MUSIC PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS	125
FIGURE 7: ADVERTISING PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS.....	128
FIGURE 8: DIGITAL DESIGN PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS.....	130
FIGURE 9: DESIGN AND CRAFT PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS	132
FIGURE 10: VISUAL ARTS PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS	134
FIGURE 11: FESTIVAL AND EVENT CURATION PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS	136
FIGURE 12: FASHION/BLOGGING PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS	138
FIGURE 13 (DUPLICATE): RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE RESEARCH STAKEHOLDERS.....	224
TABLE 1: RELUCTANT LEADERSHIP DEMONSTRATED BY KEY STATEMENTS.....	203
TABLE 2: SUMMARY OF LEADER PERSONA ATTRIBUTES.....	248

1. INTRODUCTION

This research contributes to understanding leadership identity development within the Australian arts and cultural sector. Leadership is increasingly pertinent to arts and culture. Debates about the intersection of creativity, leadership and organisational success have spurred conversations regarding appropriate leadership styles and provided lessons about what constitutes effective praxis to stimulate innovation in the broader economy. While there are significant academic and popular contributions to leadership theory and leadership development, how emerging leaders develop in the Australian arts and cultural sector is less understood, and literature on development of leadership identity is smaller still. Assuming that leadership can be a valuable contributor to organisational, societal and individual success, understanding how leaders are developed in the creative context is of interest both academically and of potential benefit to the cultural economy.

Why is embracing leadership identity important to the Australian arts and cultural sector? Strong leadership is seen as influential in organisational success, while studies also link creativity and leadership, demonstrating that leadership, or at least certain types of leadership are “apparently related to creativity and innovation in ‘real-world’ settings” and that “the influence tactics used by leaders apparently affect people’s willingness to engage in, and the likely success of, creative ventures” (Mumford et al. 2002, p. 707). However, cultural leadership is more than achieving organisational or individual performance measures. It is about the formation and implementation of a grand vision for humanity’s future—an argument best articulated by an artist, the former head of the Queensland Theatre Company and Sydney Festival Director, Wesley Enoch:

Do you want a world where Art and Artists are seen as central to Australian life?

Do you think creative thinking and imagination is important for everyone in a society? Do you want the lives of all citizens enhanced, reflected and celebrated through Art?

THEN, WHAT THE F..K ARE YOU DOING TO MAKE THAT A REALITY?

Do you want to make this country the best version of itself you can? Do you want to make the culture of this country one of engagement, debate and civic pride? Do you want to see a world where the stories that excite us are about us, or give meaning to our lives?

Do you want to create work that transforms, transports and transcends?

Do you want the skills to demonstrate, persuade and convince the doubters of the world?

....

I'm looking for Cultural Leadership. Do you know where I should look?

(Enoch 2014, p. 4)

Starting from a position that art is important for society and that cultural leaders support the expansion of creativity, then there is a need for strong, visible cultural leadership in Australia. Thus, taking Enoch's lead, where should we look for arts and cultural leadership? In addition, what do we see when looking for leadership in today's arts and cultural environment? If "cultural leadership starts with artists being leaders" (Enoch 2014, p. 67), then we need insight not only into how artists become leaders, but the relationship between artistic praxis and leadership, or as Raelin (2007 p. 501) describes it "not only what one does but also what one thinks about what one and others do".

The research engages with the themes of leadership, development and identity and uses social constructionist concepts as a theoretical and methodological lens to consider identity development across nine case studies in the arts and culture sector. DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 627) define the investigation of leadership identity construction as, "the relational and social processes involved in coming to see oneself, and being seen by others, as leader or a follower" and this research considers these processes within the creative environment. Importantly, while most leadership research positions development and identity within organisational boundaries, the flexible and often precarious nature of the cultural labour market necessitates situating the research within a broader context to gain access to a full range of experiences. It is important to unshackle the notion of leadership from organisational hierarchy or position.

Undertaking a managerial role does not always confer leadership status, while other individuals may be recognised as ‘leader-like’ by their communities despite holding no position of formal authority (DeRue & Ashford 2010, p. 627).

Considering the high proportion of sole traders, flexible, casual workers and volunteers working in the arts and cultural sector, many workers are unlikely to access leadership development through the traditional developmental channels discussed in management and organisational literature. In addition, given resource constraints, cultural workers are less likely than their corporate counterparts to participate in organisationally driven development of a programmatic nature. This does not mean, however, that the arts and cultural sector is not supporting the development of leadership identity in emerging leaders— it just means we need to look elsewhere to see that development.

Artists and cultural workers are active participants in social learning. Social learning is “a change in understanding that goes beyond the individual to become situated within wider social units or communities of practice through social interactions between actors within social networks” (Reed et al., 2010, p. 4). These professional developmental groups, known as communities of practice (Wenger 1998), can exist outside and across organisational perimeters and are recognisable by the presence of joint enterprise, mutual engagement and shared repertoire. While there is some debate around what constitutes the “community” in communities of practice, Amin and Roberts have created a typology of “knowledge in action” that highlights the ways practitioners can engage in shared practice— through craft and task-based actions, professional activity, creative practice and virtual spaces (Amin & Roberts 2008, p. 357). Communities of practice and other collaborative spaces form pseudo-organisational locations of work, but are also instrumental in contributing to leadership identity formation of those working within them. This thesis demonstrates that those actively engaged within communities of practice develop a leadership identity that supports their creative output and reduces the destabilisation that can occur from identity work.

Integral to this study is the influence of a framework that explores identity regulation, or “the more or less intentional effects of social practices upon processes of identity construction and reconstruction” that contribute to leadership identity development (Alvesson & Willmott 2002, p. 625). Within the context of this research, identity is seen

as a socially constructed, mutable concept, actively formed by participation in the communities in which creative practitioners work. Various forces, including organisational exertion of control and power or dominant discourse, for example, can contribute to the development of leadership identity. For some participants in this study, the title “leader” is not one they willingly embrace. This reluctance towards leadership may be characterised as a reaction to, and resistance against, the unsettling forces of identity regulation. Individuals are challenged when attempting to create a stable, positive sense of leadership identity in the face of regulation that may lead to a sense of doubt and lack of leadership confidence. What will be made evident, however, is that for some emerging leaders, leadership identity is constructed in a way that aligns with their creative practice, supporting the outcomes they collaboratively achieve within their communities.

While critical leadership approaches to identity tend to consider development activity from a perspective of organisational power and control, recent examinations into leadership development programs demonstrate that they can be spaces of “creation and sustaining of multiple discursive fields where identities inevitably compete, struggle, contradict, lure, seduce, repel, dominate, and surprise” (Carroll & Levy 2010, p. 225). By linking social learning to leadership as praxis, this research takes leadership development theories articulated by critical scholars and demonstrates how emerging leaders within arts and culture are finding a similar space for positive construction of leadership identity in their daily practice. In examining leadership identity development across nine disciplinary based case studies, the research also demonstrates the breadth of leadership culture and the complexity of regulatory influences extant in the arts and cultural sector.

1.1. The Research Setting

In recent years, the arts and cultural sector in Australia has received increasing recognition as an important driver of economic growth. The Australia Council for the Arts report, *Arts Nation* (2015, p. 35), claims that cultural activity makes up around 4 per cent of GDP and employs 8 per cent of the Australian workforce. The report includes traditional core creative arts and the broader cultural ecosystem of “television, radio, print media, design, museums, libraries, archives and environmental and other

cultural heritage” (*Arts Nation* 2015, p. 35). There have been significant economic, political and social debates in recent decades around what constitutes the arts, cultural or creative sectors. For the purposes of this research, the arts and cultural sector includes a “common set of economic (such as the production of goods and services) and social (such as participation in cultural events) activities that traditionally have been regarded as being ‘cultural’” (UNESCO 2009, p. 10). Applying this definition, the research includes arts and cultural activities from a variety of disciplines that span organisational structures, employment types and business models. The disciplines covered in this research (theatre, film, music, advertising, digital design, design and craft, visual arts, festivals and event curation, and fashion and blogging) represent the more traditional “core creative arts” (Throsby 2008, p. 149) but also include wider cultural activities and related sectors. Disciplines such as digital design are increasingly important in the cultural sector from an employment and economic perspective. Participants in this qualitative research demonstrate the labour market fluidity of the modern arts and cultural sector. They often move across disciplines during their career, balancing creative practices with financial aims and working in different organisational constructs.

One of the most distinctive attributes of the arts and cultural sector is its labour market characteristics. The distinguishing patterns of employment and practice make it a singular environment in which to study leadership identity development. First, however, it is important to recognise that not all workers engaged in creative activity are employed within the arts and cultural sector. Studies show that over one-third of creative workers can be classified as “embedded creatives” who work in other sectors of the economy (SGS Economics and Planning 2013, p. 10). Even though this research confines itself to those employed in the arts and cultural sector, both those engaged in creative roles and those conducting support functions, the fact that so many creative workers are employed in other sectors shows both the importance of developing creative capacity and the fluidity of the labour market when it comes to creative opportunities. Second, the arts and cultural sector is dominated by small to medium enterprises with well over 90 per cent employing less than 20 people (SGS Economics and Planning 2013, p. 45). Finally, the arts and cultural sector has an increased tendency towards flexible, casual, contract and volunteer work. While this is described as flexible work practices in some circles, others characterise it less favourably as precarity of employment:

Artists, (new) media workers and other cultural labourers are hailed as ‘model entrepreneurs’ by industry and government figures; they are also conjured in more critical discourses as exemplars of the move away from stable notions of ‘career’ to more informal, insecure and discontinuous employment. (Gill & Pratt 2008, p. 2)

These employment characteristics have significant ramifications for the study of leadership, development and identity within the sector. Traditional managerial or organisational approaches to leadership development tend to revolve around the improvement of performance in the organisational setting (Day 2001). Leadership development is often synonymous with participation in leadership training or interventions along with “development through job experiences, such as on-the-job-training, job-performance evaluations and feedback programs, participation in special projects or task forces, coaching or mentoring, job rotation, succession planning, and career planning” (Collins 2002, p. 42). Given the majority of arts and cultural workers are within small organisations, or undertaking short-term contractual arrangements, exposure to and participation in leadership development may be limited.

The precarious nature of arts and cultural employment, however, coupled with cultural policy industry rhetoric that shapes professional developmental approaches have created an entrepreneurially oriented, individually focused leadership environment that can neglect the economic and labour market reality in which artists and cultural workers actually reside. As McRobbie (2016) argues:

Why has the figure of the artist, who, as a worker, quickly morphs into a kind of busy multi-tasker, and then perhaps even a well-paid executive, come to occupy a prominent place in debates around the potential of the creative industries, when the typical artist is historically associated with sporadic and minimal earnings, with a poverty-line existence, and with unpredictable ‘human resources’ upon which he or she must draw? (p. 70/170)

McRobbie (2016 p. 22/170) suggests that traditional features of working life, such as the ladder of promotion, bureaucracy, and access to a secure workplace, have been “swept away to be replaced by ‘network sociality’” where workplace relationships are

dominated by information exchange, networking and “catching up”. Network sociality, however, neglects the collaborative work practices exemplified in arts and cultural communities’ praxis or similar collaborative work styles that involve “strong and long-lasting ties, proximity and a common history or narrative of the collective” (Wittel 2001, p. 51). In attempts to prepare arts and cultural workers for life in a precarious industry, developmental and educational approaches are oriented towards teaching skills for managing portfolio careers and creating an “entrepreneurial, self-regulated, motivated and individualised workforce” (McRobbie 2016, p. 66/170). This individualistic approach is supported by the programmatic focus on leader development, aimed at improving individual performance without the recognition that leadership is a social process. This thesis questions this reality, however, suggesting that even when practising, individual artists often work collaboratively through groups such as communities of practice.

It is in this context that arts and cultural leadership identity development is explored. The research considers both those working in more traditional organisational environments, for-profit and not-for-profit in nature, but also those working in the flexible, short-term economy. Experiences with formal development programs and training, and organisational influences on leadership identity are positioned alongside those who develop leadership understanding predominantly through their creative praxis. It will be demonstrated that communities of practice play an important role in supporting leadership identity development in a network sociality driven environment.

The Australian Arts and Cultural Leadership Landscape

Academic discussion of leadership within the creative sector focuses on how leadership intersects with creativity (Caust 2005, 2006, 2010); the role of the entrepreneurial arts leader (Rentschler & Geursen 2004); and how dual leadership structures of arts organisations operate (Cray, Inglis & Freeman 2007; MacNeill & Tonks 2013). In particular, the separation of operational management from artistic or creative leadership has been a focus of attention (Lapierre 2001) which has occasionally spilled over into more mainstream cultural discussion (Taylor 2014).

In organisational reality, there has been a “corporatisation” of many Australian creative organisations (Boyle 2008; Cooper & Green 2015), where “we see a growing number of

executive producers and managers being trusted with our cultural institutions” (Enoch 2014, p. 18). Although this trend is linked to the changing economic view of the sector and the broader political and cultural policy landscape (Caust 2003), it is also a reflection of the potential changing nature of creative organisations, such as the reduction of cultural bureaucracies and the increase in commercial counterparts (Hesmondhalgh 2007). Correspondingly, there has been an increase in professionalisation of both “symbol creators” (such as advertising and journalism) and the development of arts management as a career and academic discipline. Considering the role of leaders from an artistic perspective, Enoch (2014) argues that artists and arts leaders have become too satisfied with their position and their embrace by the establishment:

Artists have found comfort in the official culture, loved being looked after by powerful friends at the centre instead of embracing our fringe-dwellerness. Artists have been lured by the offer of official recognition, a recognition we build through consensus, consulting widely, managing well and balancing the books (p. 14).

To be a successful cultural leader today may require delivering on corporate-style objectives as opposed to artistic vision. These changing organisational and role types determine the nature of leaders that flourish in the cultural economy.

For some, the system is due for a shakeup. The only problem is the creative sector is not free enough to pursue economic sustainability unshackled by the weight of public funding (Brisbane 2015). Others believe increased emphasis on commercialisation is negatively impacting the sector (O’Connor 2016). The mix of business and creative goes beyond how organisations are being led and assessed. Neo-liberalism pervades cultural policy and organisations, including the utilisation of corporate sponsorship to fill the void left by a reduction of government support, more emphasis on running cultural organisations as if they were private businesses and shifts in policy from valuing culture to valuing social and economic outcomes (Hesmondhalgh et al. 2014).

These changes in how cultural organisations are measured impacts the way leadership is viewed in the sector. Cultural leaders are no longer just about creating ideas or cultural product, but leading themselves and their organisations to successful and measurable

outcomes—usually in economic terms. McRobbie (2001, p. 8) argues, “The idea of an artist with a business plan in which he or she believed would be ridiculous, now it is unremarkable” and industry support bodies, such as the Australia Council for the Arts and educational providers, are there to provide the skills necessary for the creation of this plan. This approach, however, has its critics. Former artistic director of the Belvoir Street Theatre Company, Ralph Myers, calls for artists to take back leadership from “the suits” (Taylor 2014), while Enoch (2014, p.18) calls out to those in the cultural sector to stand up and “be articulate risk takers, inclusive trend setters, persuasive visionaries and thick skinned, passionate advocates”. There is a view that cultural leaders are too commercially oriented and lack the social and political will to speak out on issues that relate to both the arts and culture, and broader society.

The potential risks for outspoken cultural leaders were highlighted during the 2014 Sydney Biennale. A boycott by some participating artists over principal partner Transfield’s involvement in asylum seeker detention led to not only leadership changes within the Biennale organisation, but a significant backlash against the involved artists (Eltham 2016; Mendelsohn 2014). In 2015, this debate increased with the unforeseen shakeup of arts funding in the Federal Budget (Eltham 2016). Suddenly the need for strong, vocal and influential leadership was perceived as being more important than ever (Goodwin 2015).

This critique of leadership in the cultural space may partly explain why younger leaders in the creative sector are rejecting identifying as leaders. In an interview with *The Guardian* in 2015, rising theatre star Nakkiah Lui exclaimed “I don’t like the word leader, especially when used about me. I wanted to be seen as a person” as if the two were mutually exclusive (Spring 2015). Similarly, Renew Newcastle founder and CEO of the Collingwood Arts Precinct, Marcus Westbury described the idea of leadership as “a bit beyond my pay grade” (Westbury 2015, pers. comm. 22 October 2015). Perhaps emerging leaders like Lui and Westbury feel the weight of expectation that comes from being seen as representing more than just their organisations. Lui contributes regularly to discussions regarding Indigenous issues and gender in arts and culture, while Westbury has been recognised as a champion of the whole maker movement.

Increased economic challenges, coupled with the idea that cultural organisations need to operate more like corporations, leads to the belief that commercially oriented professional leadership development and training will benefit those in the creative industries. Similarly, art and creative education increasingly focuses on development of career skills, because as McRobbie (2016, p. 58/170) argues, “education has become the privileged space for the deployment of the *dispositif* of creativity, a defining feature being the importing of vocabularies from the ‘business school’, which in turn become a new orthodoxy”. The idea of “buying in” leadership capability from outside the sector, either as employees or board members, the mentoring of cultural managers by business leaders or the professionalisation of corporate training in the sector has been growing in recent decades. Organisations like Creative Partnerships Australia are about “bringing business, donors and arts organisations” together to facilitate a more sustainable arts sector (Westwood 2013). This is achieved not just through the donation of funds, but through business mentoring that often fails to recognise the inherent skills within the arts and cultural sector. However, this thesis demonstrates there are alternative leadership development approaches available that recognise and highlight the importance of leadership that emerges from within the industry, rather than the wholesale translation of strategies from other sectors.

1.2. Exploration of Key Concepts

The previous section set the scene by painting a picture of the Australian arts and cultural sector as one populated by small scale organisations with flexible employment practices, operating in a challenging economic environment where leadership is viewed with a critical eye. It also suggested however, that there are differing opinions as to what constitutes effective cultural leadership. It is important then to contextualise the key terms that form the conceptual framework for this study. Using a social constructionist approach, questions emerge around what constitutes leadership and identity for participants, the researcher and readers of this study. This section does not attempt to define these concepts, but explores how theoretical definitions may influence individual construction of concepts and positions the research in the context of some of these associated complexities.

As illustrated previously, workers in the arts and cultural sector are more likely to be self-employed, or work in small companies, and have a high tendency for flexible, casual and contract work. Culturally, as reflected in education and policy, there is a push towards individualistic, neo-liberal career development. This does not mean, however, that creative practitioners within the sector are working or developing their leadership identity in isolation. Many participants in this study bring together likeminded individuals with complementary skillsets to engage in collaborative projects that reflect communities of practice. Leadbeater (2009) argues that increasingly, arts organisations are characterised by decentralisation, openness, evolving structures and collaborative processes. One form these collaborative models take is that of communities of practice. These are “groups of people informally bound together by shared expertise and passion for a joint enterprise” (Wenger & Snyder 2000, p. 139). Unlike more traditional organisational structures, communities of practice are informal and set their own agenda and leadership. In this sense, communities of practice allow us to consider alternate forms of leadership to those reflected in hierarchical environments.

What defines a community of practice? In his original writing on the concept, Wenger was “keen to stress that not all forms of joint work could be labelled communities of practice” (Amin & Roberts 2008, p. 354). Wenger’s construction of community is often counterintuitive to the expected idea of the concept, in the sense that he notes communities are not necessarily harmonious, they are enterprise specific, yet not always recognised by those within it (Cox 2005). Cox (2005, p. 532) goes as far to say it “becomes difficult to see why Wenger used the term community at all since he denies most of our usual assumptions about it, save to express the strength and voluntary, informal, authentic nature of the relationships identified”. Despite these debates, Amin and Roberts (2008) argue there are some recognisable features of communities of practice, including:

- Sustained mutual relationships
- Shared ways of engaging in doing things together
- The rapid flow of information and propagation of innovation
- Absence of introductory preambles
- Very quick setup of a problem to be discussed

- Substantial overlap in participants' descriptions of who belongs
- Knowing what others know, what they can do, and how they can contribute
- Mutually defining identities
- Specific tools, representations, and other artefacts
- Local lore, shared stories, inside jokes
- Jargon and shortcuts to communication
- A shared discourse reflecting a certain perspective on the world

Communities of practice are one of the locations in which we can see arts and cultural leadership in operation and they form a space for development of leadership identity as it occurs within the creative professional context. Communities of practice, however, are not just a different form of workplace boundaries; they function as sites of identity construction through social learning. These communities are spaces of “negotiation, learning, meaning, and identity” (Roberts 2006, p. 624) where knowledge is acquired through participation, rather than transferred by teacher to student. Fourie (2009 pp. 100–101) argues, “The identity of a community is directly linked to its domain. Members build identity through the negotiation of meaning and participation in their communal activities”. Thus, communities of practice are spaces where we can see leadership in the arts and cultural sector, but they are also active contributors to the development of leadership identity itself. They potentially offer a counterpoint to the impacts of identity regulation by providing space for emerging to leaders to understand, construct and re-construct identities while selectively resisting regulatory forces.

Across the nine disciplinary based case studies there are a variety of ways participants engage with each other professionally and developmentally. As will be demonstrated in Chapter Seven, only some of these groups exhibit the attributes scholars characterise as defining communities of practice. Groups or communities that *practice*, rather than those who just engage in networking or share information, support emerging leader identity development in a way that lessens anxiety caused by identity regulation and reduces emerging leader reticence towards leadership.

In discussions of leadership identity construction, it is important to explore leadership conceptually. Barker (1997, p. 343) asks, “How can we train leaders if we do not know what leadership is?” There is substantial leadership literature across several disciplines.

In 1994, in psychology alone, it was estimated that over 7,000 books, articles or presentations have been written on the topic (Hogan, Curphy & Hogan 1994, p. 493). Despite this academic focus, there is no universally accepted definition of leadership, with researchers tending to define leadership in a way that aligns to their “individual perspective and the aspect of the phenomenon of most interest to them” (Yukl 1989, p. 252). Attempts to define leadership are considered to be “futile” given the ease with which they are contested and therefore, leadership has an “eye of the beholder quality” (Zoller & Fairhurst 2007, p. 1338).

As demonstrated in the literature review, there are various theoretical approaches to defining leadership. Many leadership theories, particularly those from positivist perspectives, focus on the role of the individual leader, what sets him or her apart from their peers in terms of qualities, behaviours or outcomes. More critical approaches move beyond this individualistic notion, identifying that leadership is a construction of both leaders and followers engaged in achieving mutually defined goals. Thus, leadership has moved from the actions of an individual to a “process in which leaders are not seen as individuals in charge of followers, but as members of a community of practice” (Horner 1997, p. 277). This approach reflects the spaces, practices or actions that exist between individuals engaged in shared activities. Leaders “construct organisational ‘realities’ and identities in social-psychological processes occurring in relation to other people” (Cunliffe & Eriksen 2011, p. 1429). This construct positions them as agents active in shaping their own leadership identity and the organisational realities around them.

In this context, the thesis explores leadership identity development rather than leader identity development per se. While this could be considered an exercise in semantics, it has important implications for how leaders are developed and construct their identities. While the thesis considers the contribution leadership development makes to the construction of leadership identity, it aligns with Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff (2010, p. 77) who argue “the field of leadership studies has traditionally been leader-centred”. Leadership development is predominantly leader development (Rost 1993), merely focussing on building capacity in the individual to be the agent of influence. Leadership, however, is a process that involves multiple people, is inherently social and is subject to continuous construction and reconstruction. When considering leadership in communities of practice, leadership might be in flux, moving from one member of

the community to another, based on the requirements of the joint enterprise undertaken. Leadership and development are intimately connected, because as “we need to learn or develop our capacity to lead, the reverse is also true— that leading involves challenging others” (Carroll 2015, p. 90/300). This thesis, while starting with emergent leaders, engages with the concepts of leadership and development in a way that includes followers in the research process, recognising that they are potentially interchangeable.

Critical approaches to leadership argue that the concept is so “overused and oversold” that the meaning is no longer “conceptually intact” (Raelin 2014, p. 131). Studies into leadership activity demonstrate the “extra-ordinarisation of the mundane” (Alvesson & Sveningsson 2003, p. 1435) of actual leadership activity, more akin to administrative managerialism than anything more grandiose. Recent approaches to leadership argue that it is collective in nature, distributed in a way that covers multiple actors in an organisation, rather than heroic traits within a single figure. For example, Raelin (2014) states leadership “unfolds through day-to-day experiences” and should be considered a form of practice:

The practice view of leadership does not focus on the dyadic relationship between leaders and followers; rather, it looks to the activity of all those who are engaged, to their social interactions, and to their reflections and adjustments to their ongoing work. Ultimately, leadership becomes a consequence of collaborative meaning-making in practice; in this way, it is intrinsically tied to a collective rather than to an individual model of leadership. (p. 134)

In exploring leadership within the context of communities of practice, this situated view of leadership is significant. It redefines leadership, as Crevani, Lindgren and Packendorff argue (2010, p. 78) “in terms of processes and practices organised by people in interaction...without becoming preoccupied with what formal leaders do and think.” Often, for those developing leadership identities in the arts and cultural sector, leadership may be seen as an external pressure, something required as they reach a certain level of career success or responsibility; alternatively, it can stem from within their practice itself.

Is there a difference between leadership and cultural leadership? If there are, to paraphrase Washbush (2005, p. 1079), as many definitions of leadership as the theorists who create them, then definitions of cultural leadership are conspicuously absent. Arts management approaches to leadership have focused largely on the mechanics of operational management (Caust 2006). Theorists tend to fall into the trap of not defining what cultural leadership is, but defining what cultural leaders do. Recently, a discussion paper released prior to the 7th *World Summit of Arts and Culture* asked, “What is Cultural Leadership?” only to answer this rhetorical question by listing the role attributes of a leader, such as creating vision, impacting social change, taking artistic risks and understanding the needs of stakeholders (Laaksonen & Gardener 2016, p. 68).

Other scholars tend to focus on what makes cultural leadership distinct, the environment in which cultural leadership occurs, or the output of creative workers. In her introduction to *Arts Leadership: International Case studies*, Caust (2013a) identifies the characteristics that make arts leadership potentially different from leadership that exists in other domains. These are the role that the government plays as a funder or stakeholder in arts practice, the intangible nature of creative outcomes and the intrinsic motivations that guide artists and arts leaders that may not exist in other sectors (Caust 2013a, p. xvii). This is not to say that context is not important. Given the social constructionist approach of this research, context is a critical factor in determining leadership identity. Context, however, is a factor that influences the distinctiveness of cultural leadership rather than the unique characteristics of leadership itself.

Maybe turning to artists themselves for a more cultural approach to leadership will yield a more relevant approach. Enoch (2014, p. 10–13) argues that “cultural leadership has become more and more about official culture and over the years the leadership has mostly come from government sources” and that our definition of cultural leadership focuses too closely on the effective running of cultural organisations and institutions rather than “pushing through major evolutionary ideas for the benefit of the nation as a whole”. For Enoch (2014), cultural leadership is much more than the provision of creative goods and services in a cost-effective manner; it is about creating a vision and enlisting others in achieving it:

Artists are at the heart of this relationship between the ‘who we are’ and the ‘who we might become’. Artists synthesise the ephemeral into something tangible for a society and as such are often at the edge of societal change. Cultural leaders are those who can imagine this future and bring others together to support their vision. (p. 12)

Perhaps we have not moved far from 2004, when Hewison (2004, p. 165) noted, “There is still work to be done on identifying what is specific to cultural leadership as opposed to the generic concept of leadership as such”. This statement highlights the challenges for emerging cultural leaders in forming their leadership identity; how do they become leaders when we do not really know what leadership is?

The term, “leadership development”, implies some form of activity that enhances leadership performance. Functionalist approaches to leadership development tend to focus on activities that enhance a leader’s knowledge or capability to undertake tasks associated with leadership. In a review of leadership development studies, Collins (2002) identifies leadership development as the “expansion of an individual’s capacity to be effective in leadership roles, or the stages of growth that promote the expansion of knowledge to expand leadership potential or capacity” (p. 39). Other researchers relate leadership development to the organisational setting, arguing it is improving individual performance for the benefit of the organisation (Day 2001), though this fails to recognise leadership that exists outside and across organisational boundaries. Brungardt’s (1997, p. 83) widely used definition of leadership development takes a whole of life approach: “almost every form of growth or stage of development in the life cycle that promotes, encourages, and assists in one’s leadership potential”. This approach highlights the notion that leadership is not exclusively related to the achievement of organisational or even work success, and that it is a process that occurs over time.

As discussed previously, this thesis particularly explores collaborative work groups such as communities of practice as sites, and facilitators of, leadership identity development. This does not mean, however, that other development methods are ignored. In examining the narratives constructed within arts and cultural communities of practice, the thesis also explores the role that leadership development interventions and on-the-

job experiences have on the construction of leadership identity, both as sites for conceptual expansion and sources of identity destabilisation. Practical considerations are included, based on research outcomes— ways that leadership development activity can more effectively contribute to the development of successful arts and cultural leaders.

The concept of identity is one that intersects with both leadership and development, consequently it is important to contextualise its usage. Taking a critical, constructionist approach, this research defines identity as “temporary and processual constructions that are regularly constituted, negotiated and reproduced in various social interactions” (Sveningsson 2006, p. 206). Research suggests that understanding and absorbing the concepts of leadership into personal identity is an influential factor in the development of leaders. DeRue and Ashford (2010) propose a social model of identity construction that includes both individual identity formation and the role the collective, or the social, plays in validating or granting leader or follower status. Professional identity, as described by Ibarra (1999), is something that forms over time and is influenced by meaningful experiences and feedback that provide individuals insight into their own work styles or preferences, talents and values. For Ibarra (1999), identity refers to:

...the various meanings attached to a person by self and others. These meanings, or self-conceptions, are based on people’s social roles and group memberships (social identities) as well as the personal and character traits they display and others attribute to them based on their conduct (personal identities). (p.766)

The role of identity in leadership research can be seen as examining the gap between “doing” and “being” (Ibarra, Snook & Ramo 2010, pp. 8101/10060).

Leadership development is as much about crafting a concept of leadership identity as it is about building understanding and capabilities. Exploring leadership in relation to development offers insight into the nature of leadership itself. Leadership theory has gone beyond a list of competencies; it is not just something that is done, it is about identity. Leadership development is bettering the self; the learner must stand outside and look at himself or herself, as an object for analysis (Ford, Learmonth & Harding 2008). Carroll (2015, pp. 90/300) describes leadership learning as being made up of

three aspects: mindset (or understanding), identity and practice. While leadership development has largely focused on understanding and practice, critical leadership scholars highlight the importance of identity in development of emerging leaders.

Functionalist approaches to identity development within a leadership context tend to examine identity development as a series of activities or undertakings that individuals go through to emerge as a leader at the end. Scholars have focused on “critical junctures such as the transition from ‘doer’ to ‘manager’, from junior to senior professional and from more junior to more senior managerial levels” recognising that these transitions relate to not only development of capability but a “profound transformation in what people think, feel and value” (Ibarra, Snook & Ramo 2010, p. 8144/10060).

Functionalist approaches view identity as more stable and “fixed at a certain point in one’s life stream” (Avolio 2010, pp. 9170/10060) and research “aims at developing knowledge of cause-and-effect relations through which control over natural and social conditions can be achieved” (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft & Thomas 2008, p. 8). Identity construction, and the activity within it, is cognitive, linear and ordered. To undertake systematic development, one just needs to understand where the individual is on the leadership path and progress from there. This path, however, is not solely skill based, but an evolution of values, beliefs and motivations where individuals “seduce” themselves into the role of heroic leader (Sinclair 2009).

Critical leadership theorists who focus on identity and identification within organisations, however, focus on how identity is shaped in terms of the “individual vis-à-vis a collective, such as a work group, department, and the organisation itself” (Sluss & Ashforth 2007, p. 9) often with an emphasis on understanding how collective influences act as a form of control. Critical scholars see the process of identity construction as “more or less continuously on-going”, where people are steadily engaged in identity work or “forming, repairing, maintaining, strengthening or revising the constructions that are productive of a sense of coherence and distinctiveness” (Sveningsson & Alvesson 2003, p. 1165). Identity also grows in conjunction with narratives that help the individual determine answers to the questions “who am I?” and “how should I act?” within an organisational or professional context (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft & Thomas 2008, p. 11). How we define ourselves is shaped by cultural and

historical formations, which contribute to our identity narratives, often in indirect and subtle ways.

This thesis uses Alvesson and Willmott's 2002 identity framework as a theoretical tool to consider influences on emerging leader identity development in the arts and cultural context. Alvesson and Willmott argue that, through various managerial discursive practices, such as the promotion of organisational affiliation and teamwork, organisations actively aim to prompt identity work and shape individual identity as a form of bureaucratic control. While recognising that Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) model was developed with an organisational focus, this research demonstrates that the forces of identity regulation may be equally applicable to those working in different employment contexts. In addition, this thesis recognises that emerging leaders participate in a variety of discourses and social practices that influence the construction and reconstruction of identity (Watson 2008) and cause 'friction' that is similar to identity regulation. Through the exploration of both identity regulation and other social factors the research aims to provide a thick description of leadership identity development within the Australian arts and cultural context.

Crucially, the thesis argues that it is incorrect to assume that all arts and cultural workers aspire to claim leader identity, and, even for those undertaking leadership roles, there are those who demonstrate reluctance towards leadership. The disconnect that can occur between undertaking the role of a leader and identifying as one is described by Shamir and Eilam (2005) as follows:

These managers held a formal title of a leadership position, performed leadership functions, and were seen by other members of their organisations as performing a leadership role, but these positions, roles and functions remained external to their core self-concepts. They expressed self-doubts, ambiguities and ambivalence regarding their ability to be leaders and their motivation to embrace such a role. (p. 406)

Leadership reluctance, or resistance, is considered by positivist researchers as a developmental phase (Komives et al. 2009; Komives et al. 2006; Komives et al. 2005) that individuals progress through their journey towards fully fledged leader status. In

critical leadership studies, however, individuals may choose to be reluctant leaders as “identity regulation processes reproduced a number of internal tensions and contradictions” (Gagnon & Collinson 2014, p. 662). When faced with identity regulation, both within and outside organisations, individuals may resist conforming to perceived leadership ideals as a process of identity work.

This thesis will identify a number of emerging leaders who engage in collaborative practice that impacts attitudes toward leadership reluctance. In considering these emerging leader identities, the research proposes a series of five leader personas that characterise different forms of leadership identity. These personas are constructed as an output of the interaction between the participants, the communities in which they practice and the researcher. They reflect the relationship emerging leaders have with leadership concepts and categorise the level of, and reasons for, leadership reluctance.

1.3. Justification for the Research

Understanding how leaders develop is perceived as a financially valuable goal for organisations in other sectors, with significant time and money expended to unlock the secrets of leadership.¹ Furthermore, the cult of the “celebrity CEO” (Hayward, Rindova & Pollock 2004) and popular narratives of leadership grace the shelves of airport bookstores the world over. Despite the complexity and challenges faced by leaders in the arts and cultural realm, and the levels of fame attached to artistic leaders such as film directors, there has been little theoretical or popular attention paid to how they learn to lead.

Changes to the arts and cultural industries landscape, including continued shrinking of public funding, increased corporatisation and managerial measures of cultural success, the emergence of arts management as an academic discipline and ongoing debates around the economic contribution of creative capital to the broader economy, have

¹ A 2012, a US study estimated that American companies spent \$14 billion annually on leadership development programs. While no comparable Australian data exists, the Centre for Workplace Leadership suggests that Australian organisational spending on leadership development is significantly less than in the US, Asia and Europe. The Centre found that nearly 60% of organisations that responded to a recent survey on Australian leadership offered some form of formal leadership development in their workplace (Gahan et al. 2016).

contributed to the changing nature of cultural leadership in practical terms. Most recently, divisions between the arts and cultural establishment in Australia (often represented by the heads of the major artistic institutions), the grass roots leadership of the community, and the small to medium arts sector, were magnified in response to the Federal Government's changes to arts funding in 2014 (Eltham 2016). The importance of cultural leadership has increased given renewed policy discourse concerning the economic contribution of the creative industries and focus on industry and organisational survival in the face of political, economic and cultural attacks.

Academically, however, there has been limited focus on arts and cultural leadership. Studies exploring leadership in the sector have tended to focus on organisational structures and the often heroically portrayed leaders who run them. Discussion concerning separation of artistic and operational leadership (Lapierre 2001), organisational structures and individual leadership case studies (Caust 2013a) or entrepreneurial leadership requirements in the sector (Rentschler & Geursen 2004) have raised valuable questions around the distinctiveness of arts and cultural leadership and the skills that may enhance leader success. However, they typically adopt functionalist, cognitive approaches that focus more on what a leader does as opposed to who a leader is and how they developed their leadership identity. One potential area of research that integrates leadership and management in the cultural context, the arts administration discipline, has neglected leadership development within the cultural context from an educational and theoretical perspective. Dewey (2005) argues:

There has been little or no research on arts administration education provided through professional development programs or on-the-job-training. This appears to be a major gap in research in the field, especially since training acquired during employment is considered very important to arts administration professionals. (p. 15)

In addition, theoretical discussions of arts and cultural leadership do not position leadership studies in the precarious employment environment that typifies the sector. Scholars are starting to consider the impact of precarity of employment on those working in creative industries (McRobbie 2016; Patrick & Elks 2015), but this does not

extend to consider the impact on leadership or the development of leaders within this labour market.

Broader leadership theory, however, has expanded its domain of enquiry. Critical approaches to leadership question the assumption that individuals aspire to be leaders. Where functionalist approaches to leadership identity assume reluctance is a developmental phase (Komives et al. 2009; Komives et al. 2005), critical leadership explorations of identity examine resistance to leadership and the anxiety impact of identity regulation through the use of organisational power and control (Alvesson & Willmott 2002; Ford, Learmonth & Harding 2008). Public discussion of leadership in the arts and cultural sector, such as Enoch's (2014), questions its relevancy and effectiveness; yet, this is not reflected in theoretical perspectives.

While emerging leaders in the arts and cultural sector may not always have access to leadership development that has traditionally been the focus of management research, they are often participants in social learning. By considering leadership identity development situated within communities of practice, this thesis contributes to new knowledge in the field by addressing a number of the aforementioned gaps in the literature.

1.4. Research Question

Returning to Enoch's (2014, p. 4) call "I'm looking for Cultural Leadership. Do you know where I should look?", this thesis considers where we should seek cultural leadership, and additionally, what may we find when we look for it. Enoch highlights cultural leadership as an important contributor to creative life and the fabric of society; yet, at the same time demonstrates the perception within the arts community that cultural leadership is somehow lacking. This thesis explores the development of cultural leadership identity in Australia's emerging leaders and, in the process, brings to light the complex, often reluctant, relationship those in the creative community have with the concept of leadership.

Unlike other more profit driven industries, the arts and cultural sector lacks an extensive history of organisationally driven leadership development or theoretical approaches to developing cultural leaders. As noted, arts and cultural organisations are often small,

with limited human resources, and industry programs aimed at leadership development reach only a small number of potential leaders in the sector. While arts workers tend to have high levels of tertiary qualifications, most acknowledge that their career development occurs primarily on-the-job (Australia Council for the Arts 2015). This thesis is built on a desire to understand how leadership is developed “on the ground” within the arts and cultural sector, thereby acknowledging that more academically recognised leadership development may not be the most widely used method in practice. If organisational approaches to development are not reflective of the modern labour market of the Australian cultural sector, the alternative is to explore how creative workers develop leadership identity through their day-to-day experiences. The method chosen to position experiential learning of arts and cultural leaders is through the lens of social learning. Social learning considers how development occurs within the social environment (Lave 1991) and by using the social learning framework of communities of practice (Wenger 1998), it can explore leadership development that occurs collaboratively through joint participation in shared activities.

Questions emerge, however, that suggest participants had a concept of leadership that was not unidimensional. Many creative practitioners undertake leadership activity in managing organisations, influencing followers to achieve shared visions, developing staff, communicating their message and telling their stories; yet, many are reluctant to call themselves a leader or embrace leadership identity. There is a disconnect between the concepts of doing the work of leadership and the willingness of emerging arts leaders to identify as a leader. Consideration of leadership identity across the nine disciplinary based case studies in this thesis demonstrates that participation in communities of practice contributes to the construction of leadership identity in a way that reduces leadership reluctance. Thus, this thesis considers how those in the arts and cultural industry learn about leadership and focuses on the social influences that shape their relationship to leadership identity. Phrased as a research question the thesis considers:

What role do communities of practice play in the social construction of leadership identity in Australian arts and cultural workers?

In asking this question, the thesis identifies communities of practice as one of the places to look for leadership and highlights the role they play in shaping leadership identity, specifically addressing leadership reluctance—that is, the “what” we see when we look for leadership.

In answering the research question, the study contributes to knowledge concerning leadership, particularly leadership development in the Australian arts and cultural industry, in a way that promotes emergent leadership from within cultural disciplines to support creative praxis. The thesis also engages with current critical leadership discourse on leadership identity and the role development plays in contributing to identity work.

1.5. Research Design

This research is constructed around narrative themes that emerged through 41 interviews with practitioners in the Australian arts and cultural sector. The interviews are presented as a collective case study, where “a number of cases are studied in order to investigate some general phenomenon” (Silverman 2013, p. 132/470). The research, comprising nine disciplines, creates a thick description of leadership identity development, or as Ponterotto (2006, p. 541) notes, citing Holloway, it “builds up a clear picture of the individuals and groups in the context of their culture and the setting in which they live”.

The primary participants, nine emerging leaders in the sector² were sourced using a variety of channels including personal networks and snowball sampling techniques (Mason 2002). Driven by a social constructionist approach and the conceptual framework that aimed to consider the role of the environmental context of leadership identity development, secondary participants were also included. Each primary participant nominated three to four secondary participants (peers, co-workers, managers or staff) to provide further insight into the primary participant’s approach to leadership and development. In all cases, semi-structured biographical interviews were used where “the researcher has a number of topics, themes or issues which they wish to cover, or a set of starting points for discussion” (Mason 2002, p. 1223/5131). While a set of

² As defined by a) work experience, b) current or former job titles and c) industry reputation.

questions was developed, the aim of the interviews was to allow a rich description of leadership identity construction to emerge through the discursive relationship between the participant and the researcher, acknowledging that interviews are always “social interactions, however structured or unstructured the researcher tries to make them” (Mason 2002, p. 1279/5131).

Interview data were subsequently transcribed, analysed through paradigmatic coding (Polkinghorne 1995) and interpreted “in light of the thematics developed by the investigator” (Riessman 2008, pp. 54/251). Thematic narrative analysis techniques were also appropriate for this study as they demonstrate how “respondents in interviews impose order on the flow of experience to make sense of events and actions in their lives” (Riessman 2002, p. 218). The analysis is presented over four chapters using framing techniques that bring “some aspects to the fore” in a way to “make sense of them and be able to act” (Crevani 2015, p. 195/300). This methodology created “a context for making sense of situations in particular ways” (Crevani 2015, p. 195/300). Data presentation starts with a broad contextual perspective, and, as chapters progress, narrows to focus on identity development in the nine emerging leader participants to develop a model of five leadership personas.

In summary, emerging leaders in the arts and cultural community were identified to provide their personal perspectives on leadership identity development. The narratives they constructed jointly with the researcher were then considered in context of their community through a series of secondary interviews to conceptualise the social construction of leadership identity development. Interview data were analysed by narrative techniques and presented in a way that aims to provide theoretical insight into relevant to issues that arose in the course of the research and existing literature.

1.6. Structure of the Thesis

This thesis divides into nine chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter Two explores literature aligned to the three areas of focus: leadership, development and identity. Leadership literature is considered from both functionalist and critical viewpoints to demonstrate the influence theory has had on both academic considerations of leadership and popular constructions of leadership. The leadership development section examines the epistemological frameworks and ontological approaches to

leadership development that underpins most research. It also considers the theories of social learning via communities of practice that, from an arts and cultural perspective, lacks extensive research. Identity literature appropriate to this thesis is then discussed providing the conceptual framework for exploring cultural leadership identity development, while also highlighting the intersection of leadership, development and identity. Recent critical approaches to leadership development programs and the emergence of leadership as practice demonstrate how leadership theory can loosen the shackles of identity regulation and theories of organisational control by encouraging critical approaches to leadership discourse that examine leadership in practice and reflective approaches to identity development. Thus, the literature review opens a space to consider cultural leadership identity development in communities of practice that offer new theoretical approaches to creating positive leadership identity.

Chapter Three positions the research question within a methodological framework of social constructionist identity formation. The methodology takes a critical leadership approach to development within the cultural sector, one that offers a broader perspective than those represented previously in arts management discourse. Leadership is considered ontologically and epistemologically as a socially constructed concept that exists in the mind of the individuals, both participants and the researcher, involved in the study. The methodology aims to co-construct and capture narratives associated with leadership identities across a variety of case studies that make up the “constellation” of the arts and cultural sector. This chapter also justifies the methodological techniques employed relevant to the theoretical and conceptual framework of the study.

Chapter Four introduces the context and the case studies that comprise the arts and cultural constellation explored in the research. It highlights the economic and labour market characteristics of the Australian arts and cultural sector that make it a distinctive landscape to explore the development of emerging-leader identity. The second section of the chapter introduces the nine case studies providing a synopsis of the discipline, marked characteristics that may influence leadership identity development and a brief discussion of the individuals in each case study. It also shows how individuals interact with each other, and how some cases, more closely reflect the concept of communities of practice. This sets the scene for a closer inspection of leadership identity construction that follows.

Chapter Five is the first of four chapters analysing the data and presenting the results that demonstrate the role communities of practice have in constructing arts and cultural leadership identity. The chapter also focuses on the distinct culture evident in each of the nine case studies. It constructs a contextual narrative where leadership identity is developed and highlights individual attitudes to leadership; thus, providing broader understanding of what leadership looks like in the Australian arts and cultural sector. The chapter presents the diverse cultures and leadership approaches that exist across arts and cultural disciplines which contribute to leadership identities of the nine primary participants.

In Chapter Six, the case studies are examined using the identity regulation framework to demonstrate how regulation impacts the development of leadership identity. Re-contextualising the identity framework, in this way, explores how identity regulation occurs both in and across organisations, while also highlighting other social factors that contribute to leadership identity construction. It argues that those in the arts and cultural sector, even working outside the organisational context, are not immune from the forces of identity regulation, while also recognising social factors that impact and facilitate reluctance towards leadership.

Chapter Seven repositions these narratives to identify the outcomes of identity regulation, reflected through a reluctance towards leadership. It demonstrates that emerging leaders in the case studies engage in activities and ways of working that reduce or alleviate leadership reluctance. This is achieved by the development of a leadership identity that supports creative practice. The research demonstrates how some emerging leaders in the cultural sector are developing their leadership identity within communities of practice that offer potential for both expanded identity options and the development of leadership understanding that aligns closely to creative practice—thereby reducing anxieties that emerge through forms of identity regulation. Working within a shared practice provides practitioners with a space to construct and re-construct leadership identity without the pressure of an idealised version of leadership, while also creating an environment that supports them psychosocially when their work practices are individualistic and isolated.

Chapter Eight integrates the themes that emerge from the previous three chapters to answer the question “what do we see when we look for arts and cultural leadership?” In exploring constructed leadership identities of the nine primary participants, five leadership personas are created that highlight the ambivalent or reluctant feelings many participants had towards their own leadership identity and the mitigation strategies that emerge to address leadership anxiety.

The final Chapter details the conclusions and implications of the research and discusses how these relate to the relations between leadership, leadership development and identity formation. The implications drawn from these conclusions are subsequently considered in terms of the theoretical, policy and practical issues for the development of cultural leaders in the Australian arts and cultural community. The limitations of the research are detailed and further research possibilities presented. The chapter concludes with a positive sense of potential for leadership development in the Australian arts and cultural sector, highlighting how an understanding and facilitation of communities of practice offers significant opportunities to contribute to ongoing leadership dialogue.

2. LITERATURE REVIEW

This thesis considers the development of emerging leader identity, specifically exploring the social construction of leadership identity across multiple arts and cultural disciplines. It aims to explore how emerging leaders in different areas of the arts and cultural sector understand leadership and continuously form and re-form their leadership identity. The thesis highlights the importance that identity plays in leadership formation and investigates the social and organisational influences that shape it. The literature review is an initial exploration into the research question, highlighting the relevant issues in various disciplines. The review examines whether the research question has been addressed previously, and if so, discusses the nature of these findings and their applicability to the Australian context.

The literature is divided into four areas focusing on the relationship between literature and the research question. The first section explores leadership theory to demonstrate how an examination of leadership development in the arts and cultural sector contributes to leadership discourse and surveys theories that may have influenced participant constructs of leadership. Second, the area of leadership development is considered; how development discourse has shifted in line with leadership theory, explicitly focusing on the role experience and social learning plays in supplementing formal education or developmental programs. Third, leadership identity is examined to complete the framework of concepts that underpin the data analysis. The role of identity regulation and the unsettling processes of identity work are used to demonstrate why emerging leaders may resist claiming leader status. The last section of the literature review examines the relatively small corpus of literature on reluctance or resistance to leadership.

2.1. Leadership Theory

Leadership is a subject most often studied in business schools, human resources and organisational studies departments; yet, the study of arts administration or management also constitutes “a new terrain for the dissemination of managerial thought” (Evrard & Colbert 2000, p.7). Research conducted on leadership and leadership development in the cultural environment focuses on organisational leadership structures (MacNeill & Tonks 2013), the intersections of creativity and leadership (Caust 2006), dual leadership

(Inglis & Cray 2011; Reid 2007; Reid & Karambayya 2009) or the impact of business theory, and entrepreneurship in arts management (Caust 2005; Palmer 1998; Rentschler & Geursen 2004). While influenced by a number of arts management studies in leadership, particularly the work of Caust (2006), MacNeill and Tonks (2013) and Price (2016), this thesis investigates identity formation and how developmental activity, particularly social learning, impacts identity construction. Therefore, this study draws heavily on work in critical leadership studies (Carroll 2015; Carroll & Levy 2010; Carroll, Levy & Richmond 2008; Carroll & Nicholson 2014; Carroll & Simpson 2012; Sinclair 2004, 2009, 2010, 2011; Sinclair & Evans 2015; Sinclair & Lips-Wiersma 2008) and social learning via communities of practice (Fourie 2009; Handley et al. 2006; Lave 1991; Wenger 1998).

As a thesis centred on the individual's relation to leadership, it is important to locate it within the vast terrain of leadership theory. This study does not set out to prove or disprove the relevancy or adequateness of leadership models, nor does it necessarily aim to create a new creative leadership paradigm. Locating itself within the realm of critical leadership studies, the research process does aim to move beyond the confines of positivist research, but while highlighting the problematic relations some participants in the cultural sector have with leadership, it does not necessarily argue that leadership in itself is a negative concept. As Sutherland (2015) writes:

Research aims, goals and outcomes (of critical leadership studies) are not homogenous, and whilst some have been keen to identify problematic elements by bringing to light the 'dark side' of relying on individual leaders, others have worked towards proposing new definitions, conceptualisations of leadership that move away from the narrow focus of mainstream assumptions.
(p. 223/300)

The social constructionist approach of this thesis does not reproduce the definitive reality of leadership or development for participants, but represents their experience to demonstrate how they construct their own notions of leadership through various interactions with others, including the researcher. Discussions of social constructionism include degrees of radicalness regarding theoretical assumptions about reality (Andrews 2012). This research reflects Hammersley's (2002) notion of "subtle realism" in the belief that independent reality exists, but cannot be accessed and merely interpreted.

Constructionism asks questions about how social realities are produced, assembled and maintained (Silverman 2013; Stead 2004). In this thesis, that question becomes “how is leadership socially brought into being?” Knowledge is constructed around lived experience, through other members of society and aims to understand how people construct and maintain their social worlds.

Why Leadership?

Leadership is a topic explored in many disciplines from sociology, psychology, and business to education, generating a myriad of popular publications. Although it must be acknowledged that while there has been significant body of leadership literature over the past one hundred years, there is still no universally accepted definition of what leadership is. There are some significant theories which will be discussed in this section, but one of the potential challenges in exploring leadership identity is the lack of a consistency concerning what constitutes being a leader.

There is an implied understanding across most early leadership literature that an effective leader will positively impact organisational and/or personal performance. A leader is the embodiment of the organisation in which they lead and their success is linked to organisational success (Chatman & Kennedy 2010). For example, Hogan, (1994, p. 493) argues “the fact a coach can move a team transforming losers into winners is, for most people, evidence that leadership matters”. Those who suggest organisational performance is impacted by leadership (Ulrich & Smallwood 2012) are countered by those who argue the concept is too loosely defined to demonstrate linkages between behaviours and performance outcomes (Podolny, Khurana & Besharov 2010). While organisational outcomes have been a key focus of researchers, many early scholars regard leadership as important because of the potential for leaders to infuse purpose and meaning into lives of individuals (Podolny, Khurana & Besharov 2010). Accordingly, there is a duality between a leader’s role in producing “superior performance or results and the leader’s role in making meaning” for individuals and the organisation (Nohria & Khurana 2010, p. 117/10060).

The study of leadership, and by extension leadership development, within the cultural sector provides significant benefits. Many commentators argue that those in creative industries are perfectly positioned to be an incubator for new trends and theories for the

broader economy as a “major forerunner and experimental site for managerial practices of the permanently innovating organisation” (DeFillippi, Grabher & Jones 2007, p. 513). Leadership in the arts is a testing ground for leadership in the broader knowledge economy. In particular, authors such as Florida (2002) claim the rise of knowledge work has focused the need for understanding how best to manage groups of creative workers. The arts and cultural sector has already faced many of the challenges that are only starting to impact the broader economy. Leadbeater (2009) suggests, “Organisations will increasingly resemble networks, partnerships and collaborations not rigid, hierarchies. Authority, even at work, will need to be earned peer to peer”. Given the relational nature of work within the cultural environment, understanding how leaders can develop and thrive in this context may have far reaching implications.

There has also been a strong emphasis in recent times on the intersection of leadership and creativity, which shall be discussed in more depth later in the literature review. Creativity is considered a key to help organisations become innovative and adaptable in a rapidly changing world (DeFillippi, Grabher & Jones 2007; Ibbotson & Darso 2008; Lampel, Lant & Shamsie 2000; Martins & Terblanche 2003; Mumford et al. 2002; Mumford et al. 2007; Thompson, Jones & Warhurst 2007). Leadership is crucial in the creation of an inclusive organisational culture open to ideas, that embraces conflict and welcomes failure as part of the learning process (Martins & Terblanche 2003; Mumford et al. 2007). This emphasis on leading for creativity, as opposed to creative leadership, has motivated a renewed study of creative organisations and the leaders within them.

Trait, Behavioural and Contingencies Theories

The approach to leadership in the early-twentieth century focused on attempts to identify characteristics that separated non-leaders from leaders (DePaoli 2013; Glynn & DeJordy 2010; Horner 1997; Kirkpatrick & Locke 1991; Yammarino & Bass 1991; Yukl 1989). Historically referred to as the Great Man theory, leadership is seen in a heroic, mythical, almost exclusively male, light (Glynn & DeJordy 2010). While the idea that leaders are born not made may seem like an outdated concept, uncovering physical, cognitive or demographic traits that are indicative of successful leadership has re-emerged in recent years. Current research examines the role that demographic traits, such as age (Walter & Scheibe 2013), physical characteristics, such as facial features (Poutvaara 2014), and genetics play (De Neve et al. 2013) in the formation of leadership

identity. In the 1950s and 60s, however, trait theories were challenged given their limited ability to predict leadership success.

Behavioural theory sees leadership as a set of activities that can be learned and, in doing so, anyone can be a leader. Developed via series of studies conducted at the University of Michigan and Ohio State University, research aimed to identify optimal leadership behaviours. Behavioural theories focus on what a leader does, typically categorised by “task orientation, which emphasises the achievement of work goals or objectives” and “people orientation which emphasises interpersonal relationships and consideration of followers” (Glynn & DeJordy 2010, p. 1476/10060). Behavioural theories assume that there is a universal approach to leadership and by mastering a set of defined skills, a leader can succeed anywhere (Martin & Ernst 2005; Steers, Sanchez-Runde & Nardon 2012). Behavioural theories are still a significant input into the way leaders are developed today, with leadership training programs often built around capability development. What both trait and behavioural theories neglect, however, is the impact context exerts on leadership outcomes.

Contingencies and context have been incorporated into leadership theory to explain the influence of outside forces that shape leadership capacity or outcomes. External factors such as technology, organisational structure or internal drivers, such as motivation to learn and lead, all impact leadership outcomes (Avolio 2007). For leaders to be successful, they need to adapt their behaviours to suit the environment or alternatively, their behaviours will be shaped by that environment (Hogg 2001). Situational leadership theory, in comparison, includes various factors such as the leader’s authority, the nature of the work undertaken and the attributes of the leader’s followers (Yukl 1989). Essentially, situational approaches argue that “leadership is solely a matter of situational demands” and hence, the specific situation in which leadership occurs will determine who will emerge and succeed as a leader (Yammarino & Bass 1991, p. 128).

The primary advancement that situational and contingency theories provide leadership research is contextualisation of leadership, which make them more adaptable and relevant to different environments. In comparison to behavioural and trait theory, they begin to show how leaders operate in the real world (Glynn & DeJordy 2010). Unlike trait or behavioural approaches, contingency and situational leadership were not seen as universal but local, recognising that different actions may be required to be successful in

different environments (Steers, Sanchez-Runde & Nardon 2012). These localised theories are “more supple, adaptive, and situationally flexible” (Glynn & DeJordy 2010, p. 1497/10060), demonstrating how leadership may be seen as a socially constructed concept as opposed to a scientific absolute.

Transformational, Charismatic and Authentic Leadership

One common theme in early leadership theory is the primacy of the individual; little focus was given to those who were led. Research conducted on leadership in the 1990s continued this theme, but moved from studies of middle management to a focus on executive leadership (Yukl 1989). There was a return to the notion of heroic leadership, highlighting not only the potential of an individual leader to create organisational success, but alter those in their orbit.

One theory that still carries significant currency in literature is transformational leadership. Transformational leadership holds that leaders influence the assumptions and attitudes of individuals around them and build commitment for agreed objectives and goals (Bass 1991; Burke & Collins 2001; Collins 2002). It occurs in the space where personal development coincides with organisational evolution:

...when leaders broaden and elevate the interests of their employees, when they generate awareness and acceptance of the purposes and mission of the group, and when they stir their employees to look beyond their own self-interest for the good of the group. (Bass 1991, p. 21)

Transformational leadership is a shift away from the directional models of the past to a more participatory idea, still highlighting the importance of the leader, but involving followers in the leadership dynamic (Avolio 2007; Bass & Avolio 1990; Hogg 2001). Transformational leadership is seen to be particularly applicable for those in creative roles because of the prevalence of employees and volunteers who are well educated, interested and committed to the goals of the organisation (Cray, Inglis & Freeman 2007; Inglis, Cray & Freeman 2006; Soila-Wadman & Köping 2009). By focusing on motivation and intellectual stimulation, transformational leadership is linked by some researchers (Mumford et al. 2002) to enhancing creativity.

Charismatic leadership shares similarities with transformational approaches, emphasising the potential of the leader to use power to transform followers. Charismatic leadership is “the perception that a leader possesses a divinely inspired gift and is somehow unique and larger than life” (Yukl, 1989, p. 269). Charismatic leaders have strong influence and authority and tend to work within value-driven organisations. Emerging organisations often seek out charismatic leadership (Glynn & DeJordy 2010) and, in the case of creative industries, examples be found in companies or groups that are leader founded (Cray, Inglis & Freeman 2007). Glow (2013) argues there has been a strong tendency for transformational leadership with a focus on charisma, inspiration, and individuality within the creative realm. The creative sector lends itself to the romanticised view of leadership, with many artistic directors and orchestra conductors, for example, being seen to have a mystical allure (Soila-Wadman & Köping 2009).

The trend towards leadership as personal characteristics and inspiring trust reached a peak with the advancement of authentic leadership, which focuses on a perceived inherent desire for leaders to do what is right (Gardner et al. 2005). Ford and Harding (2011, p. 465) suggest “The authentic leader will be a moral person who, being moral, is good ‘on the inside’; through revealing their inner goodness this person will be an authentic leader”. Like transformational and charismatic leadership before it, authentic leadership focuses on the relationship between the leader and their followers, but in the case of authentic leadership there is an emphasis on self-development and self-awareness (Weischer, Weibler & Petersen 2013). Authentic leadership is important to this thesis in that it is known as a “follower-centric” approach, where leadership can be understood as a “process of being perceived by others as a leader” (Weischer, Weibler & Petersen 2013, p. 477)—thereby recognising the constructed nature of the concept. Studies have also highlighted the importance of narrative and storytelling in the creation of authentic leaders, as it is through narrative that leaders create “knowledge and clarity” for both themselves and their followers. For example, Shamir & Eilam (2005, p. 402) argue that by “expressing products of the relationship between life experiences and the organised stories of these experiences” leaders help construct their leadership identity.

There are significant criticisms, however, of authentic leadership. Ford and Harding (2011) outline a number of reasons that authentic leadership is realistically unfeasible.

First, authentic leadership suggests that leaders and followers, when they look inward, align themselves with organisational values. Authenticity and the organisation are so intertwined that “authentic leaders (and followers) are people who cannot distinguish between the self and the organisation” (Ford & Harding 2011, p.pp. 469-70). Through their psychoanalytic analysis, the authors argue that “the leader’s role is to ensure followers are themselves no more than objects, with all the claims to subjectivity reshaped and subsumed into the service of the collective of both the leader and the organisation’s values” (2011, p. 475). This critique highlights the critical approach to organisational power that will also be highlighted by the identity regulation framework.

The perceived importance of leadership to organisational and personal performance meant it was a prominent topic in management discourse throughout the twentieth century. The underpinning research, however, was still largely functionalist, using scientific techniques to uncover what made leaders tick. There was little consideration of leadership outside western, white, heterosexual perspectives. Ford, Learmonth and Harding (2008) neatly summarise the development of leadership theory:

Leadership theory emerged in trait theory, which had flaws that were tackled through investigation of leadership behaviours, but lefts gaps that required filling through leadership situations. Eventually the fruitlessness of these were recognised and led to emergence of transformational and charismatic leadership, the guru theory discourses and most recently to notions of post heroic leadership. (p. 16)

Critical approaches to leadership, examined in the next section of this chapter, highlight the increased importance of leadership identity in theoretical approaches. However, the shadow of functionalist theories remains in the narratives constructed by research participants, in particular, the association of personality and charisma with leadership identity.

Critical Approaches to Leadership

The importance of leadership and leaders has been given significant status in academic discourse. Functionalist approaches, which dominated the twentieth-century view of leadership, held the assumption that leadership could be understood using scientific

methods (Alvesson & Spicer 2012). As discussed in the previous section, studies during this period, focused on identification of the traits, behaviours, personality or context that shaped leader identification, development and performance. The privilege of the leader was not questioned and research set about understanding how leaders achieved success. In the last 25 years, however, new approaches to leadership study have questioned these functionalist assumptions.

Drawing on the Frankfurt School, critical leadership theory unpacks the role of university business schools and mainstream theory in dominating leadership discourse (Western 2008) and opens the way to new constructions of leadership (Ford 2010; Wilkinson & Blackmore 2008). Far from seeing leadership as a tool for personal and organisational success, newer leadership studies take a critical view of leadership based on the consideration of issues such as power and domination. Leadership theory has shifted from the management of others in a hierarchical fashion to the creation of meaning to influence others and a sense of being. As Ford, Learmonth & Harding (2008, p. 28, emphasis in original) observe, “leadership used to be a series of tasks or characteristics, it is now an *identity*”.

The constructed view of leadership began to shift from heroic to post-heroic. Economic, political and cultural turbulence, particularly major failures of market capitalism such as the Enron collapse or the Global Financial Crisis have called into question the role of leadership in the modern market. Furthermore, the increasingly globalised nature of work has highlighted the diverse nature of modern organisations and the potential weaknesses of western leadership assumptions (Ford 2005; Grint 2009; Sutherland, Land & Bohm 2014). Where theories, such as authentic leadership, incorporate values based approaches, critical approaches that emerged in the post-industrial area were shaped by attitudes towards an individual’s place in the world. Importantly, critical approaches consider that leadership is not necessarily a universal concept, but instead “a social and contextually specific (local) definition of leadership allows us to be receptive to the meanings ascribed to leadership by the community employed within the organisation under study” (Ford 2005, p. 242). Whereas heroic leadership is founded on the idea that leaders were singularly accountable as visible holders of power, post-heroic leadership aligns to concepts of participation and distribution of power to followers, and, potentially, the dispensability of the leader altogether (Grint 2009, p. 89).

Where the concept of dual or shared leadership is prominent in arts management (MacNeill & Tonks 2013; Reid & Karambayya 2009), it was often rejected by traditional theorists who argue that “leadership is the responsibility of the artist” (Lapierre 2001, p. 11). It is argued that power and decision making and, therefore, true leadership, resides with a singular figure such as the artistic director. Critical leadership theory dispels this functionalist notion by suggesting leadership is a relational process (Barge & Fairhurst 2008; Collinson 2005). Part of this shift relates to the emergence of new working environments in the creative sector (Cray, Inglis & Freeman 2007; Inglis & Cray 2011; Jennings & Jones 2011; MacNeill & Tonks 2009; Soila-Wadman & Köping 2009) and the knowledge economy. These environments feature horizontal structures with more reliance on empowered workers (Gronn 2003). Distributed leadership implies that influence and power is not only a holistic process, but can shift according to organisational requirements (Caust 2010; Horner 1997; Uhl-Bien 2006). These theoretical shifts move beyond just considering followers in the leader-follower-shared values triad, they begin to recognise the importance of reciprocal relationships and social construction (DeRue & Ashford 2010, p. 628), focussing on “relational dynamics that are involved in the generation and functioning of leadership” (Uhl-Bien 2006, p. 667). Critics claim examples of successful distributed leadership are rare (Grint, 2009), but examples of top down tyranny are commonplace. However, in the labour market environment of the arts and cultural sector, where working across organisational boundaries is more common, distributed leadership can demonstrate value.

Critical theory often removes leadership from organisational constraints. Cunliffe and Eriksen (2011) argue that theory has taken leadership out of the realm of everyday life and, as a response, relational leadership theories aim to create an integrated view of both theory and practice. Raelin (2011, p.195) suggests a leadership-as-practice theory which focuses on “the everyday practice of leadership including its moral, emotional, and rational aspects, rather than its rational, objective, and technical ones”. Leadership as practice looks at activity undertaken by individuals, not the traits, behaviours or heroics that have been the focus of studies in the past.

By looking at leadership as a social process of activity, the role of leaders becomes less directing and more about connecting and engagement. Relational leaders are enablers,

facilitators or brokers, using leadership to bring the right people together to achieve desired aims (Hewison 2004). Wilson (2010) describes this as “social creativity” where the interaction of leaders and followers across a variety of social, demographic, racial boundaries facilitates creativity across the whole economy. Drath and Palus (1994) outline this changing nature of leadership as a shift from the “dominance-cum-social-influence” idea of leadership—where the aim of leadership is to get other people to do something—to one of meaning making, where the outcomes of leadership are varied, but may include self-actualisation, satisfaction or significance.

Changing perceptions of what constitutes leadership demonstrate shifts in theoretical approaches to leadership as an academic concept. This “practice turn” in leadership questions:

...the ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions that underpin traditional research on leadership, arguing the case for leadership to be viewed as a collective achievement that encompasses a broad range of phenomena (including socialised dispositions and the embodied knowledge that informs everyday work routines). (Dovey, Burdon & Simpson 2017, p. 2)

There is movement beyond the “taken for granted” individualism that permeated leadership research in the past, while also an acknowledgment of the socially constructed nature of leadership. Crevani, Lindgren and Packendorff (2010) argue that leadership research needs to strive beyond the simplification of abstract concepts as leadership and be aware that processes, practices and interactions are part of a complex social process. Raelin (2014, p.141) goes as far to argue that there are no leaders, reimagining leadership as a practice that “allows anyone to participate in leadership as he or she engages in agentic activity. Practice becomes the engine of collaborative agency”.

As Dovey, Burdon & Simpson (2017) highlight, critical leadership scholars have gone beyond critique of functionalist approaches to questioning dominant leadership ontology. Leadership theory has largely been constructed using the ‘tripod’ ontology, focussing on leaders, followers and the common or shared goals they wish to achieve (Drath et al. 2008, p. 635). This ontology focuses research on the three elements of the

tripod, paying less attention to leadership outcomes, and that these are “too narrow to support emergent theory in the directions of development already underway within the field” (Drath et al. 2008, p. 639). In particular, shared/distributed and relational approaches to leadership highlight how “further development of leadership theory calls for a corresponding development in leadership ontology” (Drath et al. 2008, p. 639). Shared leadership, argue Drath et al. (2008, p. 639), shifts from an individual to a team approach, creating an “alternation of leader-based influence” that requires a “qualitatively different social process: interactive, collective influence.” Consequently, there is less emphasis on leader-follower dynamics and the tripod ontology becomes less relevant. Similarly, relational approaches to leadership argue that the role of leader/follower are not static, immediately limiting the role of any ontological approach which require terms to be fixed in meaning. Drath et al. (2008) argue:

From a relational perspective, any ontology is to be valued not because it reflects a fixed, underlying reality, but because it is useful with respect to some purpose. As the concept of leadership expands beyond the leader-follower duality, the tripod is becoming not less true, but less useful. (p.641)

There are several ways in which critical readings of leadership theory can be influential in the examination of leadership development in the arts and cultural sector. For example, reviewing leadership through a critical gender oriented lens can reveal a discourse that perpetuates highly masculinised expectations of how leaders are supposed to behave (Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff 2010). Scholars have shown that media and theoretical constructions of who and what leadership is may actually conflict with reality for leaders (Sinclair 2004; Wilkinson & Blackmore 2008). However, Wallis (2011) identifies reluctance by arts leaders to define themselves as leaders, given the popular and academic notions of leadership that still align in many ways to Great Man positivist theories. Thus, creative leaders may choose not to see themselves as leaders based on the theoretical inability to reflect their reality. The turn to practice when exploring leadership can distinguish the individual as leader and the concept of leadership in a way that may be more applicable to those in the arts and cultural sector.

Creative and Cultural Leadership

Creative and cultural leadership can be approached from multiple perspectives. The linkages between creativity and leadership have been thoroughly explored in recent times, with innovation and creativity seen as being increasingly important to organisational success in the modern landscape (Bilton 2010). There is also the concept of cultural leadership, however, as it applies to those working within the arts and cultural sector. As noted, cultural leadership has attracted increased theoretical and practical attention due to the continued growth of arts management as an academic discipline, while artists and practitioners such as Enoch (2014) and Pledger (2016) raise valuable questions about the role of cultural leaders in our society.

Cultural leadership is a relatively new term in the academic landscape. Price (2016) documents the shift from “arts administration” or “cultural leadership” in policy discourse through the 1990s and 2000s. In the United Kingdom, cultural leadership emerged as part of the focus on the creative industries and “emphasised the role of cultural sector professionals operating within existing institutions” (Price 2016, p. 42). As the new century progressed, however, cultural leadership began to be conflated with the rise of organisational creativity and the lessons that could be shared outside the arts sector (Hewison 2004).

It is the perception that those within the arts and cultural sector have somehow cracked the code for successfully leading to enhanced creativity that makes the industry an appealing research area for organisational and management scholars (Hill 2010). Learning leadership techniques from within the creative disciplines is not, however, a new development. Orchestra conductors and theatre directors are perceived as leaders who can share lessons in how to successfully manage leadership within the current knowledge based economy (Dunham & Freeman 2000; Hein 2013; Ibbotson & Darso 2008; Soila-Wadman & Köping 2009); yet, they also represent the heroic leader still prevalent in leadership texts. Orchestra conductors are positioned as great organisers of professional workers:

One of the most enduring images of a leader in our society is the conductor of a symphony orchestra - the lone genius who conducts an unruly gathering of one hundred individualistic artists and inspires them to strive towards a common goal. The orchestra as a metaphor for society

and the conductor for leadership are frequently found in management literature. (Soila-Wadman & Köping 2009, p. 31)

Theatre directors, on the other hand, are seen as the facilitators of creative potential. For example, Dunham and Freeman (2000) and Hein (2013) examine the work processes of theatre directors to ascertain what behavioural techniques foster creative development, with the aim that these techniques can be applied by leaders outside the sector.

In most of these case studies, whether theatre, art or musically oriented, leadership is analysed from a trait or behavioural perspective (Hunt, Stelluto & Hooijberg 2004; Ibbotson & Darso 2008; Mintzberg 1998; Mumford et al. 2002; Soila-Wadman & Köping 2009). The idea is that leaders undertake certain tasks, utilising developed skills and capabilities to unlock creative potential and lead successful organisations. More recent studies, however, consider that creativity may not be an individual activity, but a collectively based process (Bilton 2010; Bilton & Leary 2002; Soila-Wadman & Köping 2009) that aligns more with critical leadership approaches, such as relational leadership (Uhl-Bien 2006). Ed Catmull, co-founder of Pixar, says of creativity within the film making process that:

People tend to think of creativity as a mysterious solo act, and they typically reduce products to a single idea: This is a movie about toys, or dinosaurs, or love, they'll say. However, in film-making and other kinds of complex product development, creativity involves a large number of people working from different disciplines working effectively together to solve great many problems.... The director and the other creative leaders of a production do not come up with all the ideas on their own: rather, every single member of the 200-250 person production group makes suggestions. Creativity must be present at every level of every artistic and technical part of the organisation. The leaders sort through a mass of ideas to find the ones that fit into a coherent whole - that support the story - which is a very difficult task. (Qtd. in Hill et al. 2010, p. 7545/10060)

This notion of collective creativity echoes the shift in leadership theory from the individual to the social that emerged in critical leadership theory.

Most academic research into leadership in the arts sector, however, still divides organisational and artistic leadership, privileging the artistic or creative over more operational. For example, Lapierre (2001) argues that the true leadership role will always reside with the artistic leader, relegating others within the organisation to a lesser status. Separating the creative and the “non-creative” aspects of cultural organisations is a feature of the arts and related creative sectors, such as advertising (The Communications Council 2014). This dichotomy views certain activities as inherently “artistic” requiring special gifts or sensibilities, while the remaining activities associated with the creative production or distribution are less characteristic of the artistic outcome. They are less worthy of respect, and more “housekeeping” than a form of leadership (Becker 1984; MacNeill & Tonks 2009, 2013). This narrow perspective fails to recognise that creativity and leadership can be displayed in ways other than the production of cultural output (Caust 2010; Rentschler 2001). Caust (2005) describes the role of managerial leaders in arts organisations as “facilitators” and “enablers”, but does not acknowledge the inherent leadership and creative potential in these activities. The failure to recognise leadership and creative potential within managerial functions in the arts is thus a symptom of the industry being change-averse where “creativity as based in the object rather than in the art museum as an organisation is an evaluation that is too narrow” (Rentschler 2001, p. 22).

Creative industry research, however, at times explores the role of artist as leader in contexts other than the organisation. The *Artist as Leader* program, for example, considers both the collaborative proactive and organisational aspects of leadership, differentiating that process from the role of the individual (organisational) leader (Douglas, Fremantle & Davie 2009; Price 2016). Despite the subsequent flurry of interest in the potential of artistic practice to revitalise notions of business leadership, the focus of concern within the policy discourse in relation to cultural leadership seems to have remained on managerial competencies within organisational frameworks.

Because of its unique characteristics, there is potential for the arts and cultural sector to innovate new models of leadership that provide a more robust view of the relations between leadership, creativity and social outcomes. As an academic discipline, arts management has the opportunity to create a leadership framework that bridges the gap

between creative and traditional business models and present leadership models more attuned to those working within the sector.

2.2. Leadership Development Theory

Investigation into the development of leadership identity necessitates an exploration into development techniques and how they facilitate identity development. The research question explores the role communities of practice play in constructing leadership identity, however still recognising the influence of other forms of leadership development. As with the previous discussion on leadership theory, this analysis is not intended as an exhaustive summary of the literature, but provides an overview of key leadership development practices. The aim is to explore the shift in discourse from the organisationally driven programs to notions of social and situated learning that perceive the creation of leadership identity as the primary goal of development.

Leadership development theory progressed in the twentieth century in much the same way as leadership theory, commencing with a functionalist approach that was subsequently critically assessed and re-evaluated. Initially most research had a scientific, objective approach where narrative studies were designed to uncover the best forms of development to generate economic outcomes. Research had an instrumental bias, with a focus on a disciplined, cerebral study (Sinclair 2009). Functionalist literature often took a “tool kit” approach, where individuals adopted skills and sought out catalysts to help develop themselves into successful leaders (Nicholson & Carroll 2013). As Pinnington (2011) argues:

Mainstream leadership development consists of a diverse range of practices which have been debated and implemented using somewhat standardised approaches to leadership and its development. Primarily Western ... approaches to leadership development continue to be implemented globally, and consequently, a comparatively small set of leadership theories and development practices are widely applied across many different national, sector and organisational contexts.

(p. 336)

It has been suggested, however, that a standardised approach does not reflect the modern reality and neglects issues of power, culture and the complexity of the labour market. Furthermore, that “despite attempts to re-situate leadership development theory, there remains a persistent functionalist preoccupation with enhancing the qualities of individual leaders, as if they are personally capable of turning organisations around” (Mabey 2013, p. 364).

Interpretative approaches took more notice of the environment in which leadership development is contextualised with less focus on what are often called “leadership interventions” and more study of the gaps that occur between them (Mabey 2013). Within interpretative studies there is an emphasis of the social rather than the economic and a belief that leadership is “socially constructed, co-created and evolving with an emphasis upon systemic context and inter-subjective appreciation” (Mabey 2013, p. 365). Interpretative approaches are often aligned with critical analysis of leadership development and focus on understanding the political, often emancipatory, implications behind that development (Alvesson & Deetz 2000). Leadership development is researched with the desire to understand how programs perpetrate power structures, extend control and sublimate dissent (Ford & Harding 2007; Mabey 2013). Studies examining leadership development from a critical standpoint examine the role of power and resistance (Carroll & Nicholson 2014; Ford & Harding 2007; Nicholson & Carroll 2013) or the role of seduction (Sinclair 2009) in leadership to bring to light hidden assumptions that influence functionalist approaches.

An important distinction is the difference between the concepts of leader and leadership. For most the twentieth century, leadership development was synonymous with leader development, where “‘leadership development’, while increasingly fashionable, ... tended to be equated with ‘leader development’, focusing on the training and development of the individual competencies, skills and attributes of the leader” (Iles 2006, p. 321). This led to a research focus on personality characteristics, traits and behaviours that a leader should demonstrate or utilise. Most research concerned the potential effectiveness of “leader development programs, multisource feedback, and mentoring” undertaken by individuals and completed within an organisational framework (McCauley 2008, pp. 1–2). However, individual leader development was found to be wanting when considering the reality of the post-industrial era. Critics of

leader-led development approaches argue it resulted in a “misallocation of resources in the attempt to develop leadership capacity” (Iles 2006, p. 317) because a singular emphasis on the leader tends to decontextualise the development process and the concept of leadership per se.

Focusing on competency or skill development suggests there is one “correct” way to become a leader, historically rooted in the white, European/US centric male framework (Iles 2006). If, as theorists argue, leadership is a process that involves multiple interaction of individuals, then leadership development theory must adjust its developmental processes accordingly. Rost (1993) argues that leadership is a relational process where mutually beneficial outcomes are achieved through the collaboration of individuals. If this is true, it follows that leader development is the enhancement of human capital while leadership development improves social capital (Iles 2006). Thus, developing leadership is a non-hierarchical process that acknowledges the role of “leader” may move between individuals depending on the circumstances. The thesis will demonstrate that neo-liberal “leader” oriented developmental approach exists within the arts and cultural sectors to the detriment of other potential offerings.

Leadership Development Techniques

Since leadership is perceived to have positive impact on individuals and organisations, the development of leaders has become a key research focus. Most research into leadership development has focused on skill-building and short-term interventions such as courses and training (Conger 2010). Several techniques have been recognised as influential in building leadership understanding and capability and, consequently, in shaping leadership identity. For many researchers, leadership development has revolved around identifying education and training methods that impart skills or knowledge, but alternate approaches suggest that experience, both within and outside the workplace, is crucial in creating leadership identity (McCall Jr 2010a, 2010b, 2010c).

Organisationally driven leadership development research suggests that most professional development is undertaken on-the-job, with several studies focusing on how experiences shape leadership development (Conger 2004; Conner 2000; Day 2001; Ibarra, Snook & Ramo 2010; McCall Jr 2010c; McCauley 2008). On-the-job learning can provide developmental experience in a variety of different ways. Experiences

considered most effective in leadership development include job transitions and dealing with obstacles (Conger 2004); the impact of undertaking first supervisory roles (Kotter 2001); managing special projects, developing a start-up and dealing with difficult subordinates and traumatic events (McCall Jr 2010a). It may seem like any experience can be a leadership development experience, but research by McCall Jr (2010a) argues that while developmental experiences cover a wide variety of domains, they enforce learning by providing a challenge. Moreover, variety and time (and sometimes the order of acquired experience) can teach different things. Unlike leadership training, which is often used to avoid derailment of performance, experience based learning can provide continuous growth (Conger 2004).

For many, the concept of development is synonymous with the notion of training. Facilitated learning offer participants an understanding of leadership language and theories, which may broaden their awareness of what constitutes leadership (Komives et al. 2005). From an arts and cultural perspective, there may be less opportunity to participate in facilitated development because of financial or opportunity constraints, acknowledging there has been significant growth in arts management training offerings over the past two decades. When examining the role that education plays in the development of arts managers, Martin and Rich (1998) found that 90 per cent of organisations in their study had executives who had participated in professional development programs or seminars. However, Suchy (1998, 1999, 2000) found that on-the-job-training was seen as the most important factor in museum manager development.

The advent of new critical approaches to leadership in the literature has resulted in revised perspectives on the role of programs designed to develop leaders and leadership identity. Critical approaches to leadership studies have explored leadership development from the perspective of power, control and identity regulation (Ford, Learmonth & Harding 2008; Gagnon & Collinson 2014). More recently, theories have emerged that suggest critiquing development leadership theory in situ encourages reflectivity and links leadership theory to practice (Carroll 2015; Carroll & Levy 2010; Carroll, Levy & Richmond 2008; Carroll & Nicholson 2014; Sinclair 2009, 2011). In these approaches, leadership development programs occur as places of identity enhancement. Understanding, and critiquing leadership, including processes of personal reflection can

provide space for leadership identity work in a way that aligns theory to participant self-identity.

Lived Experience and Leadership Development

While formal development interventions and on-the-job experience play a role in building leadership capacity, particularly in those with a development motivation, there is also significant data on the role life experience plays in shaping leadership skills. Enoch (2014, p. 13), writes, “leadership comes from wisdom and life experience, skills and that little touch of magic”. Thus, scholars researching leadership development now acknowledge that life experience may just bring a bit of wisdom and skill to leadership development.

Foundations of leadership, such as self-confidence, achievement drive and interpersonal skills are often built within the family environment, while school and university often present the first opportunity to experience or participate in leadership roles. Conger (2004) argues early life provides a baseline of capability for effective leadership, determining the level of drive people have towards leadership and setting the stage for the fields in which their leadership skills will be displayed. The influence of family history or the prevalence of role models can be considered catalysts that facilitate personal growth and development (Gardner et al. 2005; McCall Jr 2010b). Komives et al. (2005) also argue that leadership identity is developed through various factors linked to the family and young adulthood; the role of adult and peer influencers and meaningful participation in leadership activity such as sporting teams.

The communication of lived experience, explored through storytelling and narrative, link the formation of leadership identity to the development process. Shamir, Dayan-Horesh and Adler (2005) present the role of “life stories” within leadership identity construction and how these can be used from a developmental perspective. A life story provides a sense of self-concept, a position from which the leaders can lead. The construction and communication of life stories provide information for followers about a leader’s traits and behaviours, thus validating their position as leader in the mind of followers (Shamir, Dayan-Horesh & Adler 2005; Shamir & Eilam 2005). The inclusion of lived experience and storytelling into leader identity construction links the personal with the theoretical in a way that is also found in social learning approaches.

Social Learning Theory and Communities of Practice

To date, more academic attention has been placed on leadership development that imparts knowledge from the experienced practitioner to the novice learner, particularly in the organisational setting. However, the move towards examining the role experience plays in leadership development is also supported by a shift in learning theory, one that emphasises social interaction over individual factors. From a leadership development perspective, Ford, Learmonth and Harding (2008, p. 6) argue that “The one thing that is certain is that the assumptions in mainstream theory of a straightforward transmission between text (or training course) and reader (or student) is misplaced”.

Traditionally, the study of learning considered knowledge creation as a process that existed in the mind of the learner, however, social learning explores how learning relates to the social environment (Lave 2009). Peer learning explores how relationships specifically impact the development of new skills and knowledge. Peer relations have been found to provide multiple career and psychosocial benefits, including information sharing, feedback provision and emotional support. Peer relations differ from mentoring due to the sense of mutuality where both parties to the relationship receive support (Kram & Isabella 1985). Peers have been found to be leadership role models, sources of affirmation and support and take the form of followers, team mates and collaborators during the formation of leadership identity (Komives et al. 2005). For creative workers not employed within the organisational context, peer or social learning has the potential to fill learning gaps not met through other development techniques.

It is Lave and Wenger’s (1991) notion of situated learning, however, that takes the role of peers and the social context of learning in a transformative new direction. Lave and Wenger (1991) argue learning is embedded in activity, culture and context, seeing knowledge development as a fluid, socially constructed process that occurs throughout individual’s life. Learning is a collective, not individually oriented cognitive process. Knowledge is not acquired, or passed on from one individual to another, but developed through legitimate peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger 1991) in mutually shared activity. Social learning is “a change in understanding that goes beyond the individual to become situated within wider social units or communities of practice through social interactions between actors within social networks” (Reed et al. 2010, p. 6). Crucially, these concepts are based on anthropological studies of learning conducted outside the

educational environment (Edwards 2005), which may be one reason for their popularity among organisational scholars.

Communities of practice are joint enterprises, have a shared repertoire of communal resources, such as a vocabulary, that emerge over time (Wenger 1998) and it is this notion of coming together to produce an agreed output, or work, that differs a community of practice from a social network (Fuller 2007). Those who participate in a community, even though they may not recognise themselves as such (Roberts 2006), create a shared definition of what competence is, and hold each other accountable to this level. In his review of communities of practice literature, Cox (2005, p. 528) highlights the discrepancies in approaches towards communities of practice, but suggests that the common attribute of the literature is “their view of meaning as locally and socially constructed and in placing identity as central to learning”.

While positioned as a development tool, communities of practice also enhance careers by promoting a positive psychosocial outlook. Higgins, Dobrow and Roloff’s (2010, p. 9) study of “developmental networks” or “subsets of an individual’s entire network or social capital” demonstrate how such relations impact “organisational commitment, work satisfaction, clarity of professional identity, and career advancement”. They found that individuals who fell into the boundaryless career category, or those who moved across employers or organisational types (Arthur 1994) benefitted from having close, developmental networks that offered both career and psychosocial support. In particular, there was a “positive association between the strength of one’s network of developmental relationships and optimism” (Higgins, Dobrow & Roloff 2010, p. 25). Those with stronger developmental networks receive psychosocial support that enhances self-confidence and belief in positive future outcomes. The authors found that it was the psychosocial support, as opposed to career or capacity building support, that enhanced career optimism. Higgins, Dobrow & Roloff’s (2010) research is particularly relevant for this study given both the protean or boundaryless nature of work in many arts and cultural disciplines and the role communities of practice plays in developing practitioners.

Unlike many leadership development practices discussed earlier in this section, communities of practice are not solely associated with development within organisations, even though they are firmly embraced within organisational studies and

commodified specifically as a tool for corporate development (Roberts 2006). While organisational members take part in communities of practice, Wenger (1998) argues that organisations cannot control them. Communities of practice can exist across teams, departments, situations, organisations and distance and relationships may be horizontal or vertical (McLeod, O’Donohoe & Townley 2011).

Although a recent theoretical development which has had significant impact in human resource management, learning and organisational studies, communities of practice theory is not without critics. Critics argue communities of practice theory fails to acknowledge disagreement, conflict, power and struggle may occur, and that even the use of the word “community” implies a sense of harmoniousness that may not always exist (Jewson 2007). Indeed, questioning the looseness around the term community is an area of critical focus (Edwards 2005). Others argue the relaxed definition makes the concept more widely applicable (Cox 2005). Wenger (1998) provides more structure to the concept of community by highlighting the mutual engagement in shared activity and shared repertoire as indicators, and that communities of practice should be taken *sui generis* and not reduced to the terms “community” and “practice”. Other critics question participation as a linear process, one where individuals move from the periphery to the centre in a way that supports continuation of practice rather than any notions of disruption or transformation (Fuller 2007; Hughes 2007; Jewson 2007). While communities of practice may provide insight into how existing knowledge is transferred, the theory may fail to adequately explain the development of new ideas and knowledge (Edwards 2005) and, in this sense, the concept of communities of practice are seen as a continuation of functionalist or normative concepts of learning. Roberts (2006, p. 628) has provided an extensive examination of issues of power and trust within communities of practice, arguing that “trust, familiarity and mutual understanding, developed in their social and cultural contexts, are prerequisites for the successful transfer of tacit knowledge”. Furthermore, without these factors, participants may be reluctant to share knowledge.

While communities of practice may seem applicable in the modern, networked work environment, examples used by Lave and Wenger (1991) to position the theory hark back to historical work practices, reviving the notions of apprenticeship and guilds. The practices used in the original discussion of communities of practice are often craft

based, such as tailoring and butchery (Cox 2005). In their earlier work, Lave and Wenger (1991) argue that anthropological studies of learning offer alternative cultural points of view for conceptualisation of processes. However, critics argue communities of practice glorify a praxis built around feudalism and oppression (Engeström 2007) without acknowledging inherent power dynamics.

Communities of practice see the outcome of learning as identity development. Unlike more traditional approaches that see the development of cognitive function as the end result of learning, situated learning emphasises meaning-making and the constitution of identity (Wenger 2010). Wenger argues that all aspects of a person are shaped by their learning, and that becoming a “knower” in the context where what it means to know is negotiated with other members of the community. In this research, what constitutes being a leader is negotiated with other members of the community. Participants reflect on their “knowing” of leadership and how it impacts in their own identity. Knowing is not just about learning techniques, it is about becoming (Wenger 2010).

Despite work practices seemingly having a natural alignment to the concept of leadership, there is a lack of research that examines the role of communities of practice within the creative industries. In a recent conference paper, Jyrämä and Äyväri (2015) explore societal art projects and art management skills using a communities of practice framework. Fritsch (2008) utilises the methodology from an audience analysis perspective. Hearn, Rodrigues and Bridgstock (2014) consider social learning in creative services teams. There is scope, however, to consider the role communities of practice play in the development of leadership identity in the creative sector either in the absence of, or supplementary to, other development methods. As a development process that works socially, unrestrained by specific delivery costs or time constraints, and not shaped by organisational boundaries, communities of practice may be an integral element to leadership identity formation for creative workers and a way of forming leadership identity that reduces the friction between leadership discourse and creative practice.

Leadership Development in the Australian Arts and Cultural Sector

While this thesis argues that leadership identity is a social construction, formal leadership development, represented by training courses and education, is still an

important contributor to leadership understanding. The growing focus on the efficacy of cultural leaders is also mirrored by the rise of academically provided professional development courses aimed at both the creative sector and other sectors wishing to lead with creativity and innovation. While several undergraduate and postgraduate courses in arts management have been available across Australia for many years, in recent times there has been an expansion of those aiming to build creative leaders. These courses, like postgraduate programs at the University of Melbourne, NIDA's Cultural Leadership Program, the University of South Australia or Deakin University's Arts and Cultural Management programs, aim to attract those from a variety of sectors, both nationally and internationally. Often priced out of the financial reach for many cultural workers, these programs aim to recognise that cultural leadership has specific characteristics that require new skills and capabilities for success. Critics argue, however, that many of these courses "prepare students for existing models of career progression within recognisable organisational formats" (Muller 2015). Furthermore, they fail to meet the needs of emerging cultural leaders who are not yet artistic directors or gallery CEOs or those who aspire to work beyond the organisational establishment paradigm. These new leaders are "ideators" and influencers, who rely on distributed or networked leadership styles rather than the hierarchies of the increasingly limited large-scale arts organisations.

Investing in career development (including leadership) is often the responsibility of publicly funded industry institutions such as the Australia Council for the Arts or Screen Australia. Professional associations at a national, state or local level help fill development gaps through the provision of development programs, grants and facilitation of career skills. The Australia Council's 2015 funding program included development grants for individuals and groups which aim to, among other things, "strengthen your capacity as an arts professional" (Australia Council for the Arts, 2016). Like the provision of career skills within the education sector, these programs focus on equipping the individual with skills in adapting to the current environment and building a successful career within it. Screen Australia's offering includes funding for industry placements, support for courses and training and up to \$3,000 to pay for mentoring (Screen Australia 2016). Similar programs exist at a state level supporting both regional and metropolitan practitioners. Most of these development activities relate to what Throsby (2008) describes as the core creative arts. For those in the broader creative

industries, such as digital design and advertising, leadership or other forms of professional development are largely left to employers.

There are a few leadership development programs on offer in the Australian arts and cultural sector, but positions are highly competitive and their industry reach is small. Most notable are the Australia Council's suite of leadership initiatives re-launched in 2016/17. Targeting both emerging and established leaders, the offerings "respond to the evolving arts ecology, and the need to support our sector's emerging and established leaders with the skills and capabilities to lead through change" (Australia Council for the Arts 2016). Like many functionalist approaches, this program focuses on skill and capability development identified as beneficial to creating "successful" cultural leaders, but it also recognises that those in sector are "already rich in knowledge and capability, and that artists and arts leaders learn and evolve through sharing stories and experiences" (Australia Council for the Arts 2016). At a more local or specialist level, there are also similar programs run by organisations such as the Footscray Community Arts Centre (Footscray Community Arts Centre 2016) or those targeting emerging Indigenous cultural leaders, such as the British Council's *Accelerate* program (British Council 2016).

There is a commonality across leadership development options for those in the arts and cultural sectors, in that they centre around the notion of developing leaders rather than leadership development. There is little attention given to organisational development, understanding how to develop others, or any form of collective learning approaches. Modern creative careers are often positioned within boundaryless career models (Bridgstock 2005, 2011; Briscoe & Hall 2006; Mainemelis, Nolas & Tsirogianni 2015) that position organisational relationships as mutually negotiated transactions rather than long-term relationships. With this in mind, leadership development and other forms of career development, are increasingly focused on building individual capacity, or as McLeod, O'Donohoe and Townley put it, "realising the project of the self" (2011, p. 114).

2.3. Identity Theory

The concept of leadership identity has already emerged in the discussions of leadership and leadership development theory. While the intersection of leadership and identity is

a relatively new area of theoretical exploration, in recent years there has been more focus on the questions of self and identity as an element of leadership and followership (Luhrmann & Eberl 2007). According to Carroll (2016, p. 94) identity “is considered absolutely central to contemporary existence and in fact one of the big differentiators between our modern society and more tradition ones”. Identity research in the organisational context has traditionally focused on the individual and its relationship to the collective, predominantly represented by the work group, department or organisation (Sluss & Ashforth 2007). Other scholars have considered identity in ways it impacts leadership motivation (Shamir, House & Arthur 1993) and how identity influences, and is influenced by, leader-follower relationships (Gardner & Avolio 1998). There are two main schools of thought: those that tend to come from critical perspectives that examine “the political and discursive processes by which manager and leader identities are manufactured, controlled and occasionally resisted”; and, alternatively, functionalist theories that explore “how to build, maintain and project an authentic, effective leadership persona” (Sinclair 2011, p. 508). This section will briefly explore these facets of identity theory, how constructed notions of identity have influenced leadership and leadership development and, in particular, expand on identity theories that influence the theoretical thinking of this study.

Functionalist Approaches to Leadership Identity

Dominating mainstream managerial research, functionalist approaches focus on critical junctures, that help individuals transition up organisational hierarchies. Functionalist approaches view identity as a “unitary coherent construction produced by the individual, who is then exhorted on a treadmill of self-improvement (and, conveniently, leadership development and education)” (Sinclair 2011, p. 508). The role of development in constructing leader identity is one that is “orientated at identifying which stage an individual functions from, to provide a personalized pathway to the next level or stage” (Carroll & Levy 2010, p. 216–17). One major criticism of dominant views of leadership identity is their one-directional or static approach. DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 628) argue:

...if leadership is a mutual influence process among individuals, then social interaction among those individuals and various contextual factors can cause leader and follower identities to shift over time and across situations.

A key example of positivist, structured notions of identity driven leadership development is provided by Komives et al. (2006) in their article “A Leadership Identity Development (LID) Model: Applications from a Grounded Theory”. A study involving college students, the researchers devised six defined stages individuals progress through that shape leadership identity: from awareness of leadership to integration or synthesis of the idea of leadership. Several personal or group impacts were isolated that influence the development of leadership identity. These functionalist approaches suggest leadership identity development is a systematic process that anyone can undertake and that activities, such as development interventions, play a role in facilitating identity transition by providing an “identity workspace” to explore new options (Nicholson & Carroll 2013). The strength of these studies is that they examine leadership development outside the traditional organisational context, allowing for consideration of different development interventions and experiences. Leadership identity development theories have been used subsequently to explore leadership identity for distinct leadership groups such as LGBTI students (Renn & Bilodeau 2005). The limitations of identity development approaches, however, must be acknowledged. By identifying stages of progression, there is an assumption that leadership identity development is a linear process and that there is a sense of homogeneity within each stage. In addition, those who are “stuck” in developmental phases are perceived as not fully developed (Renn & Bilodeau 2005, p. 349).

Developmental identity approaches to leadership examine whether individuals know how to lead and, importantly, whether they are motivated to lead. Motivation to lead is seen as “an individual’s willingness to engage in leadership training activities and assume leadership roles” (Guillén, Mayo & Korotov 2015, p. 802). Motivation to lead has been linked to previous leadership experience, where those who have led in the past are more likely to see themselves as a leader (Hiller 2006) and are also more proactive with their own leadership development. Being motivated to lead means that individuals make decisions to assume leadership roles and persist in leadership tasks because they derive positive feelings from the act of being a leader.

Those who exhibit “prototypical” leadership traits are more likely to see themselves as a leader (Hiller 2006). DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 638) argue “the more consistency people see between their own attributes and their own implicit theory of leadership, the

more they will claim a leader identity”. This raises the question, however, as to which traits are prototypical given leadership is such a flexible and ultimately undefined concept. Ford, Learmonth and Harding (2008, p. 80) argue that leadership development increases identity led anxiety because “leadership training courses invite participants to seduce themselves into the concept of leadership, and then limit the range of possibilities of being within that identity of leader”. By demonstrating how individuals perceive themselves in terms of leadership quantitative studies do highlight the impact media and theoretical models of leadership have on an individual’s understanding of their own leadership identity. This thesis will demonstrate creative practitioners have differing responses to leadership identity work motivated by participation in development and exposure to leadership models and ideals.

Social Identity Theory

How individuals “go about producing and enacting themselves in society” (Evans & Sinclair 2016a, p. 273) has flourished in the cult of self-development that emerged in the twentieth-century. Social identity theory, a person’s knowledge that he or she belongs to a social category or group (Stets & Burke 2000), became known in the 1970s when researchers into identity theory began to shift from the individual to the social (Tajfel 1974). Where individual identity theories examine how individuals define themselves in relation to others, social identity theories argue individuals who are perceived to match their groups social identity are more likely to be granted leader status (Luhmann & Eberl 2007, p. 115). Social identity theory has often been linked to self-awareness, given its links to the popular concept of emotional intelligence (Ruderman & Ernst 2004). If leaders can understand how people view them as part of their social group and to learn to appreciate the perspectives of other social groups, then they are perceived as more effective leaders. Importantly, however, social identity theory is used to advise leaders how to “craft” their identity to match those of their followers; “leaders are thus encouraged to work on creating an individual ‘brand’ that transcends their organisation and feeds the romantic or saviour myths that often underpin contemporary appetites for leadership” (Sinclair 2011, p. 510). This form of identity development, often supported by popular books on leadership, includes the creation of “life-stories that people can develop a self-concept of a leader that supports and justifies their leadership role” (Shamir & Eilam 2005, p. 403). Most social identity

theory adopts a functionalist approach, where the development of an identity that aligns with the organisation yields better organisational performance (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft & Thomas 2008). By acknowledging the role that society plays in the development of self-concept, social identity theory links our understanding of leadership identity with communities of practice. Social identity theory, however, does not necessarily highlight issues of power, performance and the social constructed nature of identity that more critical approaches can typify.

Social identity theory has been translated into an organisational context to suggest that the answer to an individual's question of "who am I?" may in fact lie with "where do I work?" Ashforth and Mael (1989) argue that an individual's organisation, department or even work group may exhibit the characteristics of the social group they identify with. Individuals however, may identify with a more complex set of groupings than just the organisational setting, and critics argue that those in professional roles, that is those with unique knowledge and skills sets such as medicine and law (and potentially creative practices) have a different relationship to professional identity development (Pratt, Rockmann & Kaufmann 2006). Research on creative workers highlights the predilection for creatives to see their identity as being shaped by what they do, not who they work for (Eikhof & Haunschild 2006) and that "artists do not necessarily separate their work from their self-identity" (Caust 2006, p. 261). Deuze and Lewis (2013) explore the relations between professional identity and the creative industries in their analysis of media workers. In particular, they examine how the labour practices of the sector have helped to shape the way professional identity is constructed by workers within it. Reid, Petocz and Bennet (2010, p. 34) use a "self-referential" identity framework that acknowledges artist's identity as "fluid, generated through a lifetime of experience, social motivated, and intrinsically refined." Eikhof and Haunschild (2006) suggest that participation in creative professional work is less about the economic outcomes and more about values and work preferences, thus aligning creative work with protean and boundaryless career theories.

Cross-organisational developmental networks, as discussed in the section on social learning in this chapter, also contribute to professional identity construction. Individuals may gain support and identity influences from a range of people not connected to each other. Dobrow and Higgins (2005, p. 569) argue that "Developmental networks may

provide a key means by which people can explore their possible selves and construct their professional identities”. By working with a variety of people within communities of practice “people identify role models, experiment with unfamiliar behaviours, and evaluate their progress” to construct possible identities (Ibarra 1999, p. 767).

Interpretative and Critical Approaches to Leadership Identity

If functionalist approaches examine leadership identity with a technical mindset, then interpretive scholarship examines the construction of identity in concert with others, with less concern for organisational performance or measurable outcomes, but more focus on issues of power and control. Interpretive identity approaches “focus on how people craft their identities through interaction, or how they weave ‘narratives of self’ in concert with others and out of the diverse contextual resources within their reach” (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft & Thomas 2008, p. 8). Identity is “generally represented as a struggle between the expectations of self, others, and organisation/community/society” (Carroll 2016, p. 101). Barge and Fairhurst take a social constructionist and systemic thinking approach and demonstrate, through the analysis of language, that leadership “actors co-create their subjectivities – personal and professional identities, relationships, communities, and cultures – *in communication* through linguistic and embodied performances” (Barge & Fairhurst 2008, p. 228). Identity is a fluid construct, one that can be influenced by extrinsic and intrinsic factors (Ford 2005, 2010; Uhl-Bien 2006). The social constructionist approach to identity rejects any category established as a core feature or unique property of a collective’s members because every collective becomes a socially crafted artefact, formed, reformed and mobilised in response to the collective’s cultural scripts and centres of power (Cerulo 1997). Social constructionist research into leadership identity demonstrates how, in the face of discursive pressure, individuals “actively ‘story’ their lives” (Watson 2008, p. 125). Acknowledging that we are born into dominant discourses that will shape our identity (Carroll & Nicholson 2014), the aim then is to link learning and development with the images of leadership that individuals already have in their minds (Schyns et al. 2012).

If interpretive approaches focus on the social context and interactive nature of constructing identity, critical approaches focus on emancipation from examples of power and control that attempt to influence agency. The focus is on the “local organisational manifestation and personal internationalisation in world views that serve

to subordinate human bodies to managerial regimes” (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft & Thomas 2008, p. 9). The activity undertaken by individuals to create their identity in the face of organisational and social pressures is known as identity work, where:

Individuals have to work with the grain of existing and dominant discourses and subjectivities but, as they do this, they can exploit the variety of sometimes overlapping, sometimes conflicting, discourses and subjectivities in order to craft a self which is, to an extent, ‘their own’. (Watson 2008, p. 130)

Identity work is a key area of critical leadership study, some arguing that contemporary leadership discourse is all regulating identity work (Sveningsson 2006). Identity work is an ongoing mental activity that an individual assumes to construct a coherent self that is positively valued (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft & Thomas 2008). This contrasts starkly with the fixed, stable descriptions of identity found in functionalist approaches. The notion that identity is transitional, mutable, relationship dependant and considered fragile makes it difficult for individuals to create a “stable, coherent and steadily growing feeling of competence, respect and self-esteem” (Sveningsson 2006, p. 206).

Scholars such as Sinclair (2004, 2009) bring to light Butler’s (1988) notion of performativity in the leadership and leadership development process. Individuals are both “authors of and objects in identity production” (Sinclair 2011, p. 509). Since the late 1980s, the prevalence of business thinking has increased pressure on individuals to “become or be” leaders. Sinclair (2011), like Ford, Learmonth and Harding (2008), link this pressure to develop leadership identity to heightening anxiety in individuals who feel the need to conform to an unattainable ideal, exacerbated by the increased measurement of leader performance as standard practice in organisational life.

Critical approaches to identity also explore social identity in relation to non-white, non-western, non-masculine paradigms. The analysis of leadership identity and gender is of particular focus. Some (Sinclair 2009, 2011; Sinclair & Lips-Wiersma 2008) take a narrative approach, acknowledging their own identity work and role in the research process, to show how identity is shaped through personal leadership experiences and influenced by social pressures and constructions. Wilkinson and Blackmore (2008) research the relation between media portrayals of female leadership and female

academic leaders, examining the media's role in meaning-making. They highlight not only how women leaders do not see constructed representations of leadership as representative, but also how they shape others' perceptions. The authors suggest that:

...women participants often did not recognize themselves in the media or society's portrayals of female leadership and, similarly, colleagues and students failed to 'recognize' the women as academics/leaders because of the lack of discursive spaces for women educational leaders from non-Anglo origins. (Wilkinson & Blackmore 2008, p. 126)

Similarly, Sinclair (2004) discusses feedback from students and how they perceived her leadership capabilities and styles as different from her male counterparts.

Critical identity theories recognise not only the fluid nature of identity, but the role that social interaction plays in constructing and reconstructing identity. This is specifically examined within a leadership context by DeRue and Ashford (2010) who develop a model of leadership identity construction that involves three elements; individual internalisation, relational recognition and collective endorsement. Aligning with social constructionist views of leadership the authors suggest leader (and follower) identities shift among group members through a social process. Individual internalisation is the state where leaders come to incorporate the identity of leader as part of their self-concept (DeRue & Ashford 2010, p. 629). Relational identity suggests that leadership identity will be cemented when it is "relationally recognised through the adoption of reciprocal role identities as leader or follower", that is, when those around a leader take on a follower identity (DeRue & Ashford 2010, p. 629). Finally, DeRue and Ashford argue that when leaders are recognised as leaders by those in their social environment, that is they are collectively endorsed, it reaffirms their leadership identity (DeRue & Ashford 2010, p. 629). Importantly, the authors claim that all three elements of leadership identity construction are necessary for a leader-follower relationship to emerge (DeRue & Ashford 2010, p. 632).

Identity has also become a useful frame to explore leadership development in a new light. There are strong critiques of leadership development as sites of identity regulation used to exert organisational control, with development programs seen as "relatively intensive regulatory practices designed to target and transform participant identities

through processes that may add to or diminish participants' sense of self" (Gagnon & Collinson 2014, p. 663). Alternatively, several scholars are now investigating leadership development programs as sites of expansion of leadership identity development. Through the inclusion of reflexivity, teaching critical perspectives and learning from experience, participants in leadership development programs can "reflect on, selectively resist and re-direct energies and identifications" (Sinclair 2011, p. 512). Similarly, Carroll and Levy (2010) consider leadership development programs as a space to:

Foster the kind of identity work that protects and expands the capacity of those undertaking leadership development. More specifically, for them to be "the subject who decides" what constitutes the identity choices available for the often mysterious and complex concept called leadership. (p.212)

Like Sinclair's practice, the work undertaken through the New Zealand Leadership Institute aims to include "critical reflection, powerful questioning practices, and sustained group inquiry and action processes" (Carroll & Levy 2010, p. 219) to make development a more expansive identity space.

This research aligns with this idea of leadership development as a potential expansive space, taking Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) critically oriented identity framework model and locating it within the community of practice context to demonstrate that social learning can also provide a place where social and individual leadership identity construction can be successfully incorporated to reduce the potential anxiety of identity work.

2.4. Reluctant Leadership

There is an assumption within most functionalist leadership approaches that leadership is aspirational. While research has explored the individuals' motivation to lead, this tends to consider whether someone is willing to assume leadership roles, and there is a perceived level of "faith" around the idea of leadership itself. While critical approaches consider resistance to leadership, these studies focus more on the differences between worker and managerial attitudes and how both use power to exercise influence within organisations. There is little study, however, on individual identity development and

reluctance or resistance to leadership. Identity framework models acknowledge the anxiety or dissonance that may occur for those engaging in identity work under the influence of identity regulation, but less is known about those who choose not to identify as a leader even when undertaking the actions of a leader.

As with functionalist approaches seen elsewhere in this review, explorations into leadership reluctance tend to focus on understanding the cause and effect of leadership reluctance with a view to overcoming it. Gleeson and Knights (2008) explore the reluctance of middle managers in the English further education sector to assume leadership positions because of their perceived lack of alignment with their pedagogical practice and values, and similar studies examine reluctant leadership in Ireland and Canada (Anderson et al. 2011). Empson (2014), however, considers reluctance in her analysis of leadership in law, accounting and management consultancy firms and found that reluctance stems from three tactics that may have resonance with those in the cultural sector. First, assuming the role of leader meant demonstrating a move away from practitioners' "first love" of engaging with clients. Similarly, for those in the creative industries, embracing the title of leader, may send the message to the outside world that their creative practice is no longer paramount. Second, becoming a leader means taking on a role that is perceived to be difficult, and finally, Empson identified that reluctance may sometimes be professed rather than genuine. Those in the competitive environment of professional services firms who aspire to leadership roles, generally declare their willingness to lead early. Creating a reluctant leader persona may be more about remaining humble than actual leadership reluctance.

The question of faux-versus-real reluctance may also be found within arts and cultural workers, given the perception that leadership may be "negatively linked to power in the workplace or in the artistic field" and "conventional hierarchical structure is seen as a negative" (Caust 2006, p. 258). DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 639) also explore how environmental or contextual factors may be linked to leadership reluctance, arguing that "individuals, consciously or unconsciously, assess the level of risk involved when deciding whether or not to claim leader identity". For those in areas where leadership is not held in high esteem, as may be the case in some arts and cultural environments, then individuals may be more likely to be reluctant leaders.

For some practitioners, questions around leadership identity relate to a comparison with others. Guillén, Mayo and Korotov (2015) identified two ways in which individuals compare themselves to a mental representation of a leader prototype. The “self to prototype” comparison, where people actively observe leaders in multiple fields and develop generic and nuanced views of them (Guillén, Mayo & Korotov 2015, p. 804) to form the basis of comparison against their own identity. Alternatively, there are “self-to-exemplar” comparisons, where potential leaders compare themselves to specific exemplar leaders to assess their own concrete leadership skills and behaviours (Guillén, Mayo & Korotov 2015). The idea of comparison, both with leadership ideals and the specific individual’s context, is also raised by DeRue and Ashford (2010) who suggest that individuals undertake either an unconscious or “deliberate and conscious process whereby individuals decide if the attributes of a leader or follower are self-descriptive and then engage in claiming (identification) behaviours based on that assessment” (DeRue & Ashford 2010, p. 638).

Critical perspectives on reluctant leadership explore worker and managerial relations and resistance to organisational control through use of power. Leadership development programs are locations for the exploration of this power, control and resistance. Leadership development has been positioned as a tool used by organisations for identity regulation and sites of increased anxiety caused by concentrated identity work and point of comparison to leadership ideals. Brown and Starkey (2000, p. 109) argue individuals are motivated to “defend their existing identities” in the face of leadership (or other) learning because of a need to maintain self-esteem. Learning is an attack on the already constructed notions of identity, and individuals choose to absorb the information that supports their already constructed view. In the face of this attack, the individual may choose to reject the role of leader rather than form a new leadership identity. If leadership identity development models see reluctance to wear the title “leader” as being part of the developmental process, one that is surpassed when a more thorough understanding of leadership emerges within the individual (Komives et al. 2009; Komives et al. 2005; Renn & Bilodeau 2005), then critical identity perspectives see identity as always in a state of flux, and reluctance may be a form of identity protection in the face of anxiety caused by development.

Gagnon and Collinson (2014) investigate techniques used and outcomes from two leadership programs to illustrate the types of resistance utilised by participants. Instead of participation in leadership development causing internally directed anxiety impacting identity formation, subjects may choose to exercise “resistance in the form of exit or disengagement” by creating alternate leadership personas (appearing to “go along” with the constructed leadership identity within the development process, but changing behaviours once back in the workplace) or even exiting the organisation after completion of the program (Gagnon & Collinson 2014, p. 662). While studies such as these demonstrate how individuals may resist the influences of identity regulation within the development context, there is space to explore resistance to leadership within the broader context of emerging-leader identity development.

2.5. Summary

This chapter explored the themes of leadership, identity and leadership development. The discussion commenced with a review of leadership, a concept that is both undefined and contested. In the early days of leadership research, examination of the concept moved from researching “who leaders are”, to “what leaders do” and “when leaders do what”.

Recently, views of leadership, shaped by critical approaches influenced by the perceived failure of leaders across the economic, political and social realms, began to unpack the simple binary of leader/follower. New ideas of leadership emerged, less focused on producing successful organisational leaders and more interested in the relations individuals have to the idea of leadership. Models of leadership moved beyond organisational boundaries to explore influence, power, and relationships in spaces that are mutable and fluid. Leadership has become dynamic and distributed, shifting between individuals, to achieve shared goals. Critical approaches to leadership shed light on gendered, queer, racially diverse perspectives of leadership, highlighting the weaknesses in research dominated by business schools. Critical leadership shifts from the idea of leadership as a measurable object, towards new ontological perspectives. Leadership is no longer reduced to categories of “leader” and “follower” but embraces the idea of networks, discourses, subjects and objects (Kelly 2013). If anything, despite decades of research, we are further away from a universal theory of leadership than ever before, because leadership is now an individual, socially constructed concept.

This thesis is informed by what Raelin (2007, p. 497) calls a “practice turn in social theory” and questions the use of empirical data to measure how leadership identity is formed. Underpinned by a social constructionist framework, the research examines how participants co-construct their own versions of leadership and explores the influences on this construction. Leadership in some ways is in the eye of the beholder—with the beholder being those who perceive themselves to lead, those who see others as leading and those who claim to feel the influence of leadership. Even when the research lens is extended beyond the narrow boundaries of the “leader” to examine the role of “followers” and a shift from “leader” to “leadership” (Rost 1993), leadership is still seen as a distinct, quantifiable, physical, concept that manifest itself through the influence particular individuals, with identifiable traits, behaviours or qualities, have over others.

Leadership in the arts and cultural sector highlights many current leadership models while at the same time displays unique characteristics. The intersection of leadership and creativity demonstrates how both were initially viewed as traits, most often seen in the role of artistic leaders such as theatre directors. However, creative leadership has embraced more critical concepts, recognising the need to empower all participants in artistic processes to achieve shared visions. Creative leaders are not, in fact, auteurs communicating their singular vision through others. Leaders in the arts may have more similarities to those leading social movements who form relational networks to influence and distribute knowledge.

Theories of leadership development travelled a path not unlike theories of leadership per se. For most of the last century, leadership development study had an instrumental bias, aiming to identify and train individuals in behaviours that would promote performance leading to improved organisational outcomes. Questions of leadership traits, however, while at first dismissed as not indicative of leadership success, have re-emerged as the study of genetics and physical characteristics linked to leadership performance.

Understanding and developing leaders, however, is an economically lucrative endeavour and there is significant research into what training, coaching, mentoring and experiential methods actually enhance in leadership performance.

Critical approaches have extended to consideration of leadership development. Critical leadership scholars have shed light on the role that leadership development, particularly programs, play on influencing identity development and the associated challenges. In

the research presented in this thesis, participation in various forms of leadership development is identified as a factor in shaping research participant's constructions of leadership and their subsequent relationship to the concept. Interpretive leadership development approaches consider the sensemaking aspects of development and examine the impact, often retrospectively, of participation in leadership development activity to posit that development must be "strongly relational, participative, inclusive and community oriented" (Mabey 2013, p. 365).

By focusing on the issues of leadership identity, the research becomes more concentrated on dialogic leadership development discourse. Carroll (2015, pp. 99-100/300) describes this approach as "anything we want to consider as leading happens in dialogue or connected with other models of being". This dialogic positions leadership as a concept that is flexible, adaptable, changeable and more dynamic than traditionally conceived. Furthermore, it exists within a reality that is fragmented and sometimes contradictory. In doing so, this approach acknowledges the narratives constructed as part of this current research are only one perspective of leadership identity; they capture moments in time between the researcher and participants.

While leadership development has, for the most part, focused on the enhancement of cognitive function through expert to novice communication, in the last two decades, it has embraced the notion of social learning and communities of practice. In line with social constructionist views that leadership is an individually constructed process, social learning theory embraces the notion that individuals learn through participation in mutually beneficial activity. Social learning opens new opportunities to explore leadership development in the creative industries, an area not as environmentally conducive to resource intensive leadership training or development options.

Social learning sees the outcome of legitimate peripheral participation as identity formation. The focus on identity brings social learning into the realm of critical leadership theories that see leadership as something you become, not learn.

Functionalist identity perspectives on leadership tracked individual progression through various identity stages, influenced by development and experience, to ultimately produce a successful leader. Critical approaches, however, see identity as constantly in flux, formed through social interaction, narrative, and a potential cause of anxiety.

An examination of leadership identity leads to the reluctant leader. While positivist assumptions see leadership as something to aspire to, and that rejection of leadership is just a stage in identity formation, critical approaches highlight how individuals compare themselves to both socially constructed leadership “exemplars” and notable individuals in their environment. This research investigates various leaders within the arts and cultural sector who wear the label reluctantly, if at all. Thus, the study allows an investigation into how leadership theories and developmental methods—in particular, social learning through communities of practice— shape individual leadership identity.

3. RESEARCH PROCESS

This chapter discusses the research process utilised in this project. Beginning with the research question, guided by the theoretical framework and taking into account context, the chapter will outline:

- The research and its relationship to theoretical and conceptual frameworks
- Research process
- Findings presentation

The research examined the social construction of leadership identity in the Australian arts and cultural sector and asks:

What role do communities of practice play in the social construction of leadership identity in Australian arts and cultural workers?

Starting with Enoch's (2014, p. 4) premise: "I'm looking for Cultural Leadership. Do you know where I should look?" the research considered not only where arts and cultural leadership might be found, but also what we see when we look for it. While organisational approaches to, and the relative effectiveness of, arts and cultural leadership have been debated both theoretically and within the media, there is a dearth of research that demonstrates how cultural leaders emerge in Australia. Arts management approaches to leadership and leadership development tend to focus on established leaders, and are predominantly built on functionalist assumptions of a positive relation between the individual and the concept of leadership. Theoretical exploration of critical leadership, and media commentary around arts and cultural leadership suggests, however, there is no uniform aspiration to be recognised as a leader. The research conducted in this thesis demonstrates that emerging leaders within the arts and cultural sector often have a complex, sometimes reluctant, relationship with their own leadership identity, and this is influenced by a range of organisational and social forces.

Critical approaches to identity construction were used to examine nine disciplinary based groups of workers located in the Australian arts and cultural sector; analyse emerging leader identity development; identify influences that contribute to identity work; explore the issue of leadership reluctance and identify strategies that have

emerged to mitigate the reluctance effect. By stressing the socially constructed nature of identity, the research put context firmly at the centre of this study. It situated the research setting within the Australian arts and cultural sector, specifically smaller professional groupings—spaces of shared practice in which each of the nine emerging leaders participate. In asking how identity is constructed, the study led to a consideration of influences that shape the formation of leadership identity. In examining reluctant leadership identity, the research recognised that not all emerging leaders have a positive relationship to leadership and considered the contextual factors that may have contributed positively or negatively to leadership identity development.

The methodology considered that a key term in the research question is “identity” because, as demonstrated in the previous two chapters, theories of identity and identity construction are at the heart of contemporary critical leadership development literature. Despite the prevalence of quantitative approaches in managerial studies that focus on cognitive learning and identity development, this research explored relations between three key concepts—leadership, development and identity—in a way that illuminates the importance of the social context in leadership identity formation. By taking a social constructionist approach and assuming leadership is a social reality “continuously being brought to life in meaning-making processes over time” (Crevani 2015, p. 193/300), the research explored identity construction, narrative and the importance of context in the development of emerging leaders.

The process employed within the research is one that attempts to exist within the space of interpretive leadership identity construction (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft & Thomas 2008), gaining insight into how research participants co-construct their own versions of leadership both individually, shaped by discourse, context, experience, values, beliefs and goals, and through social interaction. Social interaction occurs through participants’ interactions within their communities and through the interview process with the researcher. Individual participants may be identified as leaders, or as DeRue and Ashford (2010) describe, be “granted” leadership identity by the researcher, or by other participants. In the same way, participants could identify or be identified as followers. Investigating how and why participants make their leadership identity constructions may contribute to the question of why some individuals wholly or partially embrace the role of leader, while others see leadership as something to be avoided or critiqued.

3.1. Research Question and its Relationship to Theoretical Frameworks

Where most arts management and functionalist leadership studies situate research in the organisational context, this research positioned identity development in the context of the “constellation” (Wenger 1998) of small communities that proliferate across the Australian cultural sector. Constellations are made up of disciplinary based groups that link together through a variety of organisational or project based entities, for example a network of artists, curators and gallery managers located within a specific geographic location or the actors, writers, producers, directors and other production staff that make up the film sector. Specifically, the study explored groups that reflect communities of practice, or sustained groups that exist over time through the pursuit of mutually beneficial enterprise (Wenger 1998). Considered spaces of social learning, these communities see identity development as central to their being, as opposed to cognitive knowledge building (Lave & Wenger 1991). Communities of practice can be characterised as distinct from other forms of social or peer networks because of three dimensions: mutual engagement, shared repertoire and joint enterprise (Cox 2005). Therefore, while many in the cultural sector may work collaboratively or within cooperative work teams, not all of these will be communities of practice.

These communities of practice, while sometimes encouraged, supported and recognised by organisations, are not generally organisational in origin, historically emerging from an earlier form of cultural practice: the guild (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder 2002). As the theory has developed, however, it has been embraced within organisational studies, and commodified by theorists, as a potential development tool (Brown & Duguid 1991; Wenger, McDermott & Snyder 2002). By locating the present study within communities, it considered the development of leadership self-identity outside and across organisational boundaries. Significantly, it also recognised socially networked approaches to practice in creative disciplines where work is undertaken in a more networked fashion. Communities of practice have been identified as places of knowledge sharing within the creative disciplines and in knowledge work more broadly (Brown & Duguid 1991; Flew 2002). Creativity, at the heart of arts and cultural management, has been recognised as a social not individual process (Bilton 2007, 2010; Bilton & Leary 2002); and although it is a process that requires forms of organisation, it is not always comfortable within organisational structures that potentially stifle

innovation (Florida 2002). Similarly, different forms of creativity, such as invention, economic creativity (entrepreneurism) and artistic and cultural creativity, each of which are recognisable across disciplines in the cultural sector, benefit from cross-pollination and continued collaboration (Florida 2002; Hill et al. 2010). Participation in social learning via communities of practice has the potential to be the location for this cross-fertilisation process.

This thesis recognised that cultural workers are sometimes active participants in “social communities and social enterprises” that are characteristic of communities of practice and the sense of mutuality and participation that they bring are also strong inputs into identity construction (Wenger 1998). The research argued that communities of practice are central to the development of arts and cultural leadership identity as they are the location for the history, narratives and shared practice that facilitate understanding of what constitutes leadership within various creative disciplines. To paraphrase Handley et al. (2006), communities of practice are the context in which individual cultural leaders develop leadership practices, including norms, values, relationships and leadership identities appropriate to their cultural community. In addition, communities of practice create a shared understanding of what constitutes leadership, or the leadership schema, for community participants while also providing individuals with valuable psychosocial support that enhances career optimism and reduces interpersonal risk associated with claiming leader identity.

Integral to this discussion is the identity framework developed by Alvesson and Willmott (2002), shown in Figure 1, which spurred various articles exploring identity as it relates to leadership, organisational control and regulation and developmental approaches. The identity framework model conceptualises identity processes as an interplay between self-identity, or the individual’s image of themselves; identity work as the active construction of self-identity and identity regulation; and organisational and social processes that create a form of identity control (Alvesson & Willmott 2002; Sveningsson 2006). This model demonstrates how individual concepts of self-identity are developed and continually constructed through identity work that is in turn influenced, or regulated, by practices and discourses that are “intentionally targeted” by organisations at employees (Alvesson & Willmott 2002, p. 627). The framework was used to guide the research process and outcomes, as the research process prompts and

informs identity work of participants. Meanwhile narratives constructed by participants demonstrated identity work outcomes that highlight regulatory forces they encounter. The result is a fluid process of individual emerging leader self-identity that either claims or rejects leader status.

<Image removed due to copyright restrictions>

Figure 1: Identity regulation, identity work and self-identity (reproduced from Alvesson & Willmott 2002, p. 627)

Influenced by Foucault and critical approaches to control and power, Alvesson and Willmott's (2002 p. 620) identity framework is "concerned primarily with how organisational control is accomplished through the self-positioning of employees within managerially inspired discourses". By identifying and indoctrinating individuals into the role of (organisational) leader, organisations contribute to "fantasy creation", where individuals wish to be seen as visionaries and strategists, but actually have very little impact on managerial influence and outcomes (Sveningsson 2006, p. 220). This thesis positioned this framework within the arts and cultural context by considering the impact of identity regulation on those in a variety of creative disciplines and roles. Thus, it focused on how leadership discourse and other types of identity regulation may impact cultural workers in ways beyond, but also including, organisational control.

It is challenging for individuals to create a "stable, coherent and steadily growing feeling of competence, respect and self-esteem" in the face of identity regulation (Sveningsson 2006, p. 206). The influence of identity regulation and its contribution to identity work may, in the process of identity construction, cause anxiety within the individual (Handley et al. 2006; Sveningsson & Alvesson 2003). This thesis, as shown through the narratives constructed by both primary and secondary participants, demonstrated how self-doubt manifests itself through forms of reluctance, or resistance, to leadership identity.

Most theoretical exploration into resistance and leadership takes the form of a critical analysis of workers' struggle against management control and power. Resistance can be expressed in multiple ways—overtly through practices such as strikes, to more covert such as distancing or work restriction (Gagnon & Collinson 2014). Considering resistance from a social constructionist perspective, however, Ford, Ford and

McNamara (2002, p. 109) argue resistance can be found in the constructed reality in which the individual operates and therefore, “resistance is a function of the socially constructed reality in which people live, and that depending on the nature of that constructed reality, the form of resistance to change will vary”. The findings of this thesis demonstrated that emerging cultural leaders exercise their resistance to dominant leadership discourse through a reluctance to embrace leadership identity, as reflected through their leadership self-identity.

Leadership development research has positioned resistance as something that must be overcome (Gagnon & Collinson 2014). Development interventions are “sought to align participants’ identities and behaviours with the construction of a particular ideal leader” (Gagnon & Collinson 2014 p. 646). Theoretical approaches such as these are representative of critical leadership theory’s focus on “exposing leadership development’s complicity with dominant discourses” rather than necessarily demonstrating emancipatory alternatives (Carroll & Levy 2010, p. 217). In contrast, critical scholars exploring identity and leadership development (Carroll & Levy 2010; Carroll, Levy & Richmond 2008; Carroll & Nicholson 2014; Sinclair 2010, 2011) explore the idea of resistance as learning in leadership, with development as sites where resistance is manifest and can be encouraged as part of identity work. In their work, they explore leadership development as spaces where participants “struggled to claim and build leadership identities capable of the kind of agency that can play strongly in spaces often shaped and help by others” (Carroll & Nicholson 2014, p. 3). Here, identity regulation becomes an aspect of identity construction.

Scholars are now theorising the importance of practice when considering leadership and leadership development (Carroll, Levy & Richmond 2008; Raelin 2007). Leadership development can be considered as a place to explore the role practice has within the development of leadership identity (Carroll 2015; Carroll & Levy 2010; Carroll & Nicholson 2014) and as sites for incorporating resistance into identity development. This thesis, however, demonstrated how practice contributes to influencing leadership identity development and resistance to dominant discourse outside the formal learning environment. Are communities of practice sites of identity work that facilitate overcoming resistance to leadership, or spaces to build leadership identity with agency? Examining the identity framework using a community of practice context allowed the

research to explore how specific events, encounters and experiences across all aspects of participants' lives serve to "heighten awareness of the constructed notions of self-identity and compel more concentrated identity work" (Alvesson & Willmott 2002, p. 626). This approach potentially offered relief from the anxiety inducing elements of identity regulation and thus reduce reluctance towards leadership.

As noted in the previous chapter, while identity approaches have become more prevalent in areas of organisational studies and management, they have tended to be functionalist in nature with underlying assumptions that identity construction is cognitive, linear, static and essentialist (Carroll & Levy 2010, DeRue & Ashford 2010). Social constructionist pedagogy challenges these assumptions consistent with the way social learning approaches challenge cognitive learning theory. Identity development within communities of practice and socially constructed identity approaches share commonalities, as social learning sees identity as the "negotiation the meaning" of our experience within the social and the individual (Wenger 1998, p. 52/318). Both theories argue that identity is constantly renegotiated, temporal in nature and constructed or co-constructed in social contexts. Communities of practice provide a set of identity models as influences that are negotiated by those who work within them. DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 628) highlight how leadership identity is a mutual influence process where social interaction can cause identities to shift over time and across situations. The authors suggest that individuals "claim" an identity and others affirm or "grant" that identity, forming an "underlying process by which leader and follower identities become socially constructed" (DeRue & Ashford 2010, p 631). Communities of practice are the spaces for mutual influence, where personally constructed notions of leadership identity and socially constructed sites collide, where leadership identity is claimed and granted. Described by Wenger (1998) as "paradigmatic trajectories" that are not simply "reified milestones" as evidenced by developmental identity approaches (Komives et al. 2009; Komives et al. 2006; Komives et al. 2005), they offer multiple avenues of identity work and incorporate past, present and future identity options. Where functionalist approaches to identity may recognise qualifications or promotions as signifiers of leader identity development, communities of practice based identity development recognises the role community members have in shaping identity through interaction and shared practice. Wenger (1998, p. 155/318) suggests that "newcomers (to a community) can engage with their own future, as embodied by old-timers". Eckert (2006) demonstrates,

from a socio-linguistic perspective, the intersection between communities of practice and identity and their alignment to the social constructionist approach found in Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) identity framework and DeRue and Ashford's (2010) leadership identity construction model. Eckert (2006) argues that the importance of the community of practice lies in the recognition that identity is not fixed, that convention does not pre-exist use, and that language use is a continual process of learning. The community of practice is a prime locus of this process of identity and linguistic construction (Wenger 1998).

The focus on power and control within the identity framework positions it within critical theory, but also highlights the imposition of dominant discourse on individuals, whether that be through organisational or social mechanisms. In contrast, communities of practice, which emerge from ethnographic studies rather than learning theory or managerial research, are often distributed, collective and egalitarian in nature (Brown & Duguid 1991). According to critics, Wenger's approach fails to explore the implications of the distribution of power when discussing case studies of communities of practice, and considerations of power are absent or relegated to footnotes. Roberts (2006), however, notes that:

In decentralized network type organisations, where power is distributed, one might expect to find greater diversity in the voices actively shaping and negotiating meaning, which is to say that there will be a greater variety in the possible range of knowledge created and shared. (p. 628)

Given the decentralised nature of the "constellations" (Wenger 1998) of the cultural sector, communities of practice might provide an avenue for emerging arts and cultural leaders to construct a leadership identity that is broader, more diverse, and offer leadership identity options that align more closely with creative practice. While communities of practice are still sites of identity regulation, this does not have to be the imposition of a dominant discourse on the individual in a way that creates tension between the social and individual construction of leadership identity. Communities of practice may in fact be places where "Interaction achieves authentic, motivated learning of what is needed to be known about the complexities of real (leadership) practice" (Cox 2005, p. 528).

As noted, the research presented in this thesis explores the potential of communities of practice as a locus of leadership identity work that provides alignment between leadership identity and creative practice. The research recognises that when faced with more choices regarding creatively aligned leadership discourse, arts and cultural leaders are still being shaped by dominant leadership theories. However, those building positive leadership self-identity are participating in communities that enlarge “rather than reduces identity options” which are “supported by alternative kinds of emancipatory leadership development practice” (Carroll & Levy 2010, p. 218). Belonging to communities of practice, as a central component of leadership identity construction, may demonstrate that “giving people new ways of understanding identities helps them reflect on, selectively resist and re-direct energies and identifications” (Sinclair 2011, p. 512)—thereby reconciling personal identity, creative practice and socially constructed concepts of leadership. While this does not suggest those working within communities of practice are completely unaware of dominant leadership discourse or fail to feel the effects of identity regulation, they are primarily forming their identity in a way that aligns their leadership approach to their practice, supported psychosocially by a strong sense of community. These contributing factors of communities of development provide “space” for the individual to feel confidence in their own form of leadership.

Alvesson and Willmott (2002, p. 636) argue that there is identity regulation beyond organisational boundaries and that “cultural-communitarian” patterns of identity regulation emerge from shared understandings and convictions such as those in the shared repertoire of communities of practice. They make a case that these semi-autonomous forms of identity regulation, however, may be conceptualised as forms of “micro-emancipation” as the “struggle to forge and sustain a sense of self-identity is shaped by multiple images and ideals of ways of being” (Alvesson & Willmott 2002, p. 637). The research presented in this thesis positions identity development that occurs within communities of practice less as “emancipation” and more a reduction of friction or anxiety creation that occurs between identity regulation and identity work. Belonging to several communities of practice may expand the space for this quasi-autonomous identity formation because, even though that opens the individual to more, and potentially conflicting, leadership discourses, they demonstrate a variety of perspectives on leadership that can expand the individual’s view on what constitutes leadership.

The research presented herein, by considering the narratives constructed in a variety of communities that make up the broader constellation of the Australian arts and cultural sector, positions identity framework within the communities of practice context and aims to demonstrate the potential of participation in such communities to reduce anxiety caused by identity regulation and contribute to positive leadership identity development.

3.2. Research Approach

This research followed a qualitative approach, where decisions about strategy were “grounded in the practice, process and the context of the research itself” (Mason 2002, p.506/5131). Ontologically, leadership research historically has been underpinned by a tripod approach, with a focus on leaders, followers and shared outcomes (Drath, et al. 2008), within organisational settings. This context, that of the arts and cultural sector, supported a research process that was not focused on the organisation as a unit of analysis, given the labour market conditions of the sector, and recognised there is a propensity for shared/distributed and relational leadership models that test the boundaries of the tripod ontology. In situating the study within communities or small groups of disciplinary based workers, however, it allowed examination of smaller number of cases or subjects. Ensuring that “detail is found in the precise particulars of such matters as people’s understandings and interactions in particular contexts” (Silverman 2013, p.105/470) while opening up space for questions about the “overall interactions and negotiation of the social order among organisational members” (Drath et al. 2008, p. 641). A qualitative approach was particularly suited to an analysis of leadership identity, considering individual identity development from multiple points of view, as it allowed for exploration of issues and language. Qualitative research considers what is going on within a particular situation or context as it recognises if “knowledge and evidence are contextual, situational and interactional” then you wish to ensure the interview “‘conjures up’, as fully as possible, the social experiences or processes which you are interested in exploring” (Mason 2002, p. 1258/5131).

Qualitative research is participant based, allowing them to share their stories and individual voices. As Silverman suggests (2013, p. 106/470), qualitative research has a naturalistic approach that focuses on “how social realities are produced, assembled or maintained”, in this case how leadership identity narratives are co-constructed in partnership with the researcher throughout the interview process. There are no

judgements within the process, good or bad, appropriate or inappropriate. A qualitative approach aligned with the desired goals of the research to understand how participants engage with the concept of leadership and leadership identity and to share their constructed narratives of its development.

Application of a Case Study Approach

Investigating identity development within small disciplinary based communities naturally aligned to a case study approach. A case study is an “empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within a real-life context where the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident, and in which multiple sources of evidence are used” (Yin 1981, p. 98). In this research, exploring the role of context in influencing leadership identity development was vital. Therefore, a contextually based methodological approach allowed for both a consideration of the contexts influencing leader identity development and a comparison between different communities within arts and culture.

A case study approach saw each participant group as a holistic unit which allowed the research to explain the processes and practices that characterise the unit. In this study, nine cases were collected, each comprising of four or five participants that represented a discipline within the arts and cultural sector; as aligned to UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (2009). The 41 interviews constituted a collective or multiple case study where “the same phenomenon is thought to exist in a variety of situations” (Yin 1981, p. 101) which allows the researcher “to explore differences within and between cases” (Baxter & Jack 2008, p. 547–48). In this sense, the research allowed for comparison of the social construction of leader identity within and across different cases located in the Australian arts and cultural sector. The collective case studies presented investigated leadership identity development within the constellation of the sector’s communities. A constellation is where individual communities are “too far removed from the engagement of participants, too broad, too diverse, too diffuse” to be treated as a single community (Wenger 1998, p. 126/318). A constellation also provides a particular way of seeing communities as related. Constellations share characteristics such as; historical roots, related enterprises, facing similar conditions, having overlapping styles or discourses (Wenger 1998, p. 127/318).

While case study research generally does not begin with a specific goal, it does begin with a specific phenomenon of enquiry—in this case the development of leadership identity within the arts and cultural sector. Thus, “Cases were not selected to be representative statistically, but instead to develop a theoretical argument” (Riessman 2008, p. 55/251). Consequently, the research did not attempt to include cases from every discipline within the UNESCO framework. Research of this type emphasises detailed analysis of a limited number of subjects and “the aim is to produce, through sampling, a relevant range of contexts or phenomena, which enable you to make strategic and possible cross-contextual comparisons” (Mason 2002, p. 2574/5131).

In summary, the study presented an analysis of how leadership identity is socially constructed both within and across the communities that contribute to the Australian arts and cultural sector. In doing so, it located the research firmly within its context, exploring how culture, organisational and social influences contributed to identity work within each specific case, but also allowing for themes to emerge that demonstrated commonalities that can be recognised not only across the arts and cultural sector, but more generally.

Participant Sourcing and Interview Process

Data collection decisions focused on three issues: what were the best methods to collect data, who were the most appropriate participants and how would they be found and engaged. The research question, though the exact wording emerged over the course of the study, guided the sourcing and selection of participants. In essence it was the “where do I look?” element in searching for cultural leaders. The initial focus was on different disciplines within the Australian arts and cultural sector, however, this was concentrated further to consider smaller groups that reflected communities of practice as the specific location consistent with the theoretical and conceptual frameworks that underpinned the objective of the study. Interviews were chosen as the research tool taking the ontological position that “people’s knowledge, views, understandings, interpretations, experiences, and interactions are meaningful properties” (Mason 2002, p. 1258/5131). Interviews captured the details of participants’ leadership development activities, their perceptions of leadership and reflections on their own leadership identity. As Raelin (2011, p. 206) argues, “we need to let practitioners and the practices speak for themselves”. Semi-structured interviews allowed participants to express what is important to them, to tell

their stories and share beliefs and feelings. Sharing narratives is particularly important for the development of leadership identity. As Shamir and Eilam argue (2005, p. 402), “highly developed self-knowledge in terms of a life-story provides the authentic leader with self-concept clarity because it organises life events into a gestalt structure that establishes connections between those events so that the person’s life is experienced as a coherent unfolding process”.

Sourcing participants focused initially on the identification of an emerging-leader within an arts and cultural discipline. In terms of the method, communities or participants were selected as part of a theoretical sampling process using the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (2009) to gain a cross-section of participants representing different cultural domains, locations and organisational or employment types. The aim was to produce a sample that was “meaningful theoretically and empirically, because it builds in certain characteristics or criteria which help to develop and test your theory or your argument” (Mason 2002, p. 2588/5131). Ensuring there was a cross-section of different disciplines, employment types, locations and genders, for example, enabled the data represented in each case to be compared. A decision was made early on to exclude ethnicity, race or cultural background from discussed participant criteria. While acknowledging that these influence identity development, ethnicity was excluded for the sake of research complexity and potential anonymity issues given the often-small arts and cultural communities in some locations included in the research. This selection process supported the research objectives that would provide a representation of identity development practices in a variety of disciplinary, geographic and economic settings. Issues of cultural diversity are discussed further in Chapter Nine.

The term “emerging” is frequently used in the arts environment, in the context of grants, prizes or scholarships. What “emerging” means, however, is contestable. The arts website *ArtsHub* discusses the notion of emerging artists, and reference groups such as the National Association for the Visual Arts, who consider those within the first five of their career as emerging creative practitioners. Historically, funding organisations such as the Australia Council separate artists into categories such as emerging, established and mid-career, based on age limits; yet other organisations relate it to the level of success achieved (*ArtsHub* 2012). From a business perspective, the concept of emerging leaders, or “high potentials” as they are often called, is also ambiguous. Generally, there

is an expectation of some level of career success as measured through delivery of organisational goals, but also a “strong capacity to grow and succeed throughout their careers within an organisation—more quickly and effectively than their peers” (Ready, Conger & Hill 2010). Crucially, the judgement of what constitutes “high potential” is most often made by those other than the individual in question. In most cases, it is a decision made by the organisation, as represented by managers or human resources teams. Another way to consider visibility of emerging leaders is DeRue and Ashford’s (2010, p. 629) discussion of collective endorsement where “the social context within which that individual works might collectively endorse him or her as a leader (or follower) and thereby initiate the leadership identity construction process”. In this study, the arts community had collectively endorsed, through recognition and public reputation, the primary participants in this research as up and coming leaders.

It is often, however, left to the artist themselves to make a decision as to whether they are considered emerging or more established when it comes to applying for funding or developmental opportunities. Even if, “the emerging artist is constantly subjected to the definitions others pin on them” (*ArtsHub* 2012), the label of “emerging”, “established”, or “leader” can influence identity and self-confidence. Without the benefit of a comprehensive definition, and resisting any attempt at essentialism, in the research presented “emerging” is defined as:

- being recognised as demonstrating leadership potential by their peers
- having already built a solid work history and reputation (of over five years)
- not yet leading an organisation of considerable size within the industry

The concept, however, remains ambiguous and, like leadership, in keeping with the conceptual framework of the thesis, is subjective and socially constructed.

Primary participants, or the central emerging-leader figures, were identified through a variety of means. Some were already known professionally by the researcher, and in this case, they were directly invited to participate. Others were sourced via snowball sampling (Mason 2002, p. 2999/5131) where those within in the professional networks of the researcher referred candidates who might be suitable. Once an individual was identified, their background and experience was verified online (generally through LinkedIn profiles or public websites). If suitable, as measured by the criteria adopted, an

invitation was made by the researcher to participate in the study. The final method of sourcing participants was via social media. Subjects were identified and approached via social media sites such as LinkedIn, Twitter and Instagram. Like those introduced by colleagues, those discovered on social media platforms had a professional background check completed by via public platforms before an approach was made. The benefit of sourcing candidates via these tools was an understanding of participants' experience and background, and to build a rapport prior to physically meeting them. In all cases ethics and confidentiality forms were signed prior to any data collected and all interviews were undertaken knowing participants would be anonymous. Participants are identified throughout the research by a pseudonym³.

The idea of interviewing multiple practitioners about the development of an individual was originally derived for triangulation (Gummesson 1991), a method consistent with one of the most prominent management techniques of the 1990s—the concept of 360-degree feedback:

What we call 360-degree feedback is a method of systematic collecting opinions about a manager's performance from a wide range of co-workers. This could include peers, direct subordinates, the boss, the boss's peers - along with people outside the organisation such as customers, suppliers and sometimes even family members. (Chappelow 2004, p. 32)

Often employed in human resource functions, 360 degree feedback is undertaken by surveys and interviews. This form of data collection is also used in management research (Thach 2002). Conducting a similar type of research provided an enlarged picture on how emerging leaders might engage with the concepts of leadership and its development. Secondary participants played vital role in constructing narrative in their interactions with the primary participants, and their interactions with the researcher.

³ Pseudonyms were devised by taking the first letter of the participant's Christian name, moving one letter forward in the alphabet, and randomly selecting a Christian name beginning with this letter. Names chosen are not a reflection of racial or cultural diversity of participants.

Secondary participants were chosen by the primary participants as key influencers in their career. They consist of three to four people who have or have had a professional relationship with the primary participant as subordinates, peers, mentors, colleagues or superiors. In almost all cases, both primary and secondary participants worked within, or have had significant work experience within, the Australian cultural sector. In two cases, secondary participants came from outside the cultural sector, and in three cases, secondary participants were located in different geographic regions than the primary participant.

While the role of the secondary participants was initially to provide a point of triangulation regarding effective leadership development approaches, their role expanded early in the research to be a central influence in positing leadership identity construction. Secondary participants were identified as being, not only witnesses to the “claims” of leadership made by primary participants, but those who had the potential to “grant” leadership identity to primary participants (DeRue & Ashford 2010). While initial selection and description of cases study candidates was built around a specific arts and cultural discipline, as the research developed it emerged that these participant groups demonstrated attributes of communities of practice, that is; joint enterprise, shared repertoire and mutual engagement (Wenger 1998, p. 73/318). In allowing primary participants to select those who were influencing their careers, a number chose those who shared their practice, either currently or in the past. These small groupings became both the site of the research and contributing influences for identity construction. The groups became a key site of leadership identity development and began to answer the original question of where we can find cultural leadership.

Primary participants were not specifically asked to invite “members of their communities of practice” to contribute to the study, however, it became clear during the research process, that in inviting those who had “contributed to and influenced, their career development”, primary participants, in some cases, selected those engaged with them in social learning activity. Thus, in considering communities of practice as the location for the research, another dimension of influences that shaped the social construction of leadership identity was revealed. While not all case studies included in the study can be defined as communities of practice, as discussed in Chapter Seven, the

results show there is a relation between leadership identity construction and active participation in communities of practice.

Participants, both primary and secondary, were also not advised that the interviews would involve discussions of leadership. All supporting materials position the research as investigating career development in the Australian arts and cultural sector (See Appendix 2 for examples). This decision was made for a number of reasons. First, there was evidence of resistance to leadership within the arts and cultural sector, as discussed in previous chapters, and this may have impacted participants' willingness to participate in research examining this area. Second, for primary participants, inviting them to participate in leadership research creates a processes of leadership identification, by both the researcher and the participant receiving the invitation and introductory materials. This would, in effect, influence the outcome of the interview question "Do you consider yourself a leader?" discussed in Chapter Seven. Similarly, for secondary participants, receipt of an invitation and supplementary materials discussing leadership may have influenced their thoughts, pre-interview, around the primary participant's leadership status. As a result, the research materials took a broader career orientated approach rather than focussing on the specific issue of leadership.

Many resources on interview techniques focus on the behaviours of interviewers and interviewees, with the aim of appropriately conducting interviews to maximise the potential of data collected (Silverman 2013). While consideration was given to appropriate interview structure, in this research, there was a motivation to avoid a rigid technical approach. The social constructionist framework prompted a move beyond the mechanical to a more social understanding of interview techniques. Mishler (1991) argues the structure of interviews has become routine and taken for granted, and by focusing on the behavioural aspect we negate the impact of context and conversation:

A thematic, topic-centred, biographical or narrative approach, where the researcher has a number of topic, themes or issues which they wish to cover, or a set of starting points for discussion, or specific, 'stories' which they wish the interviewee to tell. (Mason 2002, p. 1233/5131)

Interviews aimed to provide space for participants to construct their own leadership narratives, with guidance by the researcher. The interviews were therefore conducted

using a semi-structured format. Questions began with a career overview before narrowing the topics to skill development and leadership identity. A list of interview prompts is provided in Appendix 3. Early collection and interpretation of data led to a refinement of the research questions as the case studies progressed, with a stronger focus on leadership reluctance and identity over capability or competency approaches, using a data analysis process that takes on a social rather than an individualistic approach.

The semi-structured interviews adopted by the study fall into what Hollway and Jefferson (2000, p. 32/184) describe as “biographical-interpretive”. This combines elements of life story to unfold through the interview, allowing for the agenda to change and develop by focusing on the use of open ended questions that elicit stories that “contain significances beyond the teller’s intention”. While questions were developed prior to the data collection process, they remained a guide rather than a prescriptive set, allowing for the conversations to take their own course with the aim of creating a “deep, rich, textured picture” (Rapley 2001). Interviews thus reflected a reality jointly constructed between the interviewer and interviewee, or a “discursive accomplishment” (Riessman 2008, p. 23/251). By recognising that the interview is a dialogue and a reality construction process, rather than a technical mechanism to capture the subject’s version of reality, the interview process in this study aimed to uncover more of the “lived experience” of leadership identity development as it continued to unfold during the research process.

Only the last third of the interview specifically concerned leadership identity, including the question “Do you consider yourself a leader?”— the answers to which form the basis of the analysis discussed in Chapter Eight. For secondary participants, the interviews focused on not only their career history and leadership identity, but that of the primary participant. Similarly, the interviewed narrowed to the questions, “Do you consider <primary participant> a leader?” and “Does <primary participant> consider themselves a leader?” By commencing the interviews with a broad focus on general career and development approaches, participants and the interviewer built a rapport that supported the later conversation about leadership.

While interviews are one of the most common approaches to qualitative research, it is important to dispel the notion that the interview is capturing a version of truth. Using a

social constructionist approach, a decision was made regarding whether “interview responses are to be treated as giving direct access to “experience” or as actively constructed narratives” (Silverman 2013, p. 44/470). In the approach adopted by this study, interviews captured what Shamir and Eilam (2005, p. 407) call life stories” and the “events and experiences chosen by authentic leaders to appear in their life-stories reflect the leaders’ self-concepts and their concept of leadership”. However, the interview process is one that is inherently social, that is, interviews depend on interaction between the parties and draw on social norms. It is an “artful interaction” (Rapley 2001), one that relies on the skills and behaviours of everyday life. Conducting interviews with multiple subjects within the same case illuminated concepts that emerged through narrative reflection and interaction with the researcher. Mason highlights that (2002, p. 1279/5131) interviews are social in nature, regardless of the level of structure imposed by the researcher, and, as such, it is inappropriate to try and eradicate bias. While comparing narratives between primary and secondary candidates may highlight consistent themes within cases, it is not a measure of “truth” in terms of what constitutes identity development activity of influences on identity formation.

Thematic Narrative Analysis

Thematic narrative analysis techniques were incorporated into this study to make prominent how participants in the study impose order and construct their meaning of leadership. “Individuals and groups construct identities through storytelling” (Riessman 2008, p.7/251) and in examining how participants, including the researcher, construct their leadership identity narratives, this analysis asked why the story was told in a particular way. As shown in Chapters Five through Eight, during the interview process, the subjects outlined their version of leadership, or their leadership truths, by articulating their understanding of what leadership means and positioning themselves within that constructed definition. The interview process was consciously designed to allow for this narrative space. Narrativity tells us about past actions and how individuals understand those actions, which becomes the meaning of those events. This is crucial in understanding the relations participants have with concept of leadership.

Using the analysis of narrative also allowed an exploration of the importance of context because it “permits a holistic approach to discourse that preserves context and particularity” (Smith 2000, p. 327-28). Context may include the time, physical

surroundings, culture and immediate milieu, including the fact the narratives are part of the interview process. The researcher as participant (Riessman 2008) needs to balance these notions of context, placing the narrative in the broader surroundings while weaving a tapestry of individual meaning. This research thus demonstrated that members of different communities of the arts and cultural sector constructed differing narratives about the context in which they developed their leadership identity, which in turn reflects their approach to leadership.

There is tension between creating a structured approach to data analysis and allowing ideas to come freely or intuitively. By undertaking analysis in a linear form, thinking may be narrowed and crucial information missed. Therefore, the analysis process aimed to follow a sense of structure, but involved techniques that opened the process. Interview data were considered in various ways. A period of re-listening to interviews allowed themes to emerge before each interview was transcribed. Transcriptions are never comprehensive truths of the interview process, since each transcript is only a partial reconstruction of speech, knowing that they will include and exclude features and rearrange conversation into the limits of a page with emphasis on “the told”—the events and cognitions to which language refers as the content of speech. Consequently, “‘messy’ spoken language is transformed to make it easily readable” (Riessman 2008, p. 58/251). Language is viewed as a resource, rather than a topic of inquiry. Transcriptions reflect the researcher’s interpretation of the dialogue, akin to how a photograph is only a representation of a scene.

The transcriptions were then read multiple times to allow for narrative themes to emerge. After the interviews were read in an interpretive manner, they were analysed for what they “can infer about something outside the interview interaction itself” (Mason 2002, p. 1533/5131). Considering the interviews reflexively also highlighted the interface the researcher has with participant interaction. Consistent with thematic narrative technique, “Data are interpreted in light of thematics developed by the investigator (influenced by prior and emergent theory, the concrete purpose of an investigation, the data themselves, political commitments, and other factors)” (Riessman 2008, p. 54/251). Thematic categories, or codes, that emerged from the data were considered against the interview questions to highlight emergent issues. Particular cases were selected to illustrate general patterns that emerged within the data, such as

leadership reluctance. Coding was used to create interpretive and conceptual themes and categories. Broad categories such as “Leadership Development” were then broken into subcategories such as “Facilitated Learning”, “University” or “Peer Learning”, while also highlighting thematic issues such as “Humility” and “Confidence.” This process involved reading not only what the text contained, but the “implications, in ... judgement, of what is not present literally in the text, including its context” (Mason 2002, p. 3420/5131).

While identifying themes through coding was part of this methodology, solely reducing interviews to codes or phrases, without examining the broader conversational context, created potential for misrepresentation of the subject’s experience. Coding allowed the researcher to construct a systematic overview of the data to provide a sense of distance after a period of close reading (Mason 2002) and also facilitated faster information retrieval. However, a key element in this interview approach is the consideration of passages of text that form narrative structures and the consideration of the interview process and content as a whole. While the interviews were closely aligned to qualitative methodologies, the process of analysis and coding would be reductionist if a variety of perspectives were not considered. Data were considered interpretively and reflexively, that is “reading through or beyond the data” in ways that locates the researcher and their “perspective in the process of generation and interpretation” (Mason 2002, p. 3116/5131). Data are not merely considered at a textual level because thematic analysis is “not generally interested in the form of the narrative, only its thematic meanings and ‘point’” (Riessman 2008, p. 58/251). Thus, thematic meanings have been isolated and documented to create a thick description of identity development in communities within the arts and cultural sector.

The Role of the Researcher

While significant attention is given to the interaction of primary and secondary participants through engagement within their communities, the role of the researcher within the process must also be highlighted. The relationships between the primary and secondary participants and the researcher is represented in Figure 2.

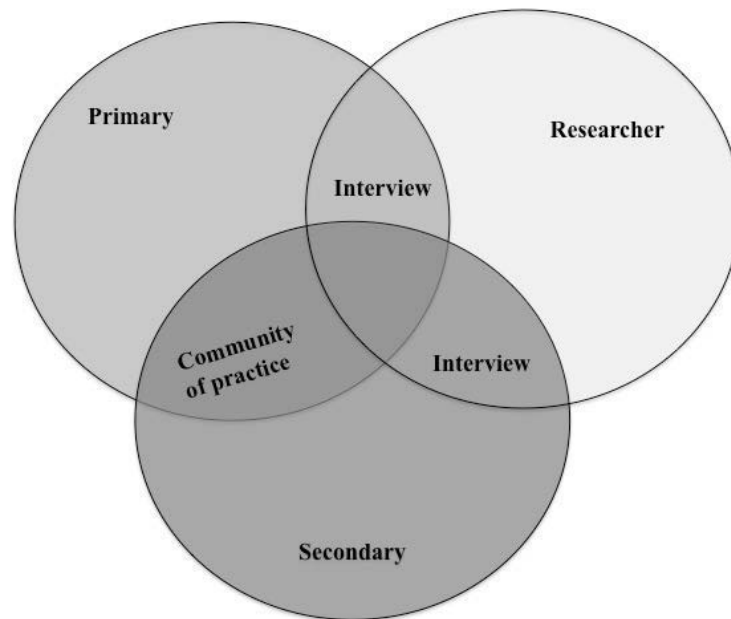


Figure 2: Relationship between research stakeholders

The figure shows how interviews conducted by the researcher co-constructed context and identity narratives with the primary and secondary subjects, while also aiming to gain insight into participation in communities of practice that occurred by some primary and secondary subjects outside the research process.

Taking a critical social constructionist approach to the study, leadership identity firmly embedded the researcher in the research process. As discussed in previous sections, the researcher is active and reflexive in the process of data generation, through participating in the interview process and the co-construction of leadership narratives. The researcher, however, also had a role in the analysis and presentation of findings as an active sensemaker.

The role of the researcher was to analyse the collected data collected across disciplines and consider this within theoretical models from both arts management and leadership approaches. This process combined intersubjective thoughts around leadership identity into one space, providing perspective and highlighting commonalities. The process went beyond simple presentation or interpretation, to incorporate and communicate emerging concepts from a lay perspective. As Fourie (2009, p. 8) observes, “While interpretation is about discovering something that is already there, sensemaking involves the invention

or construction of that which finally makes sense”. Sensemaking asks “what’s going on here?” and then, in response, “what do I do next?” (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005, p. 412). Sensemaking contributed to this research in several ways, discussed in more depth in Chapter Eight, as each group within the research had time and space to engage in sensemaking in regard to their own and others’ constructions of leadership identity. The outcomes take the form of a process of communication that illuminated leadership identity in the arts and cultural sector.

Figure 2 also shows that this research was a process of collaborative conversations that shaped leadership understanding and identity for all research stakeholders. Leadership identity construction is an ongoing process that primary and secondary candidates participate in, but do not always stop to reflect on. As noted above, the research process provided a space for sensemaking where participants could “shape experience into meaningful patterns according to our (their) memory of experience” (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005, p. 411). The interview process thus facilitated identity work by a process of reflection and sorting through development and leadership activities that prompted new perspectives for all stakeholders, including the researcher. This reflection then fed back into participant constructions of leadership identity. Taylor and Van Every argue that sensemaking is about organising thought via communication, where the latter, is an “ongoing process of making sense of the circumstances in which people collectively find ourselves and of the events that affect them” (Qtd. In Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005, p. 413). As noted, interviews were the space where the question “what’s going on here?” is considered, allowing participants to reflect on key moments of action that contributed to their own leadership understanding.

The experience of the researcher, as a leadership scholar, arts and cultural community member and leader, contributed to understanding of institutional conditions and customary practice. This provided what Gummesson (1991) describes as knowledge of institutional conditions, technical knowledge, customary practice, and mechanisms relating to the specific industry. While considering the relation those in the cultural sector had with leadership, both as research participants and colleagues, reflection on personal leadership identity was unavoidable. A summary of these reflections is contained in Chapter Nine. From an epistemological perspective, social constructionism is interpretivist; that is, the researcher and the subject co-create research findings,

acknowledging that “We are studying ourselves studying ourselves and others” (Preissle 2006, p. 691). Findings were developed by interaction of the researcher with the participants and, as Chia cited in Ford (2015, p. 241/300) argues, this requires “the researcher to move from a positivist stance of the objective pursuit of the truth towards a more active role constructing the very reality s/he is attempting to investigate”. The assumption is that we cannot separate the researcher and the object of research and how we understand the world is influenced by how we understand others and ourselves.

According to Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld (2005, p. 413), the “answers to the question ‘what’s the story?’ emerge from retrospect, connections with past experience, and dialogue among people who act on behalf of larger social units”. Outcomes from the thematic analysis process then combined with the researcher’s experience to create a theoretical model. The process of analysis and writing allowed the researcher to organise thoughts about leadership identity, both from a personal and a theoretical perspective. Sensemaking being a process of action as much as understanding, is “about authoring as well as interpretation, creation as well as discovery” (Weick 1995, p. 8). Reflection on narratives constructed by participants as themes that emerged around identity development, learning and leadership, in the light of social constructionist identity perspectives, led to the construction of five leader personas in the arts and cultural sector outlined in Chapter Eight.

As the leadership personas were taking shape, the concepts were “tested” in conversation with peers, colleagues and the interested general public through blog posts, interviews and conversations. This allowed the researcher to engage in dialogue with the arts, cultural and learning and development communities in differing ways, shaping the language used to describe the concepts in lay terms, while also testing the applicability of the personas outside the boundaries of the research.

Ethics

Ethical issues have been considered throughout all stages of the study. Prior to the study commencing, approval was sought and granted from the UTS Ethics Committee reference, REF NO. 2014000369, on 19 August 2014. Within this process, potential ethical concerns were raised and mitigation strategies included.

When working with participants, information regarding the content of the study, storage and use of any data and final publication of information was provided prior to the agreement to participate. Participants were provided with a letter (Appendix 1) outlining their role in the research; how and why they were selected to participate; and a list of frequently asked questions about the study to provide further information about the purpose, background and uses of the data collected (Appendix 2).

Interviews were scheduled at a mutually convenient time at a location chosen by the participant. In some cases, this was within their place of work, or alternatively, in a public space such as a café. In either case, adequate steps were taken to ensure privacy was respected. Confirmation of interview times were sent 24 hours prior to the interview and an email thanking the participant issued 24 hours' post. During the interview participants were issued with, and signed, a consent form indicating their agreement to participate in the study. In the case of interviews done via Skype or by telephone, the consent form was emailed and a scanned copy returned. Consent forms were then stored electronically in a password protected computer file.

Prior to commencing the interview, participants were advised that the interview would be recorded (via iPhone or iPad) and the recordings stored electronically. Transcriptions were made of the conversation that formed the basis of research data, but no identifying markers were used in the study. All references to the participant's name, organisation or identifying information were removed during the writing process.

Primary participants were advised of the role the secondary participants had in the study. Secondary participants were invited to participate as influencers in the primary participant's career. Information was provided to ensure they understood that their role was not to provide any form of judgement as to the primary participant's level of success or capability, but to discuss their perception as to development activity undertaken by the primary participant and their leadership identity.

During the analysis phase, all data were stored appropriately and securely. Data were analysed as per the process discussed above, respecting the integrity of the data and ensuring that dissenting or alternate cases were addressed in the analysis. During the writing phase, while ensuring the data remained anonymous using the processes documented above, results were shared with research supervisors, students, peers,

participants and the public via a blog. Participants and peers commented on the emerging themes through blog comments and discussions via Twitter, thus providing both feedback and validation as to the appropriateness of narrative themes developing.

Presentation of Findings

The outcomes of the research are presented with aim of constructing a picture of “social phenomena, social relationships and social processes” providing a “detailed, contextual and multilayered interpretation” without oversimplifying or creating a caricature (Mason 2002, p. 3669/5131). The presentation uses narrative techniques that highlight the themes identified during the analysis process. This presentation follows Crevani’s (2015, p. 195/300) framing techniques, “bringing some aspects to the fore and at the same time relegating others to the backstage”. Framing allows us to gain definition of a situation, in this case leadership identity construction by an organising principle, such as social construction of identity within communities of practice, accounting for the context of the Australian arts and cultural sector. In the interviews, certain situations were read and interpreted in light of the themes that have been previously identified through prior research and application of relevant theory.

The research outcomes are presented firstly with an overview of the context in which the findings emerge, that is the cultural and leadership landscape identified within each community that makes up the constellation. The resultant concept is then reframed to consider the influences that shape leadership identity construction in the specific contexts in which they occur. From these results, a variety of claims emerge about the state of leadership in the arts and cultural sector and the emergence of the reluctant leader concept. Reluctance is then examined in light of the communities in which the emerging leaders practice, demonstrating the role active participation in communities of practice have on shaping positive leadership identity. Chapter Eight then distils these findings into the presentation of five leadership personas that outline how emerging leaders in different contexts may respond to the social and organisational factors influencing the construction of leadership identity.

Research Quality Criteria

The focus of this study considered how the subjects related to concept of leadership, how meaning was personally constructed and reconstructed in conjunction with others through shared practice. It then considered how these processes, in turn, influenced the development of leadership identity. Given the analysis of narrative emphasis and meaning-making on an individual level, the idea of validating the data, in the quantitative sense, is questionable. Where traditional tests of rigor, such as internal and external validity, applicability, reliability and objectivity (Lincoln & Guba 1986) are suitable for quantitative studies of leadership, in this case validity “should be assessed from within the situated perspective and traditions that frame it” (Riessman 2008, p. 185/251). Being situated within the social constructionist landscape, and using a thematic narrative approach, “narrative truths are always partial - committed and incomplete” (Riessman 2008, p. 8/251).

Critics of social constructionism argue that by suggesting there are multiple realities constructed through social interaction, the applicability of research or the ability to make generalisations from data is diminished (Andrews 2012; Kempster & Parry 2011, Lincoln & Guba 1986). Although multiple perspectives may be seen as a negative by some, others argue that:

...constructionist and poststructuralist theories provide a perspective on knowledge that makes space for multiple, even contradictory, positions to be held as truths. These approaches emphasize the situated-ness and constructed-ness of knowledge. (Khoja-Moolji 2014, p. 4)

Social constructionism makes “no ontological claims, confining itself to the social construction of knowledge, therefore confining itself to making epistemological claims only” (Andrews 2012, p. 42). In doing so, the approach allowed for recognition that leadership exists as a concept; yet, also acknowledged what that entails, how it is constructed and how its experience is unique to the individual.

Given that the research did not claim to represent a version of truth, its plausibility, from a constructionist, narrative based perspective, takes on new forms. As Mishler (1991) suggests:

It has become clear that the critical issue is not the determination of one singular and absolute 'truth' but the assessment of the relative plausibility and an interpretation when compared with other specific and potentially plausible alternative interpretation. (p. 112)

Plausibility then is established when the research process is conducted with care, salient data are collected and analysed, results are documented effectively, analysis is underpinned by the theoretical framework and includes a “presentation of rich and extended materials in a way that allows readers of discourse studies to evaluate their adequacy” (Potter 1996, p. 21). This concept is described as fidelity by Blumenfeld-Jones (1995, p. 26) where if truth is an objective concept, fidelity is “what it means to the teller of the tale”. It is the concept of bringing the subject’s story to life with care as “an obligation towards preserving the bonds between the teller and receiver by honouring the self-report of the teller and the obligation of the original teller to be as honest as possible in the telling” (Blumenfeld-Jones 1995, p. 28). Narrative inquiry is an artificial (re)construction of the subject’s intention, and this artificiality aligns it with the artistic process, making it a natural choice when considering the arts and cultural sector. An alternative response is provided by Lincoln and Guba (1986, pp. 75-6) through their concept of trustworthiness. Their four criteria (credibility, transferability, dependability, confirmability), devised in parallel to the conventional validity measures, provide guidelines for rigorous research in the ‘naturalistic’ paradigm or one where “multiple realities are socially constructed and that, when known more fully, tend to produce diverging inquiry”.

The aim, then, is to present findings that are recognisable to those who contributed to the research. Narratives are presented with fidelity or credibility. Lincoln (1995, p. 280) describes this as community as an arbiter of quality, where research aims to “serve the purposes of the community in which it was carried out, rather than simply serve the community of knowledge producers and policy makers.” The study included “lengthy and intensive contact with phenomena (or respondents)” over a period of 18-months and “continuous, informal testing of information” by soliciting reactions of participants and peers through the writing of articles and blog posts (Lincoln & Guba 1986, p. 77). Outside the data collection process, themes, claims and conclusions were tested with the creative and academic community through participation in conferences, interviews and

other forms of dialogue with the aim of presenting the narrative of findings in a way that was convincing to the intended audiences. Data are finally presented in a thick descriptive way, to allow others to make judgements about its applicability or transferability (Lincoln & Guba 1986; Ponterotto 2006).

3.3. Summary

The methodological approach to this research located the study within the critical leadership studies realm, taking a view that leadership is a socially constructed concept by individuals through action and language of those engaging in leadership discourse and practice. Conceptually, the research used identity as a methodological and theoretical lens to explore the liberating potential of development of leadership identity through culturally located communities of shared practice. Consequently, methodological choices were made to allow space by participants to construct, through narrative, their own leadership identities within the context of the interviews, acknowledging the joint production of any narrative in conjunction with the researcher. Data were collected and analysed using a case study approach and a thematic narrative analysis undertaken using codes generated both with the incorporation of theory and a grounded approach. Results are presented through a series of frameworks, beginning at a contextual level, highlighting both where to look for cultural leadership, then considering what we see when we look at it.

4. INDUSTRY SECTORS: AN OVERVIEW OF THE CASE STUDIES

This chapter locates the research within the Australian arts and cultural sector, provides an overview of the case studies, their level of shared practice and introduces the 41 individual participants. It begins with a brief discussion of the sector from an economic and labour market perspective to provide the context for the nine discipline-based cases drawn from:

- Theatre
- Film
- Music
- Advertising
- Digital design
- Design and craft
- Visual arts
- Festival and event curation
- Fashion and blogging

The case studies were chosen because they met a variety of criteria relevant to the exploration of leadership identity in the arts and cultural sector. While they span the breadth of disciplines in the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics (2009) discussed below, they also allow for consideration of different organisational or labour structures, profit motives and geographic locations. This approach is motivated by a requirement that the study represents the arts and cultural sector recognised in cultural policy terms rather than focusing on “core creative arts” (Throsby 2008) that tends to dominate arts management research.

Not all secondary participants in each group are currently working in the discipline in which their case study is located; however, they have either worked previously in the industry or had significant interaction with the primary participant and influenced their career—thereby supporting the construction of leadership identity. Together with an overview of each participant, the chapter describes the professional relations of the participants using a visual representation of their interactions. Some relationships, such those in film and theatre, are highly collaborative, demonstrating the characteristics

associated with communities of practice outlined in the introduction (Amin & Roberts 2008), while others are more fragmented and individualistic in nature, exemplifying a more networked interface. Refer to Appendix 4 for a complete demographic profile of all participants.

4.1. The Australian Arts and Cultural Sector

Over the past decade, the arts and cultural industries has become an increasingly important part of the Australian economy (SGS Economics and Planning 2013). Like other post-industrial nations, Australia is recognising the role that creativity and culture plays in providing social value and stimulating other economic sectors through ideas and innovation (Commonwealth of Australia 2013). The Australian Bureau of Statistics (2014) released its first experimental measure of the economic contribution of creativity, presenting that the cultural industries made up 6.9 per cent of Australia's Gross Domestic Product in 2008-9. The Australia Council for the Arts (2015) estimates the arts contribute approximately \$50 billion to the economy. Importantly, the contribution of creativity and culture, even within the statistical confines of the ABS, is more than just an economic benefit. The Director of Culture, Recreation and Migrant Statistics, Andrew Middleton, notes the sector plays "an important role in the well-being and quality of life of the community" (Australian Bureau of Statistics 2014).

One challenge in mapping the contribution of arts and culture in Australia is the lack of consistent data. Reid, Petocz and Bennett (2016, p. 34) argue that "the majority of creative workers are in roles that are missed by statistical workforce surveys such as national census collections, which focus on people employed in large scale organisations such as orchestras, art galleries and film studios." In addition, there is considerable debate concerning the nomenclature used to describe the expansion of traditional artistic disciplines to include those more economically orientated (Cunningham 2002; O'Connor 2016). On one hand, what constitutes the arts and cultural sector may on the surface seem easy to identify. Art and artists have been an important part of our society for centuries, yet economically they have largely existed on the margins. Just over 20 years ago, however, culture and creativity suddenly became a hot topic in modern economies, where work was shifting from manufacturing and reliance on natural resources (Flew 2012). Defining how creativity contributes to economic growth and gross domestic product became a topic of interest for policy

makers, economists and academics and this led to new constructions of the arts and cultural sector.

The definition of creativity is often contested in these debates. Parallel discussions also occur in academic discourse about the role of creativity in organisational success and, therefore, the broader economy (Bilton 2010, 2014; Bilton & Leary 2002). Although creativity was historically seen as an individual trait linked to arts and culture, from the 1980s managers and organisational scholars began to recognise its contribution to organisational success (Bilton 2010; DeFillippi, Grabher & Jones 2007). Contributing to these discussions are changes to the labour market, organisational structure and the political impact of neo-liberalism (Healy 2002). Within the cultural sector, arts and cultural organisations are simultaneously moving towards increased managerialism and entrepreneurship, while creativity is conjoining both cultural-aesthetic and managerial-commercial worldviews (Bilton 2010).

Florida's *The Rise of the Creative Class* (2002) had a profound impact on the perceived importance of creativity in the broader economy and introduced many to the idea of the "creative class". The book was a media hit worldwide, leading to ongoing attempts by governments to unlock the secrets of what could be defined in global terms as a "creative city". Written from a cultural geographic perspective, Florida's version of creativity was the "ability to create meaningful new forms"—perceived as the decisive source of competitive advantage (Florida 2002). Florida's critics argue his theories were pop universalism, lacking academic rigour (Peck 2005; Pratt 2008), but its impact in bringing the concept of the creative industries to the attention of policy makers worldwide is undeniable (Hesmondhalgh 2008).

Academically, economic definitions of the cultural sector or creative industries have been strongly influenced by cultural economists such as Caves (2000) and Throsby (2008). Combining economic and cultural characteristics with the creative arts in the centre and other arguably more "economically oriented" industries grouped around them, Throsby's (2008 p.148) concentric circle model is one of the most widely recognised definitions of the cultural industries. Importantly, the model does not judge the scope of each sector solely in economic terms, but incorporates cultural value—arguing it is this factor that gives the sector its unique characteristics.

The model is contestable, however, due to the hierarchical location of the individual creative at the centre and more commercial aspects in the outer rings. It may neglect the reality of working in the cultural sector today, where economic necessity blurs the boundaries between individual practitioners' creative and commercial lives, As O'Connor (2010) argues:

This sort of model, which sees 'the arts' either as pure creativity and/or providing the raw material subsequently 'commercialised' by the cultural industries, fails to give an adequate account of the real processes at work in the sector, and evades some of the real tensions between creative labour and the conditions in which it is put to work. It also posits a kind of 'individual genius' or auteur approach that fails to address the collaborative nature of creative production or the way in which the 'industry' actively constitutes the 'artistic' or generative creative product. (p. 57)

There is a considerable institutional and political contribution to debates concerning creative industries in Australia. The Australian Labor Party's 1994 cultural policy, *Creative Nation*, was one of the first political documents to embrace the links between creativity and economic contribution. In terms of sector scope, both the ARC Centre of Excellence for Creative Industries and Innovation (CCI) and the Creative Industries Innovation Centre (CIIC), conducted significant work in mapping employment in the creative space from an Australian perspective (SGS Economics and Planning 2013). There is little consistency, however, in policy across Australia as to the make-up and contribution of the arts and cultural sector. O'Connor (2016) argues that despite the "fluff" associated with creative industries speak in Australia, actual creative industry policy is not prevalent. While Labor governments of the 1990s and from 2007–13 aligned their policies with a creative industries approach, the current LNP government has played little attention to this sector per se and focuses rhetorically on innovation across the whole economy. Federally, the Department of Communication and the Arts covers traditional artistic disciplines, such as visual and performing arts, together with the screen sector. At the state level, there is also inconsistency in definition. In 2016, two states released cultural policies. Victoria adopted a creative industries approach, though potentially in name only: *Creative Victoria 2016*, while Western Australia's policy document covered "arts, culture and creative industries" (Government of

Western Australia 2016). The lack of a consistent national approach combined with a lack of statistical data, can make it difficult to draw robust boundaries for the Australian arts and cultural sector. Thus, where available, statistics used in this thesis, are sourced from a 2013 report on the Australian creative industries, as referred to during the Rudd-Gillard era (SGS Economics and Planning 2013).

While the creative industries approach to arts and culture has been fashionable in government and academic discourse over the past 20 years, recent evidence suggests it may have had its day. Critics argue that the turn towards economic measurement of arts and culture has been indicative of broader neo-liberal approaches to policy and is generally economically unsupportable:

The economic weight of culture is of course increasingly important in a modern post-industrial society. But if the arts advocate chooses to engage on the instrumental ground of economic advantage, she will face many disappointments. The problem is that arts funding is simply not supportable on most reading of mainstream economic theory. (Eltham 2016, p. 49)

O'Connor (2016, p. 36) argues that “an attempt to ‘steal’ employment figures for the sector has led to conceptual confusion and an erosion of creativity’s specificity”. In his recent monograph on creative industries versus the cultural economy debate O'Connor (2016) argues for a return to old school approaches to the consideration of culture:

The values of culture were always, since end of the 19th century, about something more than, and different from, the instrumental world of economics and administration and concerned with the fundamental questions: how is Australia possible? What binds us together as a society and a nation? The question could be answered in different ways of course: conservative, revolutionary. Social-democratic or liberal-democratic. But the point was that culture articulated it in a space distinct from economics and in a way that directly informed public policy making. (p. 50-51)

The importance of art and culture to Australian society is clearly more than the dollar return to GDP, or even the cultural value articulated on the concentric circles model.

O'Connor and Eltham recognise, as does Enoch (2014), that art and culture are central to our way of life and, to reduce it to an economic contribution is a great disservice.

How then does this debate translate to defining what constitutes the art and cultural sector for the purposes of this research? O'Connor (2016) suggests the UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics is an adequate model. This recognises the economic contribution of arts and culture, but without placing it at the centre as the most valuable tool of categorisation. The framework establishes a conceptual foundation of culture that aims to provide international comparisons of activities in the production, circulation and use of culture. Its objective is to capture the full mode of cultural expression, regardless of economic or social mode of production, and address the breadth of cultural expression, including new forms of production and consumption, while recognising the challenges of intellectual property. The UNESCO model, shown in Figure 3 below, represents an internationally recognised, comparative cultural production and consumption schema.

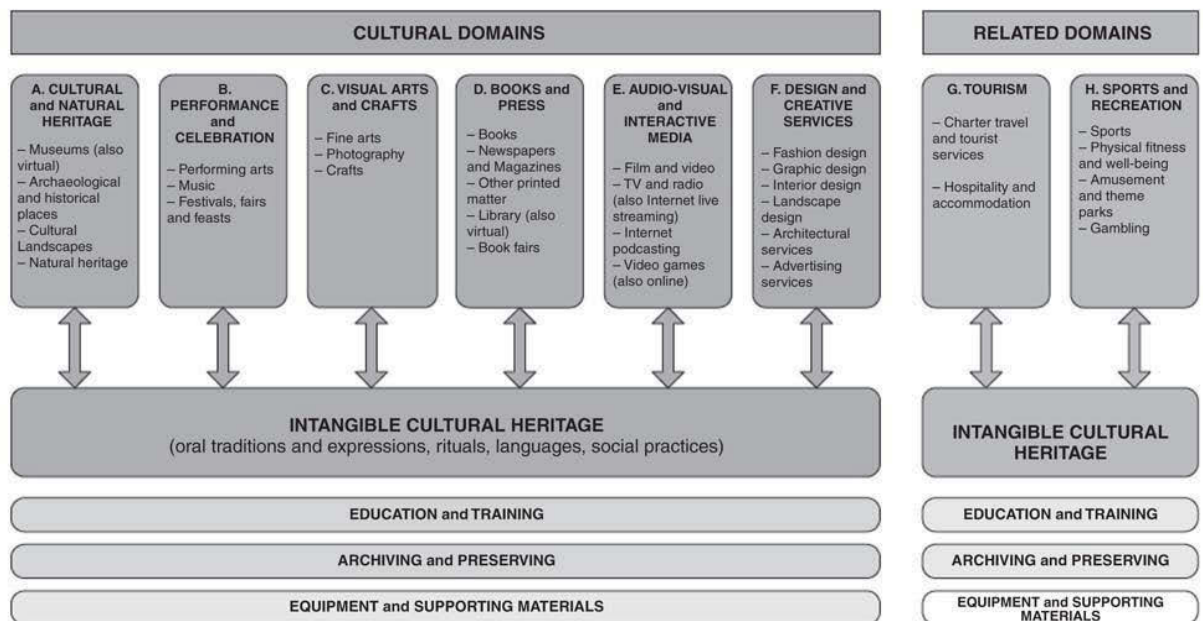


Figure 3: UNESCO Framework for Cultural Statistics

A number of factors make this model an appropriate framework for determining the boundaries for arts and culture in the research presented in this thesis. In the UNESCO framework, culture is not separated from society or the economy. Elements outside the market sphere may be tracked through measures such as participation or social capital,

whereas other measures may include economic transactions. The model is agnostic to public or private divides, while acknowledging that the sources of funding for culture include public (mainly from government or public institutions), private (from the market) and non-profit organisations or donors. The model does not distinguish between not-for-profit and for profit, recognising that the boundaries between them, particularly in many western countries, are increasingly blurred.

The case studies presented in this thesis include participants from across the cultural domains listed in the UNESCO framework. Participants work in a variety of economic settings and employment relationships. Many have either moved across domains in their career or are currently participating in work in more than one sector. They reflect the modern arts and cultural world: one that includes public funding, but is not reliant on it; one that is highly flexible and contingent; one that measures its success in economic terms as well as by its aesthetic contribution to society.

Using the *Valuing Australia's Creative Industries* (SGS Economics and Planning 2013) report, which, for the most part, aligns with the UNESCO framework, the research presented in this thesis provides an insight into the labour market and economic composition of the Australian cultural sector including those who work outside the more traditional artistic careers. As at 2013, there were 347,744 people employed in creative industries categories, 432,962 people employed in creative occupations and a total of 611,307 people making up the total creative workforce (SGS Economics and Planning 2013). Using the creative trident methodology (Cunningham & Higgs 2010) data indicates that the largest group of those employed in the sector are embedded creatives who make up 43 per cent of the total, with specialist creatives at 28 per cent and support workers, 29 per cent.

The largest industry segment in the Australian cultural economy is software design and technology, areas not included in the UNESCO cultural definition or this research, while traditional artistic categories of music, visual arts, design, and writing and publishing represent only approximately 30 per cent of the total (SGS Economics and Planning 2013). Reports such as the *Valuing Creative Industries* (SGS Economics and Planning 2013) highlight the potential gaps in arts management approaches when examining the sector from an academic perspective. If the core creative arts only comprise slightly less than a third of the broader arts and cultural sector and many

workers engaged in creative activity are, at some point, employed outside the sector, conclusions regarding leadership identity development requires a perspective that goes beyond the boundaries of traditional academic arts management. An arts management approach to the contemporary arts and cultural economy fails to capture the reality of creative workers' careers because they are more fluid than in previous decades.

The composition of the cultural sector reflects the demographics of the whole economy. Despite perceptions of the arts as a feminised industry, gender studies of creative industries in the UK and the arts in Australia have shown the workforce is not skewed towards the feminine, but in aligns with the para-professional and clerical workforces, where approximately 45 per cent of the workforce are female (Cunningham & Higgs 2010; Dodd 2012). There is, however, a lack of balance regarding women in leadership positions. MacNeill and Tonks (2009) argue there is sex segmentation in leadership functions in the performing arts and studies have also been undertaken regarding female representation in creative leadership positions in theatre (Lally 2012) and screen (Screen Australia 2014).

The Precarious Labour Market of the Arts and Cultural Sector

One of the most contentious characteristics of the arts and cultural sector is the notion of precarity of employment. While some cultural economists and mainstream media position the creative sector as a growth centre of the economy, critics argue those in the cultural industries are victims at the forefront of neo-liberal dogma.

Compared to the broader economy, the arts and cultural sector has a higher proportion of sole traders and small to medium enterprises. In 2011, Australian census data showed that 13 per cent of those in the cultural sector were sole traders, compared to six per cent in the broader economy, whereas almost 60 per cent of those in the industry classifications for creative arts (musicians, writers and performers) were self-employed (Cunningham 2014, p. 41). The CIIC reported there were approximately 123,000 creative businesses in Australia in 2011, 98 percent of which employed less than 20 staff and, typically had a turnover of less than \$200,000 annually (SGS Economics and Planning 2013).

Arguments concerning the societal impact of precarity, however, are not based solely on the organisational employment patterns in the sector. The flexible, contractual nature of creative employment is confirmed by multiple sources (Cunningham & Higgs 2010; Throsby & Hollister 2003) and, more importantly, current research also considers the psychological, economic and physical impact of precarity on those working in the sector. Individuals are more mobile, more likely to have “portfolio careers”, multiple career pathways, and less likely to be employed in large public sector agencies, as was previously the case (Hearn et al. 2014; Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2010). Precarity in the creative context can take many forms and, any work that is insecure and contingent, illegal or within the boundaries of industrial law, can be considered precarious.

Work in the creative sector tends to blur the notions of workspace and time. Work patterns are described as “bulimic”, where periods without paid work are offset by frantic 24/7 rushes to deadlines often performed outside the traditional notions of the workplace: at home and/or on mobile devices (Gill & Pratt 2008). This anytime and anywhere idea of employment can play havoc with work life balance, impacting personal relationships and mental and physical wellbeing. The distinction between “work time” and “non-work time” typically does not apply for emerging leaders in the creative sector. Bilton (2007, p. 1664/3375) argues that the idea of freedom as “flexibility” is actually a new form of tyranny, where flexible labour is a “self-policing market, driven not by managerial hierarchy, but the desire and need to outperform the opposition”.

Precarity goes beyond working conditions to signify new forms of political struggle that relate to insecure employment and a solidarity that reaches beyond political party or trade union membership (Gill & Pratt 2008). In her 2016 book, *Being Creative*, McRobbie contends that educational institutions are being tasked with preparing workers for this precarious environment and, in doing so, are contributing to its creation. She also argues the notion of the auteur, once confined to writing and film, is now:

...extended to much wider section of a highly 'individuated' workforce and this idea of constructing an individualised creative career is particularly attractive for young workers ... educated to this new career reality through art schools and universities. (McRobbie 2002, p. 517)

Furthermore, McRobbie (2016) argues, “contemporary neo-liberal values seek to extol the importance of entrepreneurial activities in the cultural and creative sector” and new entrants into the creative workforce are being “weaned off reliance on the public sector” through the idea of creating their own career through pleasurable or self-expressive work (p. 160/170). She suggests “a new middle class of educated young persons is being ‘made up’ to withstand and prepare for a world of seemingly self-directed work often interrupted and relatively unprotected” (McRobbie 2016, p. 170/170). Increased focus on individualistic and entrepreneurial approaches to work have a psychological impact which is again reflected in leadership identity development.

While some scholars are increasingly focused on the detrimental impact of highly flexible work, others highlight that, despite notions of precarity, workers view the arts and cultural sector as an attractive prospect. The positive side of the flexibility coin strongly links creative work with protean career theories. Value-driven work approaches, with decisions made based on intrinsic motivation, are careers whose “core values are freedom and growth” (Hall 2004, p. 4) and are prevalent in the cultural sector. Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010, p. 9) claim that those in this sector work for a “labour of love” where “artists, or symbol creators, have a strong sense of a ‘calling’, of potential fulfilment, and they are prepared to take the risk of failure”.

While some economists see flexibility as representative of freedom, critics see it as a cause of anxiety. Influenced by Marxist theory, creative labour is represented as the epitome of the transformation of work in advanced capitalist economies towards individualised, discontinuous employment (Hearn et al. 2014). Bilton (2007) argues the creative industries have been “oversold” because, the reality is that employment is tenuous and unpredictable and there is little job security or career progression. Hesmondhalgh and Baker (2010, p. 9) argue that there is a “strong tendency towards self-exploitation in the cultural industries” as individuals struggle to earn a living wage working long hours for poor pay.

Potentially arts and cultural workers tend to be resigned to their fate: “Cultural workers seem torn over the precariousness of their work—bemoaning the mental and emotional states produced, but also resigned to insecurity, and prepared to speak of it as necessary and even desirable” (Hesmondhalgh & Baker 2010, p. 13). Creative workers have bought into the libertarian idea of an individualised talent led economy (McRobbie

2001), where they only have themselves to blame if they are not successful. As Cunningham (2014) argues:

The precarity perspective describes a world where poor pay and overwork have grown apace and where relative absence of hierarchical organisation in favour of autonomous and flexible work produces individualised workers who believe themselves personally culpable if they fail, and singularly responsible for 'life' decisions both taken and not taken. (p. 27)

Enoch (2014) suggests that artists may view their creative life as temporary—that one day, they will leave the sector and join an industry that fairly compensates them for their contribution:

...artists live mostly a freelance life going from gig to gig with little security. The rare few who may work full time in the arts live with the knowledge that sooner or later they will transition out of their chosen field - when their skills wane or their body gives up; or their inability to afford the life others take for granted (buying a house, raising children) becomes too much to bear - they find a 'real job' that remunerates them fully for their skills. (p. 28)

The pressure felt by individuals to determine their own success is magnified by those who take leadership positions, with responsibility to positively develop their follower's careers along the way. This idea of “living up” to the idealised version of leadership, with all its associated responsibilities, is one discussed in later chapters.

It is important to note that workplace patterns discussed above may impact those working in the creative industries more strongly than creatives embedded in organisations outside the cultural sector. Cunningham (2014) argues that creative labourers have highly valued skill sets that make them employable in the modern economy and the degree of work flexibility is offset by high earning potential and career options based on higher levels of training.

Data discussed above paints a picture of a creative workforce with reduced access to traditional leadership development opportunities studied by management researchers. First, the role of the organisation is a key factor in the development of leadership

capability for creative practitioners. Statistics show that a high proportion of creatives are not employed within an organisational context, and those employed are more likely found in small workplaces with limited funds, which typically impact their ability to access training and development. Second, the type of employment undertaken by emerging leaders influences their perception of leadership. Those employed in larger, more traditional organisations may be more familiar with managerial approaches and thus, more likely be exposed to forms of organisationally driven identity regulation (Alvesson & Willmott 2002)—whereas sole traders may have a more entrepreneurial leadership mindset. Third, the impact of volunteers and volunteer leadership cannot be neglected because it raises distinct challenges and requires a different understanding of leadership theory and practice, such as a more relational leadership approach than hierarchical. Finally, the working conditions and industrial relations landscape of the cultural sector is particularly contentious, one that combines socio-economic and political concerns with notions of leadership theory.

This landscape is a particularly fertile in terms of studying leadership identity outside the management paradigm. The economic and labour market environment of the cultural sector provides a context that potentially shapes unique attitudes towards leadership. With this context in mind, what follows is closer consideration of each case study, starting with an overview of the industry or discipline of focus, and an introduction to the participant profiles in each sector.

4.2. Introducing the Nine Case Studies

The nine case studies represent the focus of the research, one that crosses a variety of small disciplinary based collectives in the Australian arts and cultural sector. They are the places we are looking for, and at, Australian arts and cultural leadership. The studies are based around interconnected individuals who are, in some, but not all cases, representative of communities of practice. This is because, theoretically, communities of practice are restricted to define those sites of situated practice and places of learning that share three dimensions: “mutual engagement, sense of joint enterprise, and a shared repertoire of communal resources” which are “sources of learning and knowing based on individuals doing things together, developing a sense of place, purpose and common identity, and resolving their differences” (Amin & Roberts 2008, p. 354).

Each case study that follows includes a graphic representation of how participants interacted at the time of interview. In the figures, each circle represents a research participant, with their professional relationships documented in each figure. While recognising that professional relationships change, some participant relationships moved over the course of the research, such as a participant who moved from peer/mentor to manager for example, it was necessary to document relationships at one particular point of time. If participant relationships changed or evolved, and this was relevant to the study, it is noted in the case study description. The spatial representation of the circles indicates how closely (professionally, but sometimes also geographically) the participants work together. The further the gap between the circles, the more “distance” between the participants at the time of interview. If a participant currently practice with another member of the group (primary or secondary) their circles will overlap, representing their active engagement in the community. Adjacent circles that do not overlap, represent participants who may engage closely in networking, mentoring or other forms of professional association, but do not engage actively in shared practice or joint enterprise. The extent to which circles overlap, represents how the group demonstrates the attributes of a community of practice. A colour code system represents the type of relationship the participants have with the primary participant, while their position in the figure is generally relative to the type of relationship. For example, managers/mentors are situated above the primary participant, with subordinates below, and peers at the same level:

- Black: primary participant
- Blue: manager or former manager
- Red: peer/collaborator or former peer
- Green: mentor, former mentor or coach
- Orange: subordinate or volunteer
- Purple: client

The images provide a visual representation of how participants engage in each case study and whether they exemplify a community of practice style of work within a professional environment. Subsequent chapters will demonstrate that, while not all case studies meet the three dimensions of communities in practice, they are, nevertheless instrumental in contributing to the social construction of leadership identity.

Theatre

According to The Australian Major Performing Arts Group (2014), 8,600 Australian attend a live performance every night of the year. Theatre companies of medium and large size comprise the largest contribution to those audience numbers. Theatre, however, is a much broader contributor to the arts ecology, especially when local, small and community organisations are included.

The participants in this case study are from Adelaide, and its focus is a state-based theatre company and a tertiary institution with a highly-regarded theatre program. Participants in Adelaide demonstrated a strong focus toward the development of practitioners for the sake of local artistic vibrancy. They work closely together as a group, as peers, mentors, managers and collaborators.

Participants in the theatre case study are:

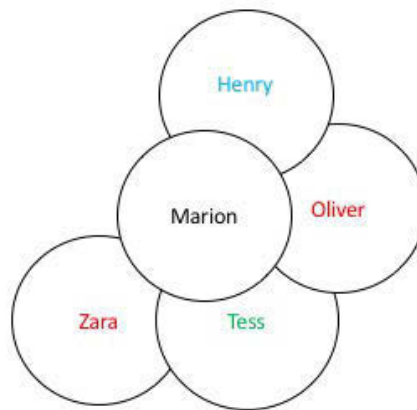


Figure 4: Theatre Participant Relationships

Primary participant Marion: Aged in her 20s, Marion is an emerging director who seamlessly moved from formal education to independent productions, then a role in the largest theatre company in Adelaide.

Marion could be viewed as a highly successful young director who has received a significant amount of support from those in the education and arts sector. Crucially, her work environments have been safe spaces for her to explore her role as an emerging leader. This is not to say, however, that she has not been proactive in creating this environment. She has strategically set out to work across different companies in multiple cities, participating in observational learning. She surrounds herself with strong mentors and significant learning opportunities.

Secondary participant Oliver: In his late 20s, Oliver is playwright who has won major awards. He is a collaborative partner with Marion on independent and main-stage productions, describing himself as her “theatre husband”.

Secondary participant Tess: Academic and mentor to many theatre professionals in Adelaide. Tess is a facilitator of social learning groups that support early-career development, particularly for young women.

Secondary participant Zara: Theatre director who moved from London to Adelaide five years prior to interview. She is a former performer and arts administrator who has participated in high-profile leadership programs in the United Kingdom—peer to Marion.

Secondary participant Henry: Artistic Director of one of the largest theatre companies in Australia, Henry has worked in Adelaide, Sydney and Brisbane over his 15-year career; current mentor and manager of Marion.

Film

The film industry is one of Australia’s most celebrated cultural sectors (Screen Australia 2016). Statistically, the film industry employs approximately 25,000 people, many casual or freelance. Screen Australia (2014) suggest the actual number employed in the sector is quite volatile, dependent on the number of productions in the country at any given time. Compared to some other arts or creative sectors, the film industry is not as highly qualified from an academic perspective. Approximately, 30 per cent of those employed have a bachelor degree or higher, 25 per cent have other qualifications and 44 per cent have no formal qualifications; this contrasts to two-thirds of artists having tertiary qualifications (Australia Council for the Arts 2015). The nature of education in

the sector reflects a perception that film production is more of a trade than an artistic practice, with training akin to an apprenticeship. Participants in this case study, however, are mostly involved in the writing and directing areas of film production, with the primary participant a graduate of one of Australia's most recognised film schools.

The film case study is based in Hobart and all participants acknowledge the role this locale plays in the development of their career and practice. Being located outside the major cities of Melbourne or Sydney was perceived as both advantageous and disadvantageous, in the sense that it created a sense of community and supportiveness to foster careers, but also the necessity to forge external relationships, either physical or virtual, for work opportunities and learning beyond Tasmania. The group centred around the primary participant, Cora, and they came together through a number of mechanisms to collaborate on film and writing projects.

Participants in the film case study are:

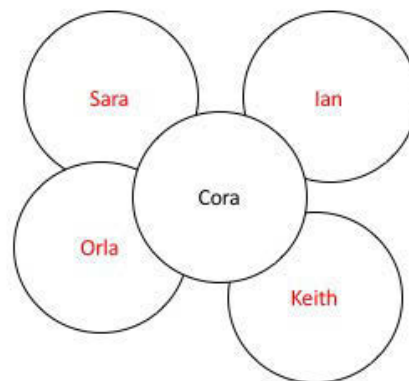


Figure 5: Film Participant Relationships

Primary participant Cora: Cora is a film director, screenwriter, festival director and producer based in Hobart, Tasmania. Entering film school in Melbourne, immediately after leaving high school, Cora has worked in the industry in a variety of roles for nearly 20 years. Due to the sporadic nature of film employment, she has also undertaken

freelance work in theatre, created her own festival, and started a fee-based writing support group from her home. Interested in genre film making, Cora has built strong links online with a variety of female oriented genre based groups and, significantly, has found international recognition within her discipline easier to obtain than local support.

While Cora studied to work in an industry recognised as collaborative, she struggled due to lack of confidence. Moreover, she suggests her lack of a “strong personality” marginalised her at film school and also, in her view, impacted her subsequent career.

Cora’s approach to her leadership identity changed over the past seven years through her establishment of a writing community. This group offers professional and psychosocial support and was instrumental in motivating Cora to start new projects and step into leadership positions.

Secondary participant Sara: Sara is a former professional coach and sportswoman who started writing, directing and producing films after she began her family. She is part of Cora’s writing group and has worked with her on a variety of productions.

Secondary participant Keith: Keith is an artist, lighting designer, sound producer and production manager who works on performances and installations. He has worked with Cora on various productions.

Secondary participant Orla: Orla is a multimedia performance artist and academic with an international career. She is a peer and mentor to Cora.

Secondary participant Ian: Ian is a composer who works in film, television, advertising, theatre and festivals. A former rock musician, he studied classical composition as a mature age student before building a career creating scores for a variety of media projects in Australia and internationally. He has worked on a number of Cora’s productions.

Music

The music industry is particularly diverse, encompassing everything from classical composition to hip-hop and electronic genres. While the music industry is big business, with the Australia Council of the Arts (2014) reporting that although every household in

Australia spends on average \$380 on music per year, the industry only employs approximately 10,000 people in broadcasting, recording and performance.

Like other core creative arts, there are a high proportion of support workers in the sector, comprising approximately 50 per cent of the workforce (SGS Economics and Planning 2013). The participants in this case study come from the classical music genre and all operate in support roles—though many were formerly musicians or other creative practitioners earlier in their careers.

The music case study centres around primary participant Sonia, who moved out of the music sector just prior to her interview. Participants in this Sydney based case study, however, mostly come from Sonia’s recent role in the music sector.

Participants in the music case study are:

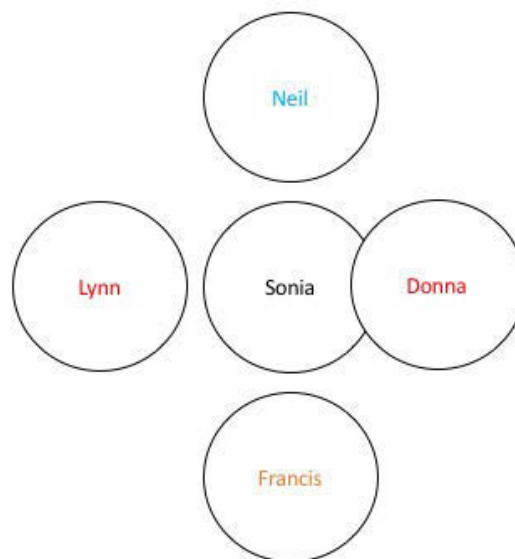


Figure 6: Music Participant Relationships

Primary participant Sonia: Sonia is a marketing and development professional who switched from a career in finance to the arts after completing an arts management degree ten years earlier. She has undertaken marketing and development roles in theatre, contemporary dance and classical music, having worked for two of Sydney’s most recognised classical music organisations.

Sonia brought corporate language into her narrative, and manages her career in the same way. She seeks out skills, is admittedly ambitious, and comfortable with the challenges of leadership roles. She proactively participates in leadership programs both within and outside the creative space and sees participation in learning as a validation of her leadership capability.

Secondary participant Neil: A marketing professional with over 25 years' experience in classical music and opera promotion in Australia and the United States. Neil is a former manager of Sonia's, who trained as a classical musician before moving into arts administration after completing his music study.

Secondary participant Francis: An emerging arts marketer, Francis has a background in filmmaking and education, starting her own film-training business before joining a classical music organisation in an arts management role. She was a staff member in Sonia's team for several years.

Secondary participant Lynn: Lynn was a vocalist before physical challenges ended her music career. She then moved into writing and classical music scheduling. Her career has moved between broadcast organisations and performance organisations. Previously, she was in Sonia's peer group.

Secondary participant Donna: a former peer of Sonia's, Donna is an arts administrator who completed both a stint at the Kennedy Arts Centre and a MBA before establishing an arts consultancy business.

Advertising

The advertising and marketing sector makes up 37 per cent of the CIIC's categorisation of the creative industries, making it one of the largest sectors (SGS Economics and Planning 2013). For those who work in the advertising sector, the Australian Communication Council (2014) estimates there are approximately 250 advertising and marketing agencies in Australia.

In terms of the creative employment profile, the advertising sector is more traditionally organisational or commercially oriented than many of the sectors considered in this study. Participants were more likely to work a single, permanent job with one employer,

though most participants acknowledge they have a creative outlet or secondary artistic endeavour outside of work based on interests rather than economic necessity.

The advertising sector is also more structured than other sectors represented in this research, in terms of role delineation and career path progression. There is a clear divide between the “suits”, or client services and account management functions, and the “creatives” who develop campaigns and ideas. There is a recognised role progression model and titles across the sector (The Communications Council 2014). Interestingly, all participants in this study were well versed in the history of advertising and why roles and work practices were structured in particular ways. While not all agreed with the processes in place, there was a recognition that organisational structure and team processes had been created to enhance creative development and the production of ideas. The industry is also supported by well-known development programs, not only university education, but post-university industry based learning programs, similar to apprenticeship. All participants acknowledge these were the most important entry point to a creative role in the sector and where many creative partnerships, teams or communities were formed.

Those in the advertising case study all worked together in Melbourne in an advertising firm at one point in primary participant Dave’s career.

Participants in the advertising case study are:

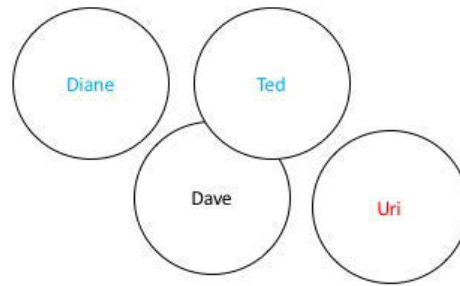


Figure 7: Advertising Participant Relationships

Primary participant Dave: Dave is a Melbourne based copywriter in his late 20s. Having trained in the visual arts, he entered the industry expecting to be an art designer, but quickly developed a talent for writing. He is recognised as a high potential talent during his participation in Award School and began working in agencies very early in his career. Currently located in one of the largest agencies in Australia, he recently won an internationally recognised advertising award, a Cannes Silver Lion.

Secondary participant Diane: Diane is a semi-retired creative director with an internationally recognised career. Beginning her work in television in Adelaide in the 1960s, she was a female pioneer in advertising, a board member in London and Melbourne, and is credited with the creation of a number of iconic campaigns. She was Dave's first professional employer.

Secondary participant Ted: Ted is a Melbourne based creative director and Dave's current manager. In his mid-30s, he had a linear rise to success in well-recognised advertising firms. A design entrepreneur outside advertising, Ted is currently negotiating the psychological the shift from being a creative producer to organisational leader.

Secondary participant Uri: Uri is a senior copywriter at a mid-sized Melbourne based advertising firm. He entered the advertising sector later in his career, having been a

house painter for ten years and spent a lot of his non-work time playing in bands around Melbourne. He was a peer and mentor to Dave early in his career.

Digital Design

Software development, digital design and interactive content are the fastest growing creative segment in Australia. They provide a large proportion of the sectors' revenue and employment, with over 50 per cent of workers situated in this area (SGS Economics and Planning 2013). While this constitutes nearly 200,000 people in the Australian economy, nearly half of these are categorised as support workers, with only a small portion working in the creative sector of design firms.

Digital designers align closely to the creative workers within the advertising sector and many participants in this research study had worked in the advertising sector or at digital agencies spun off from traditional advertising firms. Most participants in this case study were early graduates of media design courses, and their work history includes a period of employment in advertising, filmmaking, digital art or animation. The marriage of technical and creative skills makes them highly marketable. The developmental path for workers, however, is not as linear and structured as those in advertising. Being an emergent industry with a rapid pace of technological development and change, participants in this sector have a grass roots, individualised learning approach. Organisations grow, change and fail regularly and, often, development takes place in an almost "guerrilla" like fashion. One participant, for example, took an administration job at a training institution and used their equipment after work hours to learn digital skills.

Having grown out of the internet boom of the beginning of this century, digital design and its workforce is becoming increasingly corporate. Many digital design firms have been acquired by consulting organisations in recent years (Hurst 2013). This has impacted the structure and culture of the sector and the way workers engage with and learn leadership.

Participants in this case were not actively working together at the time of interview. They tend to have mentor and advisory relationships with the primary participant, Sam.

Participants in the Digital Design case are:

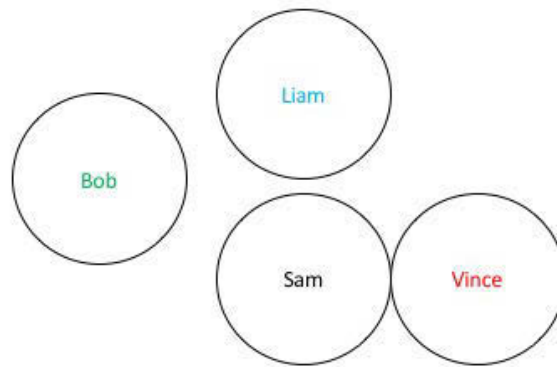


Figure 8: Digital Design Participant Relationships

Primary participant Sam: Sam is a media arts graduate who started his first design business in his Sydney garage while at University. Now in his early 30s, he has taken a permanent role in a technology firm to create a more stable environment which, in his view, is motivated by his personal circumstances as a new father. For most of the previous decade Sam freelanced and contracted to small media companies and larger advertising firms.

Sam has managed his career independently, consciously collecting skills, brands and experiences to move to the next position or sector he was interested in. Strategic in his approach, he chooses to be independent and not always work collaboratively with others. Sam is always looking towards the next opportunity.

Secondary participant Vince: Vince is the creative head of a digital design firm recently acquired by one of the world's largest consulting organisations. A social learning peer of Sam's through professional associations, he has over 20 years' experience in digital design in Europe and Australia.

Secondary participant Liam: Liam splits his time between a corporate design role as an embedded creative and a part-time freelancer managing his own business. He operates part of the time in a co-working space in Sydney. He is a self-taught digital

designer who has worked in Sydney and London and a former creative director of a digital agency that employed Sam.

Secondary participant Bob: Bob is based in Germany and his interview was conducted via Skype. He is London born, an early pioneer in digital and multimedia and has a high-profile international reputation. Bob had experience as a designer and academic in Australia, and was a former teacher and mentor to Sam.

Design and Craft

Over the past decade design, craft and the visual arts were among the strongest growth sectors in the Australian cultural sector (SGS Economics and Planning 2013). The design segment is hard to classify because it covers a broad range of activities from landscape to interior design, industrial and graphic design, together with the more traditional exhibition arm of the sector. While the CIIC includes design services, jewellery-making and photography in their classification of the sector, the Australian Design Alliance (2014), the peak professional association representing designers across Australia, take a much more detailed approach. Their members include graphic and interior design, landscape architecture, production and building design, as well as traditional craft and object design. The diversity of the sectors' output means it is difficult to characterise development opportunities and career paths. However, like other creative disciplines, there is a high rate of tertiary qualified participants.

The case study participants in this sector are mainly derived from the intersection of design, craft and visual arts in Sydney. The primary participant has worked in jewellery-making, visual arts and design and, at the time of the study, worked in the design, craft exhibition, strategy, education and advocacy. Not all nominated secondary participants worked in the design sector, with one peer in a visual arts organisation and another a consultant providing services to the sector. Most participants practiced together at one point in time within a design and craft organisation.

Participants in the design and craft case study are:

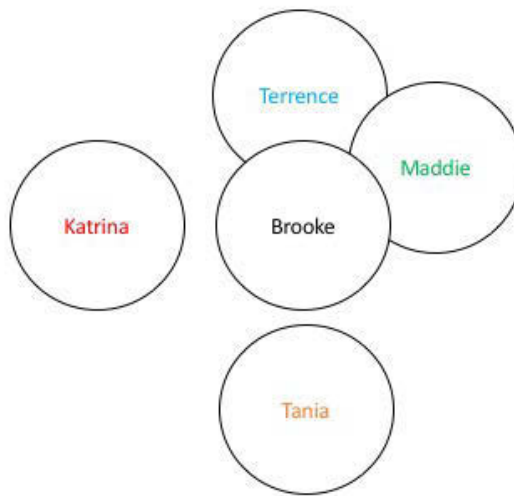


Figure 9: Design and Craft Participant Relationships

Primary participant Brooke: In her early 30s, Brooke is a senior manager in a design organisation. A former artist/craftsperson with a jewellery practice, she was employed in advertising before moving to a marketing role in the visual arts and, at the time of interview, had nearly five years in her current role.

Since graduating, Brooke has had long-term employment in various organisations. Astute in her choice of mentors, Brooke acknowledged she learns a lot through observation. In the past, she had some negative experiences managing others and consequently wanted to learn ways to get it “right”.

Secondary participant Terrence: Canadian born, Terrence had led the Australian based design and craft exhibition and advocacy organisation for over a decade. Terrence displayed a strong developmental focus and has been Brooke’s manager since her recruitment to the organisation.

Secondary participant Tania: Tania recently moved to a new role in the visual arts sector. She is an emerging arts administrator with qualifications in science. Prior to starting her new role, she worked for Brooke for nearly three years.

Secondary participant Katrina: Katrina was a former colleague of Brooke. She holds a law degree and no longer works in the creative sector. Katrina's interview was conducted over Skype as she is based in regional NSW.

Secondary participant Maddie: Maddie is one of a handful of case study participants who had never worked in the cultural industries. She is an organisational development and leadership coach who worked with Brooke's organisation at both a team and individual level for several years. She had recently spent six months providing executive coaching services to Brooke.

Visual Arts

The visual arts sector comprises art production marketing and sales through different channels and exhibitions. It has a diverse range of organisations and individual employment methods, from the solo artist to artist-run initiatives and large state institutions. Recent research published by the Australia Council (2014), found that career paths in the visual arts have become increasingly diverse, with many artists developing their own pathways. Institutional frameworks provided by organisations, such as government funding bodies, are sometimes seen too linear and out of step with the protean careers artists have in practice (Murray 2014). One role that has become increasingly prominent is the independent curator, with the proliferation of higher education courses aimed at producing curatorial expertise. The participants in this case study are curators, either with major galleries, or running independent organisations.

Participants in the visual arts case study are:

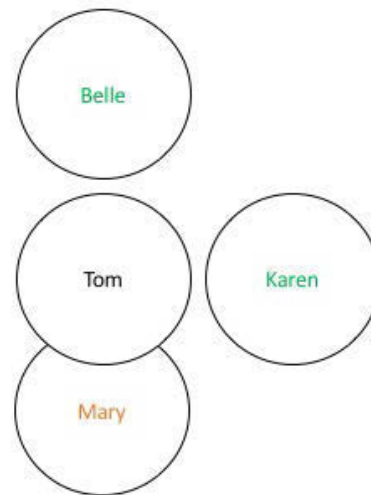


Figure 10: Visual Arts Participant Relationships

Primary participant Tom: Tom has worked in creative practice for 20 years. Based in Sydney, he started work as an actor and location scout in films and television before moving to the visual arts. After working for various major institutions and arts festivals, in 2013, he established his own arts organisation which has had considerable impact on Sydney's creative community. He is an artistic director, board member, independent curator and writer.

Tom could be described as an artistic entrepreneur. He saw a gap in the market for an art space in a unique environment with multi-disciplinary potential and enacted a long-term plan to realise it. A calculated risk taker, Tom is typically action oriented rather than reflective.

Secondary participant Karen: A senior curatorial figure in the Sydney arts community, Karen worked in one of the city's largest galleries before her move to academia. Her background is contemporary art curation; she is a mentor to Tom.

Secondary participant Mary: Mary is Tom's gallery manager who works on a volunteer basis. Experienced in community advocacy and architecture, she juggles a variety of different creative roles.

Secondary participant Belle: Belle is an internationally recognised curator with experience in Melbourne, Sydney and Hong Kong. Her career in contemporary art and writing spans 20 years. She currently heads a mid-sized gallery in Sydney and has acted as a mentor to Tom.

Festival and Event Curation

Categorising this segment or discipline proved challenging as some participants identified themselves as “creative sector unicorns”. The case study centres on a creative industries speaker/curator/writer/radio presenter and festival director located in Sydney. Of all primary participants in this research study, Kristen has the most modern, if precarious, creative career—a “slash” worker who pieces together income from a broad range of grants, freelance projects, part-time work and consulting engagements. Her primary, most visible roles, however, are as curator or festival director for what can be describe as “intellectual festivals”. While public intellectuals in the past wrote for newspapers or literary journals, today’s iteration are more likely to have thousands of Twitter followers, a curated Instagram account, and a role within the TED conference (Tunstall 2014).

Collectively the participants in this case study have their origins in either core creative arts (film, fiction writing) or in broadcast media. However, currently they had either ceased working on their original art forms or combined them with roles in new media, philanthropic organisations and academia. Aside from Ida, who was based in Melbourne, the participants in this case study worked closely together on a major Sydney event.

Participants in the event curation case study are:

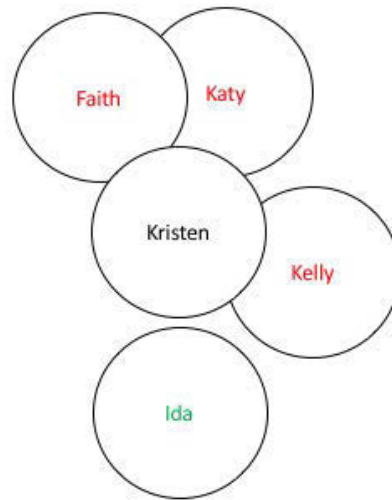


Figure 11: Festival and Event Curation Participant Relationships

Primary participant Kristen: Kristen is a Sydney based public speaker, curator and festival director who worked in the creative industries in a variety of guises since leaving university prior to completion of her degree. She has experience in media, particularly magazine writing and publication, public art, radio broadcasting and undertakes the occasional commercial copywriting job.

Kristen is the child of immigrant parents and, in her view, her origins place her as an outsider in the white, middle-class dominated creative community. She chooses to embrace this role, describing herself as “unique” or a “unicorn” with no easily defined job title.

Secondary participant Kelly: University peer of Kristen, Kelly is a senior staff member at a broadcast media organisation. She worked as professional dancer through her university years, but now has the most corporate oriented career in this case study—steadily progressing up the ranks of one of Australia’s major media companies. She values peer learning and mentorship and recognises the role that many of her predecessors had in developing her career.

Secondary participant Katy: Katy is a novelist for whom the sole purpose of employment is to provide time and money to write. Her non-writing roles include event

curation, participation in philanthropic organisations, and considerable time spent in international aid organisations around the world. She is a peer and colleague of Kristen.

Secondary participant Faith: Currently a PhD student in Australian politics, Faith is a journalist, documentary maker, producer and event curator. She is Sydney based, in her early 40s, and peer and colleague of Kristen.

Secondary participant Ida: Ida is an arts management academic based in Melbourne. A former creative teacher in an arts-oriented university, she now works in the business school of a different institution. She runs various arts-based academic initiatives and has acted as a mentor to Kristen.

Fashion/Blogging

This case study features another groups of “slash” workers whose situations are influenced by both economic circumstances and individual personal values that align to a protean careers approach (Hall 2004). At the time of the study, the primary participant works in fashion/curation/blogging/retail space, producing her own media content while consulting to brand and retail organisations. Her development path included a 20-year career in broadcast media that enabled her current activities. Her selected secondary participants come from a mix of media, fashion and business sectors.

“Fashion blogging” is a term usually used to describe “personal style blogs” in which people post images of themselves in different outfits (Marwick 2013). In 2008, there were an estimated 184 million active blogs (Rocamora 2011) and the growth of blogging as a career is extensively documented by Jones (2015).

Fashion blogs are interesting case studies for a variety of reasons. They document an emerging industry—a career that often starts in the home but grows beyond domestic boundaries. In recent times, the blogging space has adjusted to increased corporatisation and commercialisation and, in that shift, there are similarities to digital design. However, whereas digital design has a high proportion of male workers, fashion blogging and blogging in general is seen as “women’s business” (Marwick 2013).

Blogging is a particularly relevant space for this research because of the role it plays in identity exploration. Scholars argue that blogs are an active portrayal of identity

construction enabling creative articulation of the self and self-reflection. For example, “through their engagement with dress, bloggers partake in processes of identity construction, as they do through the very act of keeping a blog” (Rocamora 2011, p. 411). During the research study, this sense of self-reflection was used to examine the principal participant, Georgie, in role as blogger and potential leader.

Participants in the fashion/blogging case study are:

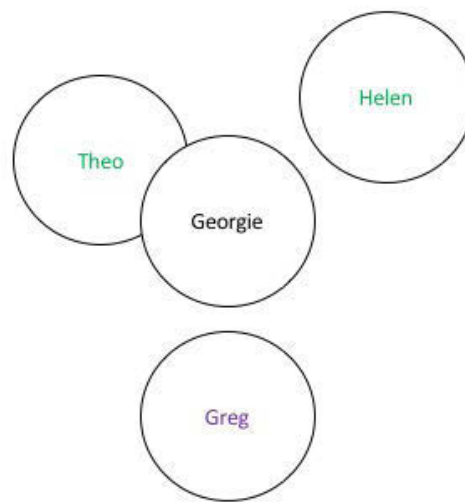


Figure 12: Fashion/Blogging Participant Relationships

Primary participant Georgie: Georgie is an environmentally oriented fashion blogger and retail consultant located in Sydney. She works cooperatively with several not-for-profit and environmental retail and charity organisations and regularly appears in the media. She started work in television production at the age of 16 and wrote and produced her own content for nearly ten years.

Georgie achieved prominence, even fame, early on and has struggled to find her post-television career. Unlike most of the other principal participants in this research, she suggests that she works independently without necessarily participating in a shared practice.

Secondary participant Theo: Theo primarily runs a design and printing business in Sydney, but has a side project as a fashion and social media presence with followers in the hundreds of thousands. Trained in interior design, aeronautical engineering and multimedia, he is entrepreneur and fashion personality in South East Asia. He is a peer, mentor and occasional client of Georgie.

Secondary participant Greg: Another non-creative industry participant, Greg is the retail operations manager of a national charitable organisation. He hired Georgie to develop brand and retail activities.

Secondary participant Helen: One of Georgie's earliest television producers and mentors, Helen is an author, travel writer and media producer. Regionally based in Queensland, her interview was conducted via Skype.

4.3. Summary

The primary participants who contributed to this research come from a range of creative disciplines and sectors. Their current roles and career histories provide insight into the fluidity of the Australian arts and culture, because the majority have not remained within one discipline or art form or had extensive periods of organisational employment. They are often, by necessity, entrepreneurial in nature and at the forefront of new industries and technologies that combine creativity with commerce and culture. While primary participants were selected based on their emerging leader status, the research also aims to represent roles with different perspectives than profit motive and organisational structures. Demographically, there is a mix of gender and location, with age ranges of primary subjects between 27 and 40.

When considering the secondary participants, the interview cohort benefits from a significant breadth of experience. There are internationally based, and internationally recognised creative practitioners, those approaching retirement, together those with less than five years' experience in the creative industries. A few work outside the creative space, but engage with it in a variety of ways.

A key focus in selecting participants was their employment status. The research aims to explore how leadership identity is formed and, therefore, needs to look beyond traditional development techniques and identity influences that may be organisationally

based. Subjects in this study include sole traders, managers of small volunteer-based organisations, those who work multiple jobs by way of contract and freelance, or are employed in traditional organisational settings. In selecting this variety of subjects, the research aims to reflect the contemporary nature of working and developing practices in the arts and creative sector.

Data analysis begins in the next chapter by examining the distinct culture and leadership environment of each of the nine case studies. This analysis will support the discussion in subsequent chapters that considers leadership identity and how it is constructed in each case study.

5. LEADERSHIP IN THE AUSTRALIAN ARTS AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

This chapter introduces the disciplinary contexts that shape leadership construction in the Australian arts and cultural sector. It locates each case study, demonstrating how participants professionally and developmentally interact with each other and their organisations. Leadership identity does not exist in a vacuum. Social and organisational influences shape the way emerging leaders perceive and construct leadership. If identity has “long been seen as constructed and negotiated in social interaction” (Ibarra 1999, p. 766), then the starting point for considering leadership identity development is the professional and developmental interaction that occurs within each case study. Each group of participants exemplifies a distinct pattern of engagement. Individuals operate within socially constructed leadership schemas. DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 633) suggest that in some cases leadership will be “shared and mutually enacted”, while in other situations it can be “hierarchically structured such that there is only one leader”. There are those who actively undertake shared practice within communities of practice, reflecting the characteristics of joint enterprise, shared repertoire and mutual engagement that characterise Wenger’s (1998, p. 73/318) community of practice concept, while others work largely in isolation by choice or circumstance. The type of social interaction that occur in each case study, however, shapes the way emerging leaders see themselves as leaders and as members of their arts and culture community.

5.1. How Participants Engage with their Communities

The way the participants engage with each other and the relationships they form shape their career and professional development. The leadership schemas (DeRue & Ashford 2010) they operate in and the perceived tightness or looseness of social networks influence the construction of leadership identity. By setting the scene, the groundwork is laid to understand the leadership culture that exists within these micro-units of the broader arts and cultural community.

People engage with others in a variety of ways. While many artists and creative workers engage in practice that involves others, not all do so in a collaborative way consistent with communities of practice. According to Amin and Roberts (2008, p. 354), there are

four types of collaborative working: “craft or task-based work, professional practice, epistemic or high-creativity collaboration, and virtual collaboration”. Furthermore, groups that constitute communities of practice demonstrate various traits that distinguish them from other types of communal engagement. Unique characteristics that define communities of practice include mutual relationships sustained over time, rapid information flows and lack of preambles or introductory comments, communally understood definitions, language or jargon, community lore and shared stories, and, importantly, mutually defining identities (Amin & Roberts 2008). As noted previously, while not all cases within this study can be defined as communities of practice, many illustrate the strengths of collaborative work in shaping identity and demonstrate the benefits of undertaking such work in the modern, individualistically oriented, cultural economy.

Theatre

This case study provides a strong example of a developmentally oriented community of practice in action. Participants are actively engaged in shared practice on a regular basis and recognised the importance observational and social learning approaches had on their individual creative output and sector sustainability. Henry, artistic director and organisational leader, explains the role that he, and others like him, have in supporting the development of emerging talent as follows:

I think there is a focus on development, I think it's partially because senior artists want to be associated with the next phase of the industry, it's an industry that's always renewing its approach to its own form, and you have to stay innovative or you'll perish, and one way to do that is to stay connected with the people who are breaking the form. But I think ... also a lot of the time it's because no one is well paid and there's no career security. I think it breeds a certain sort of generosity to a degree, where you go, if you have the opportunity, to aid someone else's career path you will, partially because it's something that happened for you or you wish had happened for you. ... But also, because you see the function of theatre as being incredibly important within the community; and unless you're part of supporting and developing the generation of artists that come after you then you're not really doing your job.

This overtly developmental approach, at an individual, organisational and industry level, was unique among the nine case studies and recognised as integral to the practice of theatre making by all participants.

The methods used to develop theatre practitioners are well-recognised by the community. Observational learning, particularly, was a key strategy for the development of theatre directors within academic and professional environments. Bandura and McClelland (1977, p. 2) outline the importance of observational learning: “Virtually all learning phenomena resulting from direct experiences can occur on a vicarious basis through observation of other people’s behaviour and its consequences for them”. In addition, observational learning is linked to the development of creative employees (Collins & Cooke 2013) and leadership capability (Kempster 2006, 2009).

Henry explained how observational learning emerges in the theatre context:

You primarily learn by doing and by watching. Because most directs will assist at least a little bit, they spend at least a couple of years in other director’s rehearsal rooms, and down to the last person I think that experience will always be missed. You’ll see good approaches and bad approaches.

Emerging leader Marion, after completing her tertiary degree, spent a year in a variety of theatre organisations to observe and learn. She proactively approached a wide range of organisations to receive in situ learning experiences, demonstrating an understanding of the importance of observational learning on her part, and highlighting the willingness of the sector to facilitate this development. Similarly, Zara, who trained in Europe, undertook a period of observational learning: “...I have ... observe[d] other directors, I’ve done observerships (sic) ... one assistant directorship, [and] that’s a good way to look at how directors communicate”.

Observational learning, while a key facet in the developmental approach of the theatre community, is not the only method used to build capacity. Another effective form of development is role creation or structure, modified when necessary, to provide learning for the individual. By progressively increasing the level of responsibility, or directing

load, over a two-year period, manager Henry allowed Marion to steadily increase her capability in new situations without being overwhelmed.

Significantly, those in the theatre case study recognise the value that social learning brings to the sector. In discussing how work is undertaken in theatre, Henry describes the natural gravitation practitioners have towards communities of practice:

Every director forms their own little group or family of performers and creatives that they like to work with because it's quicker, you develop a shared language and, while working with people for the first time is a wonderful discovery it always carries more stress; you have one or two key creative collaborations that help form who you are as an artist.

Particularly relevant to their early career, participants identified those who augmented their existing skills to support artistic goals. Marion suggested that, given she did not have strong producing skills, she was “lucky to find others that have those skill sets”. Over time, practitioners such as Marion move from the periphery of their community closer to the core, as participation in projects develop their skills. They simultaneously construct an identity by “learning to talk within a practice (rather than about it)” (McLeod, O’Donohoe & Townley 2011, p. 115).

Tess, a practitioner and academic, said the increased discussion of communities of practice in the university environment echoed processes that already exists within her practice, saying “it feels redundant, it’s inherent”. Henry, Oliver, Marion, Tess and Zara all spoke about shared practice development, the benefits of a common vocabulary and practical knowledge that, rather than just enhancing individual careers, benefits all facets of a learning oriented community of practice. Communities, “unlike teams and other structures, need to invite the interaction that makes them alive” (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder 2002, p. 1). Henry also acknowledges that their communities were continuously open to renewal through new ideas: “I think there’s a great deal of peer learning and they are also good at ensuring [communities] don’t work in a closed circle”.

Film

Film, like theatre, is a creative practice that involves multiple people undertaking various roles to produce a shared outcome. Filmmaking, however, is not necessarily a collaborative undertaking. While a film director is a leader who builds a creative culture that encourages participation, organisational analysis of film work shows that it is more cooperative than collaborative in nature. While appearing collective on the surface, the leadership schema (DeRue & Ashford 2010) constructed by those in film is actually more hierarchical in nature. There is a “clear distribution and specialisation of work within the production crew” (Soila-Wadman & Köping 2009, p. 33) where everyone knows their role and, therefore, new projects can get up to speed relatively quickly. This independence of role positions film-making as a cooperative activity rather than a collaborative one. As Jyrämä and Äyväri (2015) argue:

Cooperation refers to tasks divided separately with defined responsibilities... On the other hand collaboration refers to joint problem solving, building interaction, and understanding the others' values and norms, in other words, creation of a sub-community, team or new joint practice. (p. 3)

While this cooperative approach is common internationally, Cora believes Australia's smaller industry could be considered more collaborative:

It's not as bad as in America where big film has that hierarchical structure, there's a certain way things operate and the director is in charge, which is fine because it's a convention that works on a practical level, but I think it does mean people work in quite a boring way a lot of the time.

Yet Ian, a musician who has worked across both theatre and film, describes the difference in experiences between the sectors as follows:

I got paid for a week (on a theatre project) to sit around a table and make stuff up, and one day was spent going to the Botanical Gardens and getting a talk from some arborists about trees. I was so used to deadline based, 'make this thing', 'change this', 'do that', that it seemed insane to me, really indulgent. It was hard for me, like some weird sort of guilt thing. It's a shame that I would have this reaction because it's an awesome opportunity to do really cool

things with really interesting people, but it would not happen on a film set that's for sure.

The challenge for social learning and identity development in the film context is that, for those in this case study, the educational environment neglected training to maximise interpersonal interaction for project success. Cora suggests “the leadership part of it (film making) is probably the hardest part”. Sara added “people think (leadership) is just about having ideas or the vision, but actually it's about people management as well; it's a huge part of the job and you're going to fail if you don't have that”. Cora says, however, she received no support in understanding how to effectively work with others to achieve shared aims during film school and, consequently, she internalised her failure to gain active support from her peers:

When it came to getting our crew for the final year project I felt I had to beg people to do my project when they were jumping onto others, so I felt apologetic by even asking anyone to do anything, and I ended up with a crew of people, not the dregs, but people who didn't necessarily want to do it, whereas other projects were ... all doing it together. It's partly my fault for not knowing how to inspire that feeling in other people; probably a culture as well.

Reflecting on her experience made Cora realise how important collaboration and community is for development. She also recognises the role her writing group played in supporting identity development of both herself and other participants:

One of the really weird things was when I was in Melbourne, even back in film school I didn't feel like I had a network. I mean I had my class in film school. For me, at that point, I was very shy; I just assumed I was always doing stuff wrong. I was internalising the problem [of being successful] that might have been an issue more broadly. I felt intimidated by the other people in the course; I felt they knew what they were doing. But even after I finished I didn't know how to set up anything or work with anyone, I guess I didn't feel like I had anything to offer to say, “you want to work with me?” I'd never had a network, and then I moved back to Tasmania and I started a writers' group. I'd met someone at a party who was also trying to write screenplays and I met

some other women who were making short films, and we started a writing group that has been going since then, like seven years. We meet once a month and talk about our projects and give each other feedback, and often we just drink wine and gossip, but it actually became really important, because from that it extended out to a whole network, and supported the whole group.

Keith describes the group as providing “critical feedback” essential to artistic work. Sara, Cora’s long-time collaborator, has been part of the writing group since its inception and notes that, even though people come and go, a core group remained from which a variety of projects developed: “I’ve seen various members of the group, their careers, [and] I reflect on it; everyone has really come a long way and ... become leaders.” Orla recognises that “there’s a lot of learning that isn’t privileged in the education system and it’s very much the self-driven circles”. She describes how Cora’s group “pushes each other and sets standards for work” to facilitate group learning and engagement by giving “each other permission to have more of a voice”. As an academic, Orla reflects on the learning that occurs among the community, recognising it as experiential learning or “self-driven circles”. She believes this it fills a gap in the current educational approach that privileges a vocationally driven training. Cora concludes that, as a development approach that arises from within the community, “I have ... relationships with people who understand how important that is and we try to be there for each other. It’s kind of doing the stuff that I wish was done for me. That’s kind of good, you know what they need”.

Music

The culture that emerges in the Music case study reflects the mix of corporate and not-for-profit backgrounds of the participants. Unlike most of the case studies, members of this community had organisational experience, often moving between sectors in the major performing arts, and industries such as financial services or consulting. Emerging leader Sonia, who began her career in financial services marketing, recognises the similarities between these different sectors and adopted a more business-oriented idiom:

Running a philanthropy program is very much like running a marketing program, particularly with databases and renewal and engagement and all

that stuff. Finding sponsors is pitching and talking and relationship management, and ... those things are fairly similar.

The corporate-style language found in these interviews was also found in the discussions of organisational strategy and governance, topics that rarely emerged in other cases. Arts consultant, Donna suggests:

The single biggest liability affecting the not-for-profit sector is the governance structures, and the way that squashes any form of creativity, or innovation or leadership within it. I absolutely believe that [because] I've seen it and I've been at the brunt of it. And they destroy good people because it's something to do with risk averseness... it's people coming onto boards that may not have the power they want in other areas of their lives so I feel they dominate and control and manipulate ... small organisations with no resources, where people are doing it largely for the love of it.

The recognition of the need for balance between the creative and the administrative sides of arts organisations makes the Music case study the most aligned to traditional arts management studies where “the moment that art becomes a business enterprise, an inevitable conflict is born within the organisation – that of art versus commerce” (Lapierre 2001, p. 5).

Participants in this case study had developmental opportunities that reflect traditional organisational approaches to leadership. There was a high incidence of participation in externally facilitated training and development, such as attendance at the Kennedy School of Government and the INSEAD leadership development program. The Music case study was also one of the few that included those who were accepted into the Australia Council's leadership programs, together with other local initiatives such as Sydney Leadership. While this type of development may be well established in other sectors of the economy, it makes participants in this case study quite distinct. Participants were working in larger organisations, generally on permanent or long-term contracts and, in having significant tenure in a single organisation, received opportunities for progression and resources for development. Participants in this case study were developmental outliers in a research cohort largely dominated by small

businesses, sole traders and casual contracts. While this more stable, traditional developmental approach may be seen to have benefits, when comparing herself to others in the sector, Sonia's peer Lynn felt that this potentially shielded her from the challenges, and subsequent learning, that came from working in a more risky, entrepreneurial environment:

I've pretty much worked in major performing arts or large companies, so I've had levels of resources and the ability to focus on what I'm doing, [that] the other people there, key managers or CEO of small companies haven't had.

Instead of seeing management experience in larger organisations as equipping her with generalist leadership skills, Lynn felt her experience left her “weirdly less capable” and making her “lose her nerve” with regard to taking on more senior positions.

Advertising

Advertising, together with digital design, are the two case studies most focused on for-profit outcomes. While there was an expectation that this could lead to a corporate developmental approach consistent with the Music case study, there were distinct characteristics within Advertising that align it with less financially oriented creative sectors.

Organisationally, the Advertising case study was populated with employees in medium to large organisations and, in this status driven industry, bigger is generally better. For many in advertising, there is a linear career path, with a hierarchical leadership schema, with people moving from smaller to larger agencies, smaller to larger brands and to progressively larger job titles and salaries. Primary participant, Dave, speaks about his beginning at a small agency and his long-term career plans:

[Working in a smaller agency] I wasn't doing anything for my folio, I wasn't meeting people in the industry, and I think that it was a lovely place to work but there was no drive for them - creativity, award shows, industry involvement, they didn't really care...[My] long-term aspiration, New York, might be short-term in the next year or so. Madison Avenue is where it started, all the big clients, all the best work comes from there. So, I wouldn't mind

going over there for 3-4 years, become a creative director, win some large awards, and then come back. Once you've done that you can kind of have your pick of where you want to work.

With large numbers of graduates looking to gain a foothold in the sector, tertiary qualifications are used as a screening and sourcing tool. The quality of tertiary education is, however, not highly valued by those within the sector. University courses were described as “too broad” and “lacking focus on idea generation” that comprises the bulk of creative advertising praxis.

It is post-university, however, that the most important development occurs. In this sense, the advertising sector is consistent with many careers in the arts because, while around two third of artists have tertiary qualifications, “most also recognise that their skills are improved and diversified through experience and learning on the job” (Australia Council for the Arts 2015, p. 16). It is widely accepted that to be a successful advertising creative one must complete Award School, a 12-week ideas generation course, run by the those in the industry. Dave explains that, “if you want a job in a creative department, most creative directors won't see you until you've done it”. Each week, students get a new brief, across a variety of media, and each week features a different client and industry. For the 50-60 students per year (selected from over 1000 applicants) Award School is an intense, competitive activity that teaches the creative process and idea generation. However, it is also a place for networking and relationship building with possible long-term career implications.

At Award School, many creatives form relationships that underpin their career. It is common for those in advertising to work as part of a creative team consisting of a copywriter and art director. Creative teams find themselves being hired, and moving across, agencies as a collective unit, even being paid the same salary and judged on their collective output. According to Dave, your working partner, who he compares to a marriage, not only helps create ideas but “when you are presenting ideas to a boardroom full of clients or even the creative director or the suits, having someone there who has something at stake as well, makes it so much easier”. Not all Advertising participants enjoyed working in a team, some preferring to come up with their ideas alone. Nevertheless, this intense collaborative relationship is one the most distinctive

characteristics of being an advertising creative practitioner. Senior manager Ted describes it as follows:

They are the best team in the world for 10 years and then they never speak to each other again. I think it's one of the most interesting relationships going around. I talk about my longest-term art director, I talk about them like an ex-relationship, we would spend, when working together, way more time than I spent with any other loved one in my life, you see the best and worst of each other. It's a very unusual relationship.

In many ways working in advertising is like other corporate sectors, but it is the fundamental nature of the product, the creation of ideas, that has led to unique structures and ways of working that create a distinct culture.

Digital Design

There were similarities between the Advertising and Digital Design case studies, and many participants in the latter had worked in advertising agencies at some point in their career. However, being at the forefront of technological development in design, product development and media gave the sector unique cultural characteristics. While participants tended to move roles steadily like their advertising counterparts, they tended to “chase brands” more than jobs and awards. Like advertising, however, digital design was described as a young person’s industry, with senior figures recognising the need to stay creatively relevant as they shifted into managerial roles. There was less tendency to work in teams or partnerships, because a good collaborative partner is more likely to come from a technology background (design or code) than art design or copywriting.

The most distinctive characteristic of digital design, as told through participant narratives, was the rapid pace of change and the associated learning through practice. Sam describes the learning culture at one agency as chaotic due to the high turnover of staff in a rapidly growing business:

[You were] thrown in the deep end. They had to, because they were essentially a fast-growing start-up [that] had absolutely no process, [or] structure ... changed as people joined and left, no one really knew what they

were doing. The CEO of the company was maybe 5 or 6 years older than me, and he ... didn't know what he was doing either.

Liam sees it in military terms, suggesting staff learned essential skills as they undertook the responsibilities of their role:

It's kind of like war. I think about the First World War and how they had to adapt so quickly to the changing nature of technology. Most of the old ways [of] war [are] no longer relevant anymore and they had to die by the hundreds of thousands, before it was 'Oh so you don't run towards the machine gun, maybe we do X and Y'. And I think that's what start-ups, or certainly creative agencies that are trying to grow quickly [do]. That type of idea, you do lose people along the way, but you have to be agile and learn from it.

Being in start-up culture, there is little participation in formal training or development, less opportunity to learn in tertiary environments and if such programs did exist there was, “no time and no money and no budget”. Learning, and identity development, is primarily an autonomous, often creatively driven, participatory process that adapted to changing circumstances and technology.

Design and Craft/Visual Arts

The last four case studies fall into two groups that represent similar industries and employment patterns, yet reflect different cultures. Design and craft and visual arts are two disciplines that cross over considerably. Participants in both sectors tend to move between the two disciplines, in terms of practice and employing organisations. In both case studies participants had broad educational background, coming from a range of disciplines that included acting, arts management, marketing and law, together with more discipline-specific studies of design, curatorial studies or visual arts. The cultures across the two case studies, however, are markedly different. One potential reason for this was that the Design case study centred around a single organisation, featuring past and present employees or consultants that worked with the organisation, whereas those in the Visual Arts case come from a more diverse range of employers and employment types.

Participants within Design and Craft echo those in Theatre, being very focused on collaborative work and process, recognising the role collaboration played within their specific discipline. Organisational leader Terrence describes the working process, and its links to individual development:

The whole fact that we are a design-led organisation is so much about looking at the process of how one works collaboratively, how does one inspire innovation and creativity both independently and the ability to work collectively. The tools that we've all been learning ourselves around the design-led innovation process has been more of the learning ... reinforced in the work practice.... We spend a good amount of time in developing sessions for the whole team to develop their skills, not individually, but how they work collaboratively [and] strategically on particular projects and issues.

Design thinking, seen as both a process and an organisational product, underpins participant approaches to learning and development within the organisation. Emerging leader Brooke recognises that an individualistic approach to learning does not support achievement of organisational goals or reflect leadership in the sector:

An open, collaborative work style or approach to work is really important, I think narrow thinking, kind of silo mentality is not leading at all. I think like up-skilling, what I have learned about the design thinking process, problem-solving tool, is this way to tackle problems that you don't know how to solve.

While a strong developmental culture emerged in what Tania describes as a “super proactive” organisation, the recognition of links between creative practice and individual and organisational development created an important context for leadership identity development.

Visual Arts, on the other hand, see a lack of development of staff, particularly in relation to operational and people management, as a key challenge for the sector. While this problem is a factor of resources and capacity, there is also limited desire displayed by some arts managers to undertake the less exciting activities of human resource management. Describing her new leadership role in a visual arts organisation, Belle

recognises both the necessity of human resource functions and the fact many arts managers wish to direct their energies toward other, less operational, parts of their role:

It was point 16 in my CV, below everything else, 'P.S. human resources'. We didn't have current employment agreements; our agreements weren't in line with current legislation...I don't want to do it, of course I don't want to do HR. I want to curate shows and write books and go overseas and have lunch with people.

For participants like Belle, unlike those in Design and Craft, the links between organisational process and creative outcomes is less clear.

Leaders in the visual arts sector were more likely to be described as battle-weary gatekeepers than talent developers. According to participants, those in positions of power are “bruised and battered” by the constant challenges they face,⁴ and this impacts their willingness and ability to support emerging talent or even manage their staff effectively. Belle describes the culture of the visual arts as one full of “damaged children”, where:

...institutions have people at the helm that just stay in these jobs for years that just get beaten, get demeaned, they get subjugated, they get battered.... these small institutions they struggle so hard that they become proxy feudal systems where everyone's power is their inability to change. Their kind of rhetoric is experimentation, risk, creativity, good for society. If you can write endless essays on how this work forces us to question the equitable distribution of power within Peruvian fucking leak farmers then scream at Debbie at front of house for not photocopying or fucking up the database, it's not consistent.

Emerging leader Tom considers it differently, arguing that the economic and political environment makes it difficult for leaders to be “generous” when it comes to developing others:

⁴ Note these interviews took place in 2014/15 when the visual arts sector was hit with massive funding cuts and many organisations lost significant income.

Some of our leaders are under such undue pressure that they are not in a position to be very supportive younger practitioners because they are fighting their own battles. Whatever crises of funding or worrying about their own position means that they don't have the ability to be as supportive as they would want to because it's a competitive industry with kind of lack of resources and ... a lot of people competing for the same resources.

Whereas Design and Craft participants focus on development as part of their creative practice, Visual Arts participants see people management in terms of status, position and survival, separating those that are “in” or “out”. Senior industry figure, Karen, spoke of the “real art work” versus “the other stuff that’s getting all the money”. Participants in the Visual Arts case study were less likely to see the development of people as important to “real art work”.

Festival and Event Curation/Fashion/Blogging

The final two case studies also display significant similarity in terms of employment patterns, both featuring a high proportion of freelance, casual and consulting work. They are indicative of the precarious nature of creative employment and exemplify arguments prominent in arts and cultural discourse:

Why has the figure of the artist, who, as a worker, quickly morphs into a kind of busy creative multi-tasker, and then perhaps even a well-paid executive, come to occupy a prominent place in debates around the potential of the creative industries, when the typical artist is historically associated with sporadic or minimal earnings, with a poverty line existence, and with unpredictable 'human resources' upon which he or she must draw?

(McRobbie 2016, p. 70/170)

The job titles of “blogger” and “event curator” are recent creations, embodying the idea of creative freedom, yet also representing the precarious employment that characterises most of the creative sector. Emerging leaders at the heart of each case study could, as previously noted, be described as “slash workers”: Kristen working across events, writing, media and public art; and Georgie spanning fashion, media and retail. They are highly visible, often prominent in the media, yet see themselves differently from more

traditional arts and cultural workers. They position themselves as outside the exclusive domain of the arts, with its cultural capital and power. Kristen describes the art world as being made up of “tribes” that are based on “popularity and credibility” which are “diametrically opposed”, meaning “you can’t be both”. She believes that “people would prefer to be credible in their cohort (rather) than ...popular outside their cohort.” Similarly, Ida spoke of the cultural gatekeepers that constitute the old guard of core creative arts that ultimately could be its downfall: “the arts being an exclusive domain is something that the arts sector has to deal with. It needs to wrestle with this or it will disappear”.

In both case studies there was little infrastructure or support for developing careers. Like Digital Design, the fact these jobs were so new and rapidly changing in response to market opportunity, meant that there was little guidance to be found through formal channels. Both Georgie and Kristen felt they were, to some extent, unique in their positioning and skill sets, and they were also the only two primary participants who had not completed tertiary qualifications. Kristen (and her secondary participants) describes herself as “a unicorn” saying “there isn’t really anyone who does what I do, and if they do they’re competition”. Where these case studies differ, however, is how they engage with their community and their strategies to cope with their fluid and changeable employment status.

There was little evidence of shared or collaborative practice within the Fashion/Blogging case study. Georgie said repeatedly she worked individually, and that she “kicked her own butt”. Those around her, however, spoke of the need for her to reach out more. Greg, her client/manager says, “I told her there are important people to have in your life, have a really good friend who is an accountant, another who is a lawyer, good with legal stuff, another a spiritual leader”. Georgie’s community suggests she could benefit from more interaction and engagement, along with a professional and emotional support network.

Kristen (Festival and Events Curation), on the other hand, surrounds herself with peers and colleagues, many of whom worked on projects together. They took on the role of “cheer squad” as well as being collaborative partners. Katy wished “there was more collectivism” in the sector, recognising that the group was stronger, creatively and psychosocially, when working collaboratively. Kelly and Faith both discuss the

importance of mentoring, though they shun both the word and the idea of formal programs, preferring “two-way” and “situational” approaches that occur through practice. Despite working as freelancers, contractors and casuals, those in the Festival and Events case see value in collective development, unlike the Fashion/Blogging case study who worked largely in isolation.

This section provided a brief overview of how research participants engage professionally with each other, and the distinctive environment of each case study that influences the leadership culture and creates the context for identity development. While many sectors examined share similarities, each case study had its own characteristics which, as will be shown, shapes the emerging leader’s construction of leadership and their own leadership identity.

5.2. Leadership across the Case Studies

While the previous section provided some insight into the distinct environments within each of the nine discipline-based case studies, it also collectively constructed narratives around leadership that contribute to, and result from, emerging-leader identity construction. Highlighting some of the leadership narratives within each case provides an understanding of how leadership is perceived in the Australian arts and cultural sector, along with discipline-specific characteristics and views.

Given the collaborative approach to practice and development demonstrated by Theatre participants, it is perhaps unsurprising that leadership schemas (DeRue & Ashford 2010) constructed through narratives were collective or relational in nature. Marion describes her leadership role as “facilitating collaboration”, acknowledging that she had a role to “bring ideas, projects and thinking” and, as Henry said, “the buck stops with you in every show”. Oliver said Marion “led projects and was visible in representing her community while saying something about the world”, while Tess sees Marion’s role as to “speak out about what it is like to be a creative woman in your twenties”. Like in several case studies, the title of “leader” was not readily embraced or considered an important part of creative practice, Henry stating that “a leader doesn’t think too much about being a leader, but actually gets on with things”. Creative leadership, in the view of these participants requires a level of humility.

Participants in the Film case study also recognise the need to create a vision for the art form. They view leadership as characterised by the need to express or articulate beliefs to followers. Cora suggests part of her role was “saying what needs to be said”. Orla describes this as “I come from the ‘where the fuck are our leaders?’ view, if there is space, you better go fill it”. It is in the distinction between the need to speak out and yet manage the practicalities of relationship building for career progression that highlights different styles of leadership. Emerging leader Cora, despite her increased media presence, was not comfortable with verbal communication, yet her passion and drive overcame this reluctance. As Cora’s collaborator Ian describes, leadership is more than the ability to capture people’s attention:

I have this friend who walks in to the room and you take notice, he speaks very authoritatively, but he’s not...he doesn’t have the other qualities that Cora has. And of the two of them, she’s more successful than him ... so that’s interesting because that thing is really immediate. Bless his heart he’s a bit of a car crash. People will leave projects feeling negative. I find it heartening that Cora’s model is more successful, because she’s very committed, ambitious and driven.

Here Ian suggests that the personal characteristics generally associated with leadership, such as extroversion and charisma, may not be sufficient to succeed. Participants note Cora’s partnership with another community member, Sara, provides a sense of balance. Sara was described as “very much the natural leader of people. People sort of follow and do what she wants”, while Cora was “the one who knows what needs to be done”. Participants in the film case study highlight many of the ongoing debates associated with leadership: is leadership linked to extroversion, are leaders born versus made, what is a “natural leader?”

Consistent with the culture found in the Music case study, participants construct their view of leadership in line with hierarchical and organisational management structures or leadership schemas. Sonia is a leader from Francis’ perspective because she had been “leading my team”, but added “if she hadn’t been my direct boss, I would have seen her potential as a leader”. Both Donna and Lynn said Sonia “built a fantastic team”, noting “she chooses people well and actively seeks ways to develop people”, which was “in contrast to artistic figureheads who waft in and out and do their own thing”. Beyond

organisationally imposed structures, Music case study participants also recognise the role leaders had in “getting out into the community, sitting on boards and having a go at things like SAMAG” (Sydney Arts Management Networking Group).

Participants in the Advertising case study see leadership as being able to maintain their ideas in the face of pressure from outside forces, particularly the influence of the “suits” or client demands. It does not pay to be “too easy going” according to Dave, who was also described as a “passive, not a pushy kind of leader”. Leadership was frequently identified by external measures including job title, salary and industry reputation as reflected in industry awards. These measures sometimes create dissonance between the individual’s self-perception of leadership and the organisational and industrial pressure to assume leadership identity.

Those in the Design and Craft case study also discuss leadership in terms of organisation and hierarchy. Consultant Maddie, says leadership schemas in the creative sector were hierarchical, or “I’m above you”, which leads to resistance towards assuming leadership positions. Like those in Film, Tania see leadership as a mix of the “future focused stuff” and “managing people” and this required behaviour that includes “intelligence, insightfulness, strategic thinking” along with “outspokenness and strong opinions”. Despite the developmental approach in the Design and Craft case study, Maddie suggests that, in the arts, there was a lack of understanding the true “benefits or value of leadership; it’s just what business does and we’re not a business”. However, more senior members of that group, like Terrence, see leadership in more collaborative terms, aligning to creative practice within the design discipline.

Like the Advertising case study, those in Digital Design see a separation between the business and creative aspects of leadership. Straddling the world between innovation and idea generation and the demands of larger multi-national organisations, Digital Design case study participants feel the need for a multifaceted leadership approach. For some, such as primary participant Sam, accepting the role of creative leader was easier than being seen as a business leader. More experienced participants, such as Liam and Vince, recognise the need to maintain a focus on creative input, because in both the digital and advertising sectors, the need to maintain a creative reputation was crucial. Sam (Digital Design) said “Creative leaders are rock stars; (as a creative) it’s your idea, no one else’s”. Like Dave, Sam stressed that leaders needed to push ideas through to

completion. As practitioners in the sector became more senior there was an expectation of more managerial responsibility, however, neglecting the creative side of the business was perceived as detrimental. As Vince, head of a digital agency says, “if you do not prove that you’ve still got it, that you can do the creative if you have to, you lose the respect of your colleagues; people (recognise and respect) you for thought leadership”.

The Visual Arts case study is highly critical of those in leadership positions, even from those among their cohort. Those within this case are most likely to align to DeRue and Ashford’s (2010, p. 639) proposition that “the more individuals perceive instrumental, interpersonal and image risks associated with leadership, the less they will claim a leader identity”. Belle, who heads up a medium-size visual arts organisation, recognises that many in the sector are unprepared for the operational aspects of leading:

I don’t think we’re training our leaders, or I don’t think our leaders care enough in these organisations, I don’t think they care enough to go and learn the things that are required or get the people in to de-accession the control in organisations, because they often have boards above them and they are so afraid of losing control that they don’t want to give control to anyone else within the organisation. Because they feel they are always embattled against the board, it’s always about managing up, not down.

Like those in Festival and Event Curation, and in contrast to Theatre participants, those in the Visual Arts case study believe organisational leaders were motivated by maintaining their power, not necessarily using their position to develop the next generation. Leadership is described in terms of aggression: the need to advocate, champion, fight for resources, while at the same time being accountable, making unpopular decisions and struggling against “proxy feudal power positions”. The approach is similar to descriptions from the Film and Theatre case studies, but often the language is more adversarial. Rather than the community coming together to build a strong industry, the Visual Arts case uses battle analogies where leaders within the sector to aim to retain and divide ever-diminishing resources. Importantly, leadership is perceived as an “other”, even for those who had leadership roles. There was little discussion on what participants did as leaders, but more on the failings of others in the sector to establish a developmentally oriented leadership culture.

Those in the Festival and Event Curation case study are also critical of leadership in the sector, but unlike Visual Arts participants, they focus on the concept of leadership as opposed to the individual leaders. There is critique of hierarchically oriented leadership schemas, of leadership being associated with organisational structures. This criticism came predominantly from freelance workers who rarely achieved senior organisational positions. However, there is also criticism of the arts and cultural infrastructure as it related to organisational positions of power. Ida describes this as, “The problem with leadership in the arts is that it is conjoined with the notion of the gatekeeper and while arts organisations remain key employers of artists and while they negotiate who is in and who is out they are immensely powerful”. She acknowledges, however, potential for change: “I think there are some magnificent and extremely exciting shifts, I’m friends with Wesley Enoch, first Indigenous artistic director and now at the Sydney Festival; but actually, the exception seems to ... prove the rule”. Katy also rails against current leadership role models: “there are so many bad leaders around, I think that’s why many are opposed to leadership, so many of us have suffered under dorks”. Furthermore, Faith suggested leadership was a “buzzworded (sic) out of any kind of meaning”.

Finally, for Fashion/Blogging emerging leader Georgie, leadership is the ability to “take control in situations and make decisions—a sense of power”. There are authoritarian aspects to her descriptions of leadership, which are less about working with others to achieve communal goals, and more about controlling others to achieve individual aims. In contrast, Helen sees leadership from a maternal perspective, saying she feels like “the mother”. In her professional environment, where she worked with young television performers, she describes how she would “fall into the role of setting the standard and maintaining it, not policing, but being a leader in doing by example”.

5.3. What the Case Studies Reveal about Arts and Cultural Sector Leadership

An analysis of the narratives that emerged from the interviews reveals how participants across the breadth of the arts and cultural sector define and construct leadership. Importantly, and unlike many assumptions in positivist approaches to leadership, there is no assumption that leadership is a positive concept. As suggested in the introduction, leadership in the Australian arts and cultural sector is often questioned and critiqued, and arts workers may demonstrate “difficulty admitting to being leaders” (Caust 2006,

p. 255). Participant narratives highlight emergent leadership themes across the constellation of arts and cultural workers presented in this study.

Leadership is Strongly Associated with Headship

Despite the multitude of working arrangements, both within and outside organisational constructs, leadership schemas constructed by those in the arts and cultural sector are often hierarchical, aligned to status markers that include title, position within an organisational hierarchy, salary and external recognition. Participants are more likely to grant leadership identity to those who held formal positions of authority (DeRue & Ashford 2010). While there is an increased appreciation of, and often preference for, distributed, collaborative and relationship leadership approaches, for many in the study: “leadership may be equated with the managerial role itself, so that only those in organisationally sanctioned roles count as leaders” (Zoller & Fairhurst 2007, p. 1332). While this view is not unexpected in for-profit disciplines, such as advertising and digital design, it was also reflected by the more networked, organisationally fluid sectors, such as visual arts, and festivals and events. This conflation of organisational power and leadership is not necessarily appropriate, however, because “exercising the sort of coercive power associated with being someone’s boss, and therefore having the power to fire them or provide them with resources, is not adequate to being a ‘leader’” (Ladkin 2015, p. 15/300). In the Visual Arts case, organisational leadership is not often described in positive terms, particularly by younger or less experienced participants. Those in positions of authority have to continuously fight to maintain personal and organisational power, thus there was, for emerging leaders, a higher perceived risk in claiming leadership identity.

In Digital Design leaders have to demonstrate they “still had it” creatively. Similarly, the culture in Advertising required leaders hold on to creative ideas in the face of organisation and client pressure to water them down. The Festival and Events case study reveal the perceived tendency for leaders to hold on to positions of power for too long and act as cultural gatekeepers. It is the failure of those in positions of authority to live up to the leadership expectations of followers within the sector that may cause some of the discontent evident in leadership narratives.

The uneasiness toward organisational leadership, particularly holding responsibility for or focus on development of others, emerges as a strong theme. Those in Visual Arts are highly critical of both the lack of support in developing people management skills, and the attitude of organisational leaders who do not value a developmental approach. A number of participants display resistance to, in particular, people management. As Francis (Music) noted, claiming follower status, “I don’t particularly like management, I don’t like being a manager, I like being managed”. For others, there is a desire to distance themselves from leading other artists because of the perception that arts leadership was difficult. This is consistent with Caust’s (2006, p. 225) study of leadership and creativity, where working with artists was synonymous with “working with difficult people”.

Organisational leadership is often negatively aligned with business leadership models, potentially influenced by the increased corporatisation of the arts and cultural sector. As Liam says, “General leadership is about exacting performance or tasks out of things and the creative process is so different”. Other participants see some leadership models in terms of career progression. First you master your (creative) skill, then learn to be a creative leader ultimately progressing to organisational leadership. For example, in the Digital Design case study, Sam describes himself being comfortable as “a leader in my discipline, but not a business leader”. Similarly, Dave from the Advertising sector study acknowledges he felt pressure to be a leader based on his creative achievements. Importantly, there was recognition across a number of sectors that the industry did not do enough to support the development of organisational leaders, either through a lack of focus, such as those in the Visual Arts study, or due to a lack of resources and the rapid pace of industry change like within Digital Design.

Where more transformational leadership narratives did emerge, they tend to come from participants who have significant organisational responsibility and experience. Terrence, from the Design and Craft study, had been in his role for 16 years at the time of interview. His personal approach to leadership displays a very strong developmental focus that involved the use of outside consultants and facilitators to support personal and organisational development.⁵ His developmental approach was reflected in

⁵ This comment may have been a reflection of Terrence’s succession planning, as he was shortly to announce his departure from the organisation.

interviews with current and former staff of the organisation. Brooke's leadership style was also transformational in nature. Tania describes Brooke as an "understated leader" who:

...leads by giving you power. And one of those leaders where I think it's in her mentoring and guidance, you're kind of empowered instead of a really authoritarian leader.

The fact the primary participants are emerging leaders, rather than established, may explain their reluctance toward people management. Yet many of the participants in this study were already in positions of managerial responsibility or were running their own organisations that involved the management of volunteers, stakeholders and staff. This reticence to discuss followers or the leaders' role in supporting others may, however, also be a reaction to the neo-liberal attitude towards leadership and leaders that focuses more on the individual leaders than a holistic leadership approach (Crevani, Lindgren & Packendorff 2010; Rost 1993). Moreover, these narratives may reflect contemporary leadership discourses that embrace "change-oriented, transformational and visionary leadership" (Sveningsson 2006, p. 204) rather than the "mundane activities" that Alvesson and Sveningsson (2003, p.1455) consider fundamental for organisational management structures. Leadership for several emerging leaders may actually be more about discourse and identity than practice.

Leadership Development is Individualistic in Approach

While several participants had attended leadership development programs, only those in the Design and Craft case study had experienced, or mentioned they had participated in, organisationally structured leadership training. Organisational leader Terrence had driven a culture of learning and development, with Brooke and Tania attending programs partially provided by consultant Maddie. This initiative may, in part, explain the consistency in language and approach to design thinking and collaborative leadership that was reflected in their narratives.

Other research participants exposed to leadership development programs, including Sonia, Lynn and Donna (Music), Orla (Film), Zara (Theatre), Faith (Festival and Event Curation) and Ted (Advertising), were involved in individual training aimed at

improving their ability as leaders. Their experiences were consistent with Rost's (1993) thesis that leadership development is weighted heavily towards building leadership understanding and behaviour in potential leaders, but neglects the role of followers and those that collaborate with leaders. Rost (1993) argues that:

The number one problem with leadership development in the twentieth century is that it – leadership development – has been equated with leader development. That is so because leadership has been understood as being that which a leader does. Leadership is synonymous with leader. (p. 97)

Theoretical approaches to leadership have developed since the 1990s. However, in most local cases, leadership development in the arts and cultural sector have not. While there has been considerable research into cultural leadership and the development of arts and cultural leaders in the United Kingdom through initiatives such as The Clore Leadership Program (Price 2016), in Australia arts and cultural leadership development is largely limited to tertiary education programs and Australia Council for the Arts development options. The resultant focus on the role of leader brings with it weight of expectation that participants feel they must live up to. There is still an overarching emphasis on creating “better” arts and cultural leaders rather than creating a sector wide understanding of effective leadership.

Arts and Cultural Leaders are Visionary

Leadership is positioned by many emerging leaders as being a relationship with the external world, one of establishing a vision, reputation, influence and power. References to leadership activity included advocacy for others (Visual Arts), inspiring others (Fashion and Blogging), influencing others (Film), facilitating idea generation (Theatre) and pushing through obstacles (Advertising). These activities position the individual (leader) within their community, but not necessarily within their organisation, nor do they consider the importance of followers in achievement of goals. Tania (Visual Arts) described this as the more “future focused stuff”. Participants in Visual Arts speak about “championing artists” and “advocating for artists”; and those in Festival and Events saw the leaders’ role as “getting involved, having an opinion, being present and doing stuff”. Theatre case study participants describe this as “the visible side of leadership”, “speaking out”, making work that says, “something about the world, shapes

the world, makes people grapple up with ideas” and advocating for the organisation or art form. These descriptions are consistent with Alvesson and Sveningsson’s (2003) discussion of contemporary leadership as an externally oriented vision:

Leadership is related to grand ideas, visions and engaging speeches that encourage people to take part in great missions. Leadership is connected to radical change and inspiring ideas that facilitate people to rethink old ideas, there’s a revolutionary, heroic and romantic epic figuring in contemporary leadership. (p. 1488)

Less obvious in leadership narratives was how visions are achieved, actions undertaken, or how leaders work through and with others.

Personality and Leadership are Strongly Associated

There are several case studies that view charisma as being central to arts and cultural leadership. This result is not surprising, given the long association between charismatic leadership and creative leaders. The creative sector lends itself to a romanticised view of leadership, with many artistic directors, for example, seen as having a mystical allure (Glow 2013). Charisma is also linked to leader-founded organisations (Cray, Inglis & Freeman 2007; Murdock 2010). In particular, this marriage of creativity and leadership is coupled with the myth of the artistic (predominantly male) genius, representative of Great Man leadership theories:

Even artists who are idealized as ‘stars’ are often seen as outsiders, in a category all their own. People see them as living differently, on their own terms and according to their own schedule. They belong to a class of individuals whom ordinary people observe with interest, alternately envying, adoring and hating them, depending on where they are in the cycle of success of failure. (Lapierre 2001, p. 9)

While there is much to critique in Lapierre’s analysis of artistic genius (especially, the author’s repeated use of the male pronoun) and the importance of artistic leadership in management of arts organisations, it does demonstrate the popular belief that leadership in arts and culture is vested in charisma. As shown in the discussion that follows,

participants in the case studies recognise this style of leadership as prevalent within the arts, and repeatedly linked charisma and extroversion with the idea of leadership.

Associated with the concept of charismatic leadership was the belief that leadership is something that is inherent, not learned. Despite critical leadership approaches that dispel this theory (Glynn & DeJordy 2010), evidence suggests it still lingers in both popular constructions of arts and culture leadership and arts management theory (Lapierre 2001; Smith 2013). The question of whether leaders are born or made was still pertinent to many in the study. Leadership is described as “an organic, life force” and participants such as Ian suggest, “You can’t make someone a leader, leadership just happens”. While there is a demonstrated view that leadership was something you either had, or did not have, there was little agreement around what leadership actually is, or what characteristics successful leaders are born with. However, the strongest link between behaviours, traits and leadership was the coupling of charisma with leadership. Emerging leaders are described as charismatic in the Festival and Event Curation and Visual Arts case studies. Those described as more introverted in nature, such as in the Film, Music and Theatre case studies, had this noted by their peers as one of the reasons they might not be identified as a leader.

Successful Arts and Cultural Leaders Combine Leadership with Practice

There is a considerable difference between the collaborative leadership narratives of those in Film and Theatre, and the charismatic approach in Festival and Event Curation. What these narratives reveal, like leadership theory in general, is that there is no single leadership model in the arts and cultural sector. What is important, however, is that socially constructed concepts of leadership are consistent within individual, organisational and disciplinarily recognised leadership schemas.

The “lone creative hero” myth propagated by authors such as Lapierre may misrepresent the reality of leadership in many arts and culture disciplines. In their examination of film directors and orchestra conductors Soila-Wadman and Köping (2009, p. 665), argue that “artists are not isolated bohemians who stand above or outside society” and this idea “springs from the individualistic view of the artist which has parallels with the romantic notion of the (hero) artist established in the 19th century”. Artists should be viewed as “a dynamic human activity that in society is an inspiring and organizing

power” (Soila-Wadman and Köping 2009, p. 665). Moreover, the authors contend that the actual role of the artistic leader is that of organiser, facilitator and relationship builder. A number of case studies align with this view, exploring the idea of “leadership and organisation as human social constructions that emanate from the rich connections and interdependencies of organisations and their members” (Uhl-Bien 2006, p. 655). However, like other aspects of this study, the rich connections and interdependencies that Uhl-Bien describes within organisations, span diverse communities of practices that comprise the Australian arts and cultural sector.

The importance of relational leadership emerges strongly in the Theatre case study, where both Marion and Zara describe their leadership approaches as collaborative, and Henry who suggests that leadership “is looking beyond your own artistic impulses” to “cut a path for others onto the main stage”. Marion’s leadership narrative exemplifies how theatre directors are seen as leadership role models for the business sector, where “collaboration is at the heart of the work” (Dunham & Freeman 2000, p. 115). Marion’s narrative also highlights the changing nature of creativity and leadership, where creativity is recognised as a process rather than an innate individual trait (Bilton & Leary 2002).

Similar to Theatre, the leadership approach of many in the Film and Festival and Events case study was one of networks, influence and relationship based interaction. In both of these case study sectors participants work outside traditional organisational structures, had no continuous economic relation with those whom they worked with, and achieve their creative goals through influence, persuasion and creation of a shared vision. Where development of others does emerge, it relates to collaborative practice or situated learning. Marion (Theatre) speaks strongly about her role as a collaborator and facilitator of ideas: “I come with the ideas, the raw turf and I kind of throw it at them...I facilitate the collaboration”. Similarly, Cora, from the Film case study, speaks of having “a lot of influence to get things happening; I put things out there”. In this sense, the leadership role for collaborative creative practitioners is one that initiates and supports collaboration. This assists in the achievement of collective goals, but by extension, develops others by participation in a community of practice.

Terrence, in discussing leadership within the Design and Craft community, stresses the importance of alignment between how leadership occurs and the creative practice the organisation engages in:

I think that the whole fact that we are a design lead organisation is so much about looking at the process of how does one work collaboratively, how does one inspire innovation and creativity both independence and the ability to work collectively.

What Terrence highlights here is not the primacy of one style of leadership over another, but the importance of aligning the style of leadership enacted, both organisationally and individually, with the creative practice or output of the organisation. For Terrence, Marion and Cora, collaborative styles of leadership work for their creative practice, and consequently they are more comfortable with the concept. In contrast, Festival curator Kristen is characterised as more of a heroic, charismatic leader who aligns her practice with her values and aims and, in the process, voices new ideas.

A focus on leadership that comes from within, rather than outside, the creative practice or cultural community, gives weight to leadership-as-practice theories. While not completely agreeing with Raelin's (2014) argument that there is no leadership, only forms of social agency, the emergence of positive leadership identity through communities of practice suggests leadership emerges "from the immediate situation within a particular context and by those attending to the practice regardless (but also inclusive) of their prior role designation. It is embedded in the context but also shapes the context that then affects subsequent practice" (Raelin 2014, p. 142).

5.4. Summary

This chapter explored what we see when we look for arts and cultural leadership. It began by considering nine cases studies from a contextual perspective, how participants worked and practiced together, how development occurred within their specific disciplines and the ways in which participants engaged with each other. It then considered the way leadership is described and constructed within each discipline. These narratives reveal that leadership in the arts and cultural sector is dominated by ideas of organisational and hierarchy that do not always align with individual

practitioner's desire to focus on vision and creativity. Those in the arts and cultural sector struggle with a division between leadership, as represented by contemporary ideas and vision, and the more mundane but equally important role of people management. Leadership is still linked to charisma and personality and, for some in the sector, it is something that you were born with. Despite significant changes in the arts and cultural landscape in the past two decades, the themes of charisma and collaboration, identified in early arts management literature, are still central to constructions of arts and cultural leadership.

Importantly, however, leadership that emerges through creative practice is one embraced or welcomed by most in the arts and cultural sector. Alignment between process, whether it be creation of theatre, development of a script, curation of a festival or teaching design thinking in schools, and the styles of leadership that support these outcomes, is important for the creation of a positive leadership identity.

Exploring the role that context plays in leadership identity begins to reveal a picture of how social factors and the communities in which arts and cultural workers practice facilitate the co-construction of mutual understanding. Leadership identity is, in part, a product of the disciplinary environment in which it is constructed and constantly reformed.

6. CONTRIBUTORS TO LEADERSHIP IDENTITY CONSTRUCTION

Where the previous chapter explored leadership and context across the nine case studies, this chapter turns to the specific issues and influences that shape arts and cultural leadership identity. Recognising that arts and cultural workers exercise agency when constructing their own identity, there are also organisational and social forces that contribute to and prompt identity work within individuals. Here, interviews are considered from a thematic narrative perspective to isolate the influences on leadership identity as constructed by the participants and researcher. The chapter begins exploring the interviews in the context of Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) identity regulation framework to bring to light examples of identity regulation within the constellation of the arts and cultural sector. Factors outside organisational power and control, however, also shape emerging leaders' relations to leadership, and these are examined to create a picture of identity development more consistent with Australian arts and cultural labour market and professional practices.

Each of the research participants has a unique leadership identity and relation to the concept of leadership, one that emerges via co-construction with their community and with the researcher during the interview processes. The interviews, however, reveal common themes. One particularly strong theme is that many in the arts and cultural sector have a complex, sometimes reluctant view of leadership. While recognising the fluid, constructed nature of each participant's leadership narrative, in the interviews organisationally driven identity regulation and social influences that help shape emerging leader identity can be isolated.

While all interviews began with a broad discussion of the participant's career path and participation in developmental opportunities, towards the end of the interview, after rapport was established between the participant and the researcher, the primary candidates were asked the question: "Do you consider yourself a leader?" This question prompted not only a direct response in the affirmative or negative, that is whether the participant is willing to claim their leader identity (DeRue & Ashford 2010), but also saw participants construct their own version of leadership in relation to their identity. In contrast, secondary participants were asked about the leadership identity of their

primary counterparts: “Do you consider <primary participant> a leader?” or, in DeRue and Ashford’s (2010) terms, whether they granted leader status to the primary participant. What emerges is not only a qualification of the primary participant’s view of their own leadership status, but a demonstration of the secondary candidates own construction of leadership. This process highlights narrative consistency or inconsistency within the case studies. Secondary candidates were also asked whether they believed the primary participant would claim leader status via the question: “Does <primary participant> consider themselves a leader?” These two perspectives on leadership identity, primary and secondary, bring to light the social construction of leadership from an internalised point of view: “Am I a leader?”; and an externalised point of view: “Is he/she a leader?”.

6.1. Re-contextualising the Identity Framework

While leadership is not constrained by workplace boundaries, organisational perspectives drive most theoretical enquiry, particularly within the arts management context. As argued throughout this study, however, situating leadership research solely within organisational frameworks neglects the majority of arts and cultural workers and, consequently, mitigates its theoretical relevance. As critical scholars point out “much of the leadership scholarship on identity focuses at the level of the leader and their follower and neglects the context and cultural dimensions of identity” (Evans & Sinclair 2016a, p. 270). As Bridgstock (2013, p. 178) notes workers in this context are more likely to engage in a portfolio career where they engage in “self-constructed and continually evolving patchwork of jobs and projects” and/or are “self-employed, and/or employed on a short-term contractual ‘by project’ basis”.

The research presented in this thesis aims to address some of these contextual gaps by considering the role of identity frameworks and leadership identity development that crosses organisational paradigms. Only 54 per cent participants worked in organisations at the time of interview, and for those who were organisationally employed, they did not necessarily see this as a state that would last for a significant period of their career.⁶ It is only in the more profit driven disciplines, particularly advertising, that participants saw their career as moving within or across progressively larger organisations as they gained more experience.

⁶ See Appendix 4: Participant Demographics, for a full breakdown of employment type.

In choosing to situate this study in a social learning context, the aim is to capture an understanding of leadership identity development from a variety of different social, labour market and economic perspectives. The characteristics of communities of practice mean that leadership concepts can be defined without consideration of reporting lines or hierarchical structures. As noted throughout, communities are bound together by their output (joint enterprise), their shared interests (mutual engagement) and common practices (shared repertoire), rather than the economic or structural links that bind organisational structures (Wenger 1998). This does not preclude examination of identity development within organisations, but expands identity beyond those confines. Participants in this study are bound by reporting relationships, current and former academic relationships, social ties, volunteer relationships, and peer and client relationships. The case studies include workers with careers in organisations, casuals, volunteers, contractors, freelancers, consultants, small business owners and sole traders.

Positioning the identity framework within the community context facilitates investigation identity regulation from a variety of perspectives. Alvesson and Willmott's (2002, p.619) initial premise is "regulation of identity as a focus for examining organisational control" and, thus, identity regulation and the factors that influence it are linked to organisational structures and processes. Consistent with this view, the research presented in this thesis considers how identity regulation factors emerge in the cultural sector within and across organisational boundaries, but also the impact of socially constructed influences. Scholars argue that organisationally driven identity regulation can never fully be achieved, given individual's participation in other discourses. For example, Watson (2008) argues:

...although Alvesson and Willmott (2002) concentrate on the efforts made by employing organisations to accomplish organisational control 'through the self-positioning of employees within managerially inspired discourses', they acknowledge that this can never be fully accomplished because such attempts are balanced by individuals with 'other elements of life history forged by a capacity to accomplish life projects out of various sources of influence and inspiration' (2002: 628). (p.125. emphasis in original).

The current study, therefore, explores non-organisational discourses and motivations that either contribute positive attitudes towards leadership identity development or cause friction or anxiety similar to identity regulation.

The research also facilitates and captures a picture of identity work in action. Alvesson and Willmott (2002, p. 626) recognise that when individual's sense of self-identity becomes unsettled "feelings of tension, anxiety, shame or guilt arise. Occasionally a sense of contradiction, disruption and confusion may become pervasive and sustained". The narratives constructed demonstrate evidence of the tension or anxiety felt by emerging arts and cultural leaders. Consequently, the research not only documents the sustained impact of identity regulation, but also prompts, and reflects, identity work as it happens for research participants.

This chapter considers Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) model of identity regulation evidenced by leadership narratives constructed by the research participants. It then explores factors that significantly shape identity regulation in the Australian cultural sector excluded from Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) organisational framework and the impact of the latter on emerging leader leadership identity.

6.2. Evidence of Identity Regulation in the Arts and Cultural Sector

Identity regulation as "discursive practices concerned with identity definition that condition processes of identity formation or transformation" (Alvesson & Willmott 2002, p. 627) prompts and informs an individual's identity work and thus contributes to the ongoing creation and development of self-identity. Alvesson and Willmott (2002, p. 627) consider identity regulation to be "more or less intentionally targeted" at employees as a means of organisational control. They construct nine types of identity regulation that influence employees, the organisational environment in which they operate, and the larger social and economic terrain relevant to employees. While all nine types are not evidenced by participant narratives that emerge from the case studies, the impact of various forms of regulation was significant.

Knowledge and Skills

According to Alvesson & Willmott (2002, p. 630), "knowledge defines the knower: what one is capable of doing (or expected to be able to do) frames who one is". In

interpreting and critiquing leadership theory, those who have been part of development activity can potentially locate themselves within a leadership discourse. In contrast, if an individual feels they have not yet acquired the appropriate “tool kit” they may be less willing to identify as a leader and, consequently, may display the identity anxiety described by critical theorists (Gagnon & Collinson 2014).

As noted in the last chapter, the accumulation of knowledge and skills of leadership behaviours, concepts or capabilities, is apparent in some of case studies, but in comparison to other economic sectors, participation in formal leadership development was not common. Only one case study, Design and Craft, demonstrates an organisationally based approach to defining leadership capability. Other cases, such as Music and Film, contain participant who had attended industry, academic or other forms of leadership training.

For those exposed to leadership knowledge and skills training, this impacts identity in two ways, either supporting leadership identity or contributing toward rejection of it. DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 633) argue leadership identity is constructed when claiming and granting mutually reinforce each other. For many participants, development confirms their existing leadership identity claims, their knowledge, generally learned on-the-job or through their community. As Music sector marketer, Sonia, states:

When you have people that you are managing, you kind of make it up as you go along and you kind of work with people to make the strategy happen. I think those training courses reiterated that I could do it, they reinforced that I could do it.

Similarly, Donna, also from the Music case study, says her participation in formal training made her realise she was “damn good”; that development “put a framework around stuff I already know. Giving it a name, giving it a structure”. Leadership training thus does not necessarily define their leadership identity, but reinforces it, in a way DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 633) describe as a “positive spiral” of grants and claims. Brown and Starkey (2000, p. 102) argue individuals are motivated to defend their identity in the face of leadership (or other) learning because of a need to maintain self-esteem and when engaged in development activity: “this means that individuals and

organisations engage in learning activities and employ information and knowledge conservatively to preserve their existing concepts of self’.

Gagnon and Collinson (2014) argue learning, for both organisations and individuals, is an attack on the constructed notions of identity, and individuals may choose to absorb only the information that supports their existing view. In Sonia’s case, however, she notes that her theoretical view of leadership was expanded to include behaviours or practices that aligns more closely with her individual experience: “there was a sense in those courses that leadership was being redefined, from being that sort of dogmatic dictatorial to being the kind of collaborative leader that coaches”. Far from feeling like an attack on her identity, Sonia, and other participants like Orla from the Film case study, feel leadership development programs offer a more expansive view of leadership, allowing construction a leadership identity that aligns with their personal experience and creative practice. These participants are, as Sinclair (2010) recommends, placing themselves and their experiences within the leadership frameworks taught and critiquing its applicability to their own circumstances.

There are those, however, who see the accumulation of leadership knowledge and skills as something that was always just beyond reach. Critical studies of functional leadership models argue that participation in leadership development activity may create anxiety or unsettle individuals from an identity perspective (Gagnon & Collinson 2014). Design and Craft emerging leader, Brooke, had participated in a broad range of professional and personal development programs, including six-months of executive coaching, but struggles to feel that she has the necessary skills required to be successful. She says:

I have this tendency to be like an ongoing learner, I’ve always got to learn something new; I need to know how this works. And I don’t even know I’m doing it. So rather than moving on all the time, I’ve got that down, I’ve got the skills, actually try to stop and be present and apply some of the stuff [I’ve] learned. And it’s probably because I’m reaching a limit on how much I can take on. I’ve had feedback that ‘you look like you’re searching for THE answer, the magic pill and that magic pill doesn’t exist, it’s actually you and the reflection of you and becoming comfortable with who you are’.

Brooke benchmarks her leader identity against a constantly shifting list of skills, knowledge or attributes she felt represents leadership, but that she is not yet utilising. She was “working on it”, had the “capacity”, “done the learning, but “I’m not leading”. For Brooke, the inability to marry her individual leadership identity to the developmental models she was exposed to prompts her continued search for knowledge.

It is important to note, however, when considering development and identity regulation presented by the case studies this research, those who actively participate in formal or traditional leadership development activities predominantly demonstrate the negative impacts of identity regulation. By way of contrast, those in the Film and Theatre case studies took a different approach to development, one more oriented to social learning. This approach shall be discussed in the next chapter. The relevant point being that, while these participants develop their leadership identity and knowledge using various means, they do so in a way that does not motivate them to benchmark their identity against a prescribed leadership format. Learning leadership through social learning mechanisms allows for identity formation personalised to the community and the individual’s approach, and this leads to less resistance to the role.

Definition

To label someone a leader is to contribute to the construction of their leadership identity. DeRue and Ashford (2010) argue leadership identity is granted by social processes such as being defined as a leader. Critics of leadership models argue that to define someone as a leader can impact behaviour, and how others perceive them. For example, Raelin (2014) argues:

...the sheer act of naming someone a leader may convert his or her mundane acts to be significant and remarkable in his or her own eyes, in those of subordinates and of other stakeholders, and in the reports of observers and analysts. In the case of subordinates, they too, once identified as followers, may constitute themselves differently, for example as highly responsive subjects. (p. 142)

While Raelin, who cites Alvesson and Sveningsson’s 2003 study, argues that the definition of leadership makes an individual potentially more “significant and

remarkable”, the case studies evidenced by this thesis suggest that concern over not being “significant and remarkable” enough may factor in identity reluctance for emerging leaders. Participants feel a disconnect between the granting of leadership identity through definition, and their individual unwillingness to claim leadership identity (DeRue & Ashford 2010).

Research participants are defined as leaders by various mechanisms. The first is linked to training and development, highlighting its role beyond provision of knowledge and skills. For Sonia (Music), selection to attend several leadership programs gave her “confidence, the sense of having something to add” and gave her “a place at the table—I could play the game.” Being labelled a leader, or at least an emerging one, through the inclusion in competitive programs, influences her sense of leadership identity because she felt she was ready and capable to lead. There were also participants whom, in their view, were not defined as leaders when they failed to be accepted into the same development programs and, consequently, adopted that identity. For Brooke (Design and Craft) and Tom (Visual Arts) this means a continued journey to increase their knowledge and skills to ultimately gain leadership recognition, both externally and internally.

For participants Sam (Digital Design), Dave (Advertising) and Brooke (Design and Craft), leadership is incorporated into their roles, or granted, as they reach a certain point in their career or status within their sector. This does not always necessarily align with their personal constructions of identity. Participants who work in organisations were defined as leaders by their position, role, title and the expectation of their managers. Leadership is associated with organisational role or performance (Dave, Sonia, Brooke), through appointment into a more senior position (Sam), or external recognition through awards (Dave). For Dave (Advertising), as he continued to build a reputation and experience, he reports that, “They are trying to push me into more of a leader role”. Sam (Digital Design) still feel there are thresholds he still needs to cross: “Within my own discipline that I’ve trained, as a design leader, as a creative leader... as a business leader, I don’t think I’m there yet”. However, he adds, “I need to step out of that at some point”.

For secondary participants who grant leadership identity, the unwillingness of their primary participant to claim leader status was a source of frustration. Brooke’s (Design

and Craft) manager, Terrence, saying, “It’s half the battle that we have had, because I think she’s (Brooke) [is] a huge leader”. These reluctance narratives evidence the impact of intentional identity regulation enacted within organisations and reflect existing power structures.

The potential internal conflict between the roles of “creative” and “business leader” reflects the identity work that many emerging leaders in this study face. On one side is the organisation, aiming to exert influence on the individual’s identity through management structures, language and processes; on the other is the emerging individual constructing their leadership identity in the face of these pressures. Leadership is, for many in organisations, an expected part of career progression. Despite popular leadership rhetoric where “everyone can be a leader”, leadership is still linked closely with headship, seniority, role and position. Many participants are happy to embrace the “creative” visionary side of leadership, but less willing to consider the operational, managerial side; and this, despite a recognition of its importance to their long-term creative success.

Since the case study participants are emerging leaders, their attitudes reflect narratives captured at a moment where anxiety towards the role may be most visible. In Sam and Dave’s cases they had recently received very visible markers of their leadership status. Sam had recently been appointed to a new role as head of a department and Dave had won an international award. Over time, their internal discomfort at being a recognised leader may lessen.

The final, self-reflexive process that defines several participants as leaders is participation in the research process. While primary participants were not specifically asked to participate as emerging leaders within their fields, the fact of asking them if they are leaders indicates a granting of leadership status by the researcher, and thus prompts identity work and sensemaking on their behalf. During the course of some interviews a process of identity work is visible. The interviews are a sensemaking process, which shall be discussed more in Chapter Eight. They provide space for retrospectively considering participant leadership identity. For example, Georgie (Fashion/Blogging) expresses reticence towards leadership at the beginning of her interview, but near the end says “I need to own it more, thank you for making that recognisable to me”. Liam, (Digital Design) starts by saying “I don’t know that I was a

great leader”, but over the course of the interview he recognises the development path he has taken that led to the launch of his own business and stepping away from being a the “second in command”.

Group Categorisation/Affiliation

Alvesson and Willmott (2002, p. 631) argue that “The dividing up of the social world into ‘us’ and, by implication although more or less clearly pronounced, ‘them’ creates or sustains social distinctions and boundaries”. Consistent with this claim, many participants in the case studies choose not to define themselves as leaders by highlighting the characteristics leadership exemplified. As DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 638) suggest, participants often compare their own leadership attributes to their implicit theories of leadership and if no correlation was found they are more likely to claim a follower identity. Sam suggests he felt like “a kid in the room” in comparison to the other managers in his new workplace. Tom claims to be “not senior enough” to be considered a leader. Other participants classify themselves as type of leader, “not pushy” (Uri), “not paternalistic” (Tom), “collaborative” (Marion) or “not authoritarian” (Zara), thereby positioning themselves within of a group or style of leaders and, by implication, excluding themselves from others. Some participants (Marion, Cora) mention shyness—a self-perception that they lack the charisma necessary for recognition as a leader.

Hierarchical Location

Some participant narratives reveal “social positioning and the relative value of different groups” (Alvesson & Willmott 2002, p. 631) both within and outside the organisational context. Secondary participant narratives align with those of their primary counterparts in discussions of hierarchy leadership definitions. When considering the advertising and digital design industries there are very structured role definitions and organisational structures that participants move in and out of. While most in the Digital Design case study are not permanent employees, they still work in an industry with rigid role boundaries and parameters. The recognition of hierarchy and organisational importance related to job title is reflected in Vince’s descriptions of the creative knowledge sharing community he and Sam participate in. Participants are invited to attend industry discussions if they “have the seniority to know what we are talking about”; and that

members tend to come from “agencies respected because of their output and size”. Compared to other cultural sector disciplines, there is consistency within Advertising and Digital Design case studies concerning role definitions and organisational structures—for example, a “creative director” is a role that is generally understood by members of the community.

The narratives about job progression and upward career trajectory clearly display a stratification of identities. Restricting participation in a community based on seniority or role is a very different form of social learning than participating in communities of practice that includes novices and facilitates identity development through participation in shared practice. In the former, there is an assumption from the outset that leader status has already been recognised, to be included provides a sense of group affiliation and a form of identity regulation by providing an unofficial “operations manual” for participants. The group shares experiences and informs others concerning how things are done.

Other secondary participants help to define their subjects through their relative positions. For Mary (Visual Arts), Francis (Music) and Tania (Design and Craft) their respective primary subjects are recognised as leaders because they were their managers at some point in time. Leadership, in this case, is equated to headship (Ladkin 2015) or holding a position of authority. For secondary participants who are peers, or in more senior organisational roles than the primary participant, defining the primary participant’s leadership status is less clear. These findings highlight the role organisational structure and position have on creating leadership identity, but also demonstrate the individually constructed nature of the concept. Leadership is often in the eye of the designated follower.

Rules of the Game

Participant narratives concerning leadership are consistent with the “ideas and norms about the ‘natural’ way of doing things in a particular context” (Alvesson & Willmott 2002, p. 631). Leaders position themselves against the expected norms of development and progression. As the only participant in the study successful in obtaining a place in the Australia Council Emerging Leaders Program, Lynn (Music) discusses how her participation, although enjoyable, did not necessarily reinforce her leadership identity:

[It] was great. I really enjoyed that week. But felt a bit like a fraud among the rest of them, compared to most of the other people on that course I have had quite a cushy run. I've pretty much worked in major performing arts or large companies, so I've had levels of resources and the ability to focus on what I'm doing. The other people there, key managers or CEO of small companies haven't had that luxury. In some ways it made me feel weirdly less capable, whereas before, I'd always thought my next step would be general management.... So, [it] actually, made me lose my nerve slightly. I do think there is capacity to lead, and probably, like most people, if it fell on you, you just had to.... you'd probably be OK at it, but there's not a great ambition in me to lead any more.

The Australia Council for the Arts Leadership Program “responds to the evolving arts ecology, and the need to support our sector’s emerging and established leaders with the skills and capabilities to lead through change” (Australia Council for the Arts 2016). Participating in this development opportunity, one that presents a particular arts and cultural context, Lynn compares herself to her peers and found her experience did not fit the perceived ideal. Unlike Sonia, who felt validated by being included in a development group, Lynn feels anxiety caused by the internal comparison of her own leadership experience in comparison to the capabilities and experience of those in her cohort. For Lynn, her work history in large-scale organisations means she is different to most arts and cultural leaders— a fact supported by experiences reported in other case studies. She did not understand the “rules of the game” of smaller organisations and this new knowledge prompts her to engage in identity work which lead to tension and anxiety regarding her leader self-identity.

There is clear evidence that identity regulation effects leadership identity and identity work in the arts and cultural sector. The research participants’ experiences, as documented by their narratives reflect Alvesson and Willmott’s (2002) identity regulation factors. Certain functions in the arts and cultural ecology, such as leadership development activities run by industry bodies, play a significant role in shaping knowledge and skills, define who are seen as leaders, create group affiliations and establish the environment or context in which leadership emerges and is recognised.

Identity regulation, however, is not only found within an organisational context but impacts those who work outside and across organisational boundaries. As Sveningsson & Alvesson (2003, p. 1168) note, however, there are “more personal sources of identity work than organisational discourses, ideologies, social identities and roles”. As the case studies reveal, these influences shapes participant reflection and construction of leadership and, like identity regulation, prompts identity work.

Gender Roles and Leadership Identity

The role of gender in leadership identity formation is raised by some participants, particularly linking gender to self-confidence and a willingness to embrace leader status. Being perceived as a leader raises internal conflicts between self-perception and gendered constructions of leadership in both the arts and society in general. The most overt example is provided by Sonia (Music) whom, when asked if she was a leader, says, “I feel kind of sheepish saying I’m a leader. God, no man would do that”. Sinclair (2004, p. 15) argues that women are “unlikely to have been asked to think of themselves as leaders or to reflect on their own leadership practice” and this reflects Sonia’s awareness of the humility that female leaders are required to display. She follows her initial statement with the comment “It’s an outward expression of ambition that does not sit comfortably with me”. Sonia’s comments support feminist critiques of leadership concerning the difference expectation and types of behaviour considered appropriate.

Maddie (Design and Craft) suggests that to be less willing to be perceived as a leader is “a female thing” and Francis (Music) links Sonia’s gender to her potential for self-doubt. Zara spoke about how female leaders in the theatre industry are always portrayed as having to “give up stuff” such as family life or relationships to be successful; and that women have to “do so much more than a man” to be seen as an effective leader. Consistent with these remarks, Sinclair (2004, p. 11) highlights that the way different genders are perceived is the key difference between male and female leaders, “not because they necessarily do things differently but that what they do is perceived differently”. Sonia articulates the potential double standard extant for female leaders in the arts:

I would say that women leaders in the creative industries get a harder time than male leaders. And I suspect that kind of flows across in to the other

worlds, but the women who are in leadership positions it's 'you know about her? You've heard about how she works?'. And it always makes me go, 'Actually I don't quite believe you, because I've worked for a couple of those women and I've found them inspired and driven'.

Here, Sonia recognises that “the type of behaviour deemed appropriate in contemporary organisations coincides with images of masculinity and centres on rationality, measurement, objectivity, control and competitiveness” (Ford 2005, p. 244). When women demonstrate similar behaviours, however, their behaviour is questioned or critiqued. Neil (Music) acknowledges that female leaders in the arts are assumed to be “a bit of a bitch” and “catty” because, in his view, they failed to support their peers. Many participants demonstrate self-awareness as to how they are perceived as female or male leaders and, for some, such as Georgie (Fashion/Blogging), Sonia (Music) and Cora (Film), this perception creates a level of anxiety or concern concerning leadership identity.

Gender also emerges in the discussion of role models for women in creative occupations. Tess (Theatre) and Diane (Advertising) both of whom are aged in their 60s, speak of the absence of creative career role models for women. Cora recognises the importance of seeing women in the same industry. She explains:

I specifically remember being about 16 and saying to my sister I wanted to go to film school and her saying 'Why do you want to do that'. 'Jane Campion did it'. She was my favourite filmmaker, but so was Hitchcock, but I never would have gone to film school to be like Hitchcock. Seeing someone who is kind of relatable to you is important.

Being able to locate women who had achieved breakthrough experiences is important to emerging female leaders. Tess (Theatre) uses her senior position as a teacher and mentor to start groups to support young female theatre practitioners and “give them perspective on what was occurring” as they enter the theatre workforce to understand, rather than internalise, the challenges of building an artistic career.

Cora (Film) acknowledges her struggles with the concept of leadership throughout her career, suggesting it is her self-perceived lack of leadership capability and confidence

that impacts her ability to succeed. She discusses the early days of her film career and her reticence to step up and lead film crews: “Particularly women who were like me, I don’t want to say ‘neurotic’ [but rather] ‘I’ve got my problems I don’t want to deal with this right now’—it was all just a bit too hard”. Cora’s narrative also highlights some of the potential institutional challenges associated with gender and leadership, which have been a particular area of interest in the screen sector in recent years (Screen Australia 2015). She suggests many of the challenges she faced began in film school where, in a small class evenly split along gender lines, the female students tended to shy away from technical and leadership roles while the male students were proactive in assuming responsibility for production. The fact that the class fell into these roles had, in her view, a long-term impact with relatively few female graduates from her year taking on directorial roles post tertiary education.⁷ On one hand, Cora characterises certain type of female creative leaders as potentially “neurotic”, on the other hand, Sonia highlights the concern female leaders have in seeming too aggressive.

In considering the intersection of gender and leadership identity within the research, participants did not necessarily raise questions around systemic gender bias or lack of women in senior positions within the arts, though they undoubtedly were impacted by it. Gender narratives largely focus on the traits or capacity of individual leaders, rather than the barriers they face in obtaining leadership roles. This echoes the neo-liberal approach to development that runs throughout the research, where development programs, and gender equality initiatives, focus on the individual and “place the burden for women’s omission from the screen industries on women themselves, rather than seeking to examine the specific dynamics of what must now be plainly called a deeply ingrained pattern of injustice” (Verhoeven 2016).

Male participants also discuss gender and its influence on leadership identity. Tom (Visual Arts) describes leadership as paternalistic, arguing that as he does not feel paternal, this negates his leadership identity. His description of leadership, referencing organisational structure, seniority and paternalism was, of all the participants, the most

⁷ According to Screen Australia’s recently published *Gender Matter: Women in the Australian Screen Industry* (2015), women directed only 16 per cent of feature films from 1970 to 2014 despite being the majority of film graduates at both an undergraduate and postgraduate level. Cora’s experience indicates a potential research area to address gender inequality this sector.

obvious reference to the Great Man (Glynn & DeJordy 2010) leadership theory. Leaders in Tom's view "take responsibility for things, like being a chair of an organisation" and "champion for others". For him, construction of leadership is very hierarchical suggesting that leadership is embedded in certain positions and roles, and also leads to responsibility for the welfare of others.

Active Participation in Leadership Discourse

Some participants question the role of leadership in the arts and cultural sector and society in general. Positivist leadership, as it is understood by many arts and cultural workers, is "locked within such a positive epistemology, much of the leadership research reflects functionalist roots in theorising on leaders and leadership, and assumes that leadership is an indispensable component of all organisations" (Ford 2005, p. 242). When reflecting on leadership and personal identity participants recognise that these functionalist assumptions may be incorrect.

While many undertake activity that can be characterised as leading, the label is not necessarily a visible part of an arts and cultural worker's life. As Sara remarks, "It's not something we talk about in that language. I don't remember us every using the term 'leadership'"; yet she acknowledges it is important in practice. For other participants, however, leadership was a visible concept, but not one that they necessarily support or want to align with. This is particularly prevalent in narratives constructed by Festival and Events Curation case study participants, who often focus more on the concept of leadership than their perception of Kristen as a leader. Katy, an author and curator, prefaced her discussion of Kristen's leadership identity by saying:

I'm just not into the idea...no I wouldn't actually (describe Kristen as a leader). There's this whole thing about hierarchies, there's a real movement I think, because everything is so individualised now, it's all about me on Instagram, me on Facebook, it's all about my needs, me me me. We all realise people are yearning for the notion of community, people are yearning for a bit more collectivism.

Katy's response reflects a different type of reluctance displayed by emerging leaders—a critical approach to dominant discourse of the leader being all important, rather than

more collective approach to that includes followers. Here, Katy links the idea of leadership with the idea of individualism and neo-liberalism. As noted, functionalist leadership theories focus on the understanding and development of individual behaviours. However, as Rost (1993, p. 92) asks, consistent with Katy's critique, "Are leaders the only people who do leadership? What about the followers, the people who collaborate with leaders?" Ida, Katy and Faith (Festival and Events Curation) and Diane (Advertising) take a critical approach to the language used to describe leadership, suggesting a need to look beyond the dominant discourse. Ida, who began her discussion with the comment, "I think given that I am so seriously over leadership, I have to swallow a bit hard to get to this part of the conversation". She explains her position:

We all use language that appears to explain distinctive things but actually aligns them. I find, as an academic, I'm just as capable of using words that suggests this is a warm fluffy thing that you should be fond of, but it is our job to interrogate, our jobs to see words mean something, that we are treating weasel words with the contempt they deserve.

Here, Ida questions the word "leadership" and acknowledges, as an academic, she has a duty to question the assumptions of language. She continues:

I find all of it so incredibly uncritical, and the assumption that the world is full of people who learn leadership skills... I put up my hand at the end and ask 'is it possible to talk about leadership without using the word journey?' it isn't just an overused cliché, ... the word journey implies people are actually interested in packing their bags and moving on, and they are not.

Ida highlights the problematic nature of popular constructions of leadership, namely, that all workers regardless of role are supposed to be leaders, that leadership is an overused term in modern day work or organisational life and that the language of leadership tends toward cliché.

Faith (Festival and Events Curation) also questions the dominant themes of leadership and popular constructions of leadership aligned to self-help approaches. In her role as a

curator, Faith is exposed to leadership speakers and ‘experts’—a fact that influences her distaste for the topic:

They pitch the idea of ‘I’m going to give you the key to leadership, this is the way’. In that context, it’s bullshit. There are obviously skills and, particularly, I think there are negative behaviours that you can learn to address, but I think that leadership is a little inherent.

Faith acknowledges leadership is in her view, partly at least, an inherent trait. However, Katy, Faith and Ida as either academics, writers or content producers demonstrate a level of interrogation or critical focus of functional leadership models that is not unexpected.

Secondary participant Diane (Advertising) also has a more critical view of leadership, echoing previous participants stating that “leadership” as a word does not adequately represent the reality of leading creative organisations: “You know what would be interesting, to understand if we could have a word that conveyed that thought, but it wasn’t the word ‘leader’”. She subsequently adds, “I think we need a new word or phrase to encapsulate this role for the future, ‘leadership’ seems too top down and hierarchical to me, which goes against the notion of collaboration”. From her perspective, Diane did not see herself as a leader when she worked as a creative, but reflecting on her career, from the perspective of semi-retirement, she acknowledges she may not have recognised her own leadership status at the time. Her perspective is that leaders may not be aware of their own leader identity as they are “out the front just doing it”. Here, Diane recognises the difference between doing leadership and identifying as a leader, and the importance of the space for later self-reflection.

The critique of leadership is a valuable activity. Too often, leadership theories developed in academia or business are unquestionably applied to the creative context. This gap between theory and praxis in context partly explains the reluctance demonstrated by case study participants to identify themselves as leaders. Their personal experience is not reflected in popular or academic discourse. Previous sections highlight that self-identification with leadership models contributes to the construction of leadership identity, and role models also motivate identity work. Perhaps, as Diane states, a new leadership concept is required—one that depicts a version of reality for

creative leadership and the challenges of the arts and cultural environment. As discussed in more detail in the next chapter, this model would include the role social learning can play in the construction of leadership that enhances creative practice.

Location

Another distinctive influence that emerges in the secondary participant interviews is the issue of physical location. Interviews were conducted in cities across Australia. While 56 per cent of participants are from major metropolitan capital cities, 44 per cent are located in smaller regional locations or based abroad.⁸ There are clear differences in perception of creative communities based on city size. Participants in the Hobart case study acknowledge the impact of MONA on the broader arts scene, even if it only played a small role in their creative work, while those in Adelaide recognise the need to nurture and protect Adelaide's reputation as a city of culture. Both cases display a stronger emphasis on community support and industry development as a likely response to being smaller arts and culture markets than their Sydney and Melbourne counterparts.

Cultural geography has attracted increased academic interest in recent decades. Since the publication of Florida's (2002) *The Rise of the Creative Class*, issues concerning geographic distribution of creative workers have gained significant policy momentum. Academics such as McRobbie (2011) contribute to an analysis of the way cities and local authorities have embarked on cultural marketing campaigns addressing the needs of creative workers and potential investors. While Sydney and Melbourne have the largest creative workforces, Adelaide has always had a reputation of the "cultural capital", particularly regarding performance and festivals. Hobart, however, has begun to emerge as a new cultural destination largely due to the opening of MONA in 2011 (O'Connor 2013).

The question of whether geographic location influences leadership narratives particularly arose when examining case studies based in Adelaide and Hobart. In Adelaide, there is a mix of organisationally employed and freelance theatre practitioners and in Hobart all participants are freelance workers. Both groups operated core creative arts-based functions: theatre and film, respectively, and have strong collaborative approaches to artistic practice.

⁸ See Appendix 4: Participant demographics, for a full breakdown of participant location.

Being in smaller locations, participants recognise the importance of developing and respecting the community: “we all know each other”, Henry (Theatre) said. Tess confirms “it’s good to be respectful because we are all living together in a small situation”. Participants view their role as helping their industry to flourish and build audiences because of the smaller market. Marion says, “What I love about Adelaide is that it’s small, but really supportive”. Those in the Hobart film community, acknowledge that because there was less opportunity to work in smaller cities, educational offerings are also diminished. Furthermore, there were less mentors and industry leaders. For some, however, like Cora and Orla, this means moving back and forth to the mainland, or internationally, to access opportunities. Cora indicates that during her time in Melbourne, even in the collegiate atmosphere of film school, she never felt she “had a network”; it was only on her return to Hobart that she found relations with likeminded peers. Secondary participant Orla acknowledges that building a community in a smaller location is important: “that’s just the way to do it if you want to have an intellectual support community in Hobart—you have to nurture your environment and if you don’t, you won’t”.

The impact of technology, particularly social media, also facilitates learning and support groups in virtual spaces. For Ian (Film), a composer based in Hobart, technology allows him to collaborate with other filmmakers without needing to travel. For primary participant Cora (Film) virtual relationships offer a place of psychosocial support and learning, that she accesses by tapping into online communities of creative practitioners who share similar passions:

I got into this female horror scene, which I’ve found really supportive and interesting. It was partly because we have a huge network there [the US]. There’s a secret Facebook group of like 500 women horror directors, women genre directors, the Viscera Film Festival [which is about women working] in horror. Hugely influential for me, just in my thinking. They’ve supported filmmakers touring their films around other festivals and things like that.

Here, Cora recognises the importance of community in the development of her practice and her leadership confidence, one unrelated to physical geography because it exists in a virtual space. Cora’s experience highlights the role that virtual communities of practice

may play in facilitating the development of leadership identity—a topic beyond the scope of the current study.

Adelaide participants also recognise that to build a career requires physical or virtual experience in larger artistic centres. Primary participant Marion, playwright Oliver, and artistic director Henry had, early in their careers, all spent time studying, working and volunteering in Sydney, Melbourne and Brisbane. They all acknowledge Adelaide's culture was particularly focused on building artistic talent, however, unlike other case studies which often highlighted the need to compete for funds and resources, Marion perceives competition as a negative force. She focuses on the need to build community and increase audiences. Tess, who had worked in the arts for over 30 years, believes being in a less populated city brings a requirement for respect: "I do think, in a small town, where everyone knows each other, people have to behave in a (positive) way". The Hobart and Adelaide case studies exemplify a stronger understanding of the role of community, either local or virtual, than case studies from larger locations.

While Cora, Marion and their secondary participants address issues of geographic space and virtual communities, Liam (Digital Design) saw physical space as facilitating collaborative approaches to work and learning:

One of the benefits of being here [in a co-working space] and one of the reasons I want to be here is that all of the people here are, for the most part, entrepreneurs like myself and when you do bump into people you get interesting interactions and point of good conversation, so that's where I think some learning comes.... I was at Fishburners yesterday and what was amazing at being there, I was there to meet one person and, out of that I met two people and talked about two different things, which introduced me to other people and other networks and then two people I've met before ... bumped into as well ... had another conversation. And then a complete stranger sat next to me and we talked about business ideas and we shared and collaborated.

Liam's experience raises again questions of the role of physical space in facilitating community of practice development. Most case study participants, including those most active in communities of practice, do not share physical work spaces with their

collaborators and community. While Johnson (2001) examines the role of virtual environments in building communities of practice there is an opportunity for further research.

Egalitarianism

As shown in previous sections, for many participants leadership is still largely associated with position, status, organisational role and hierarchy. Identifying as a leader raises questions of egalitarianism within both the arts and cultural sector and Australian society more broadly. As Aigner and Skelton (2013) argue:

Most recognisably (egalitarianism) underlines Australians' irreverence for power and authority, for which we are known and liked. In theory, it allows people to transgress hierarchical boundaries with the philosophy that everyone's voice is equal, worthy and counts. Egalitarianism is an important check and balance on power and plays to an important value in Australian life, that of social inclusion. (p. 800/3055).

As noted, some within the arts and cultural sector consciously avoid labelling themselves as “leader”. Caust (2006, p. 258) suggests that leadership may be “negatively linked to power in the workplace or in the artistic field” and there may be “a reluctance by the individual to admit to playing a leadership role, where a conventional hierarchical structure is seen as a negative”. When Caust (2006) asked “Are you a leader?”, only between 60 to 70 per cent of respondents from the Adelaide arts scene said they were. As shown in the next chapter, a number of case study participants also demonstrate a reluctance towards self-identifying as a leader, due to possible concerns about status among their peers.

Participants in this research are very aware of the need to be perceived as humble, unostentatious or unpretentious when considering their own leadership status. Some, like Sonia (Music), link her sheepishness to gender: “No man would say that”; while others, such as Georgie (Fashion/Blogging), express concern about being perceived as “up myself.” Humility was also positively associated with leadership. Henry (Theatre) describes Marion as humble and suggested this was an important leadership attribute:

Marion is very humble, very humble. It's a positive thing, she's aware of the opportunity she's got. To my mind anyway, that's the best sort of leader, a leader that doesn't think too much about being a leader, but actually gets on with things.

Here, rather than humility being a trait that holds the individual back from embracing their leadership identity, Henry sees Marion's humility as an important part of her leadership identity. It positions her as less self-absorbed, less concerned about the perception she is a leader, and more focused on achievement. Dianne (Advertising) also suggests, "I don't think leaders sit around thinking "I am a leader."" These views indicate that to self-identify as a leader is risky in the arts community because "real" creative leaders are guided by action rather than titles. Leaders need to ensure that they do not display "a sense of superiority or greater capacity/knowledge than their peers" (Caust 2006, p. 258). Caust's argument is consistent with participant interviews, such as Marion, who spoke of how leader status emerged from within the community rather than bestowed from above. This is the "alliance from below" where leaders ensure that there is "no-one seeming to get too far in front of or 'above' each other" (Aigner & Skelton 2013, p. 814/3055). This view is evidenced by the disquiet towards leadership identity expressed in Dave (Advertising) and Sam's (Digital Design) narratives, both of whom identify workplace pressure to assume the role of leader. Being a creative leader, as opposed to a business leader (as Sam defined this) was a more comfortable identity, because leadership status is based on his creative portfolio and output, as opposed to a job title and position within the management team. Georgie (Fashion/Blogging) expresses a similar view, "I want to remain relaxed and humble and not ... a maniac. Part of saying that ('I am a leader') makes me think I'm up myself".

These comments demonstrate a concern for the tall poppy syndrome an Australian communicative and behavioural norm which Peeters (2004) describes as:

Australians do however single out for criticism, i.e., cut down (among many other synonymous expressions), those of their high achievers who, for instance, take too much credit for their achievements, or those who (wittingly or not) believe that, because of their achievements, they are different from—and better than—others, and can therefore say and do things that others cannot say and do. (p. 75)

By stressing her desire to remain humble and relaxed, Georgie positions herself within her cohort, and this tendency highlights the potential power of identity regulation via cultural norms. Tall poppy syndrome is a clear example of socially constructed identity regulation—an emerging leader’s fear of being “cut down” for stepping up beyond their perceived achievements.

Georgie’s narrative contrasts strongly with Kristen (Festival and Event Curation), who takes pride in being on the margins of the arts and cultural community. Tall poppy syndrome is also referenced by Kristen who recognises the impact on the willingness of creative leaders in Australia to be vocal and take a stand on issues. Kristen sees this as a product of the Anglo-Saxon, middle-class paradigm that dominates the Australian cultural scene. She says, “I think it’s class, I usually blame white people, but I do think it comes from a very British ‘I know my place, not being a tall poppy’”. Unlike Georgie, however, Kristen is not concerned about receiving negative feedback or demonstrating humility. She adds, “It’s easy, I understand why people don’t (identify as leader) because you become a target; it becomes obvious how little you might know in one area, or you might have got this wrong”. Here, she identifies the interpersonal risk identified by DeRue and Ashford (2010) where prominence invites criticism.

Not all displays of humility, however, are genuine. Professional services research shows that “appearing reluctant to step into a leadership role is one of the qualities that qualifies you to perform it” (Empson 2014, p. 21). It is socially more acceptable to maintain a façade of humility than to be seen as “too hungry for the job”. This view is consistent with Caust’s (2006, p.258) research into leadership and creativity where the sector discourages a “sense of superiority or greater capacity/knowledge” than your peers. For example, while Georgie is unwilling to embrace her leadership identity publicly, in her interview she demonstrates she was aware of her leadership potential: “I need to own it more, thank you for making it recognisable to me”. Georgie’s comment also exemplifies what Aigner & Skelton (2013, p. 880/3055), describe as “accepting our power when we are uncomfortable with culturally unpopular positions of rank”.

6.3. Summary

This chapter explored the influences that contributed to research participants’ work in shaping their leadership identity. It began by re-contextualising the identity framework

to analyse regulation inputs within organisations and throughout the arts and cultural community. An analysis of the 41 interviews shows that Alvesson and Willmott's theories of identity regulation hold true within the Australian arts and cultural context. However, analysis of the data also demonstrates factors not considered by Alvesson and Willmott. These influences are representative of broader social discourses that emerging leaders engage with and are shaped by. Arts and culture leadership identity development is influenced by constructions of gender, geographic location, physical and virtual space, engagement with leadership discourse and the particularly Australian notion of egalitarianism.

The next chapter considers the results of the identity work undertaken by arts and cultural workers and how emerging-leader participants developed strategies to build self-identity. It will discuss the pressure and anxiety arts and cultural leaders feel towards their identity as leaders, and that this results in forms of covert dissent, most obviously, as a reluctance towards externally defined models of leadership. However, those who develop leadership identity within communities of practice do so in a way that that aligns their constructed concepts of leadership with their creative practice. This model helps them cope with the precarious work environment of the arts and cultural sector and builds a more positive attitude towards the notion of leadership.

7. THE IMPACT OF IDENTITY REGULATION ON LEADERSHIP IDENTITY

Looking back at the themes that were derived from the nine cases, we can see that the relationship arts and cultural emerging leaders have with the concept of leadership is complex and varied. Emerging leader identity is influenced by social and identity regulatory factors that shape their relationship to leadership within the context in which they operated. What, however, is the result of these pressures on the identity of individual emerging leaders? This chapter explores how research participants react to identity destabilising processes and, in particular, highlights forms of resistance to leadership as an outcome of that regulation. The chapter then discusses the ways emerging leaders and members of the arts and cultural community cope with the anxiety that results from active identity work.

The processes of identity regulation, both Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) workplace processes and the social factors identified in the previous chapter, impact the sense of stable identity and motivate active identity work in participants. Critical scholars have considered the impact of identity work, largely focusing on the effects of leadership development programs. The language used to describe the processes that prompt identity work highlight the fracturing of identity, and the subsequent anxiety or instability this creates. An individual's identity is "destabilised", they feel "turbulence and uncertainty" and "fluidity and the shakiness" (Sveningsson & Alvesson 2003). They are "unravelling and deconstructed" in a process Nicholson and Carroll (2013) call "identity undoing", endure periods of "tension and conflict" (Handley et al. 2006, p. 647) or "resistance and conformity" (Carroll & Nicholson 2014, p. 2). Many of the descriptors used when describing this process highlight the role of power in the identity construction process, particularly how organisational control and social discourses pressure individuals to conform to prescribed ideals.

The narratives analysed in this research support and extend the findings of critical theory in that they exemplify the ways identity regulation can manifest in anxiety towards leadership roles. This anxiety can be recognised in these narratives in two ways; through a lack of confidence in the individual's leadership ability and, subsequently, a reluctance towards leadership.

7.1. Lack of Confidence

Confidence is a key factor in the development of leadership identity as evidenced by both primary and secondary participants. Lack of confidence is a specific outcome of identity destabilising processes and the identity work conducted during the interview process, as documented in Chapter Six. Anxiety caused by regulatory influences leads to emerging leaders questioning their leadership capability and seeking out remedies such as learning new skills or collecting experiences.

For some primary participants, a lack of confidence was an inhibitor to career success. Georgie (Fashion/Blogging) speaks of how leadership discussions “make me doubt myself”. When discussing her early film career, Cora (Film) identifies confidence as a key factor in success or failure: “I didn’t have much confidence and I found it pretty stressful”. For Brooke (Design and Craft) confidence was something that inhibits her stepping up to be a “true” leader:

And I for me, anyway, it comes back to that issue of the self, to be a leader in probably any industry, that self-awareness and groundedness [sic] to a degree confidence, it’s not like ego confidence, it’s just confidence, and it’s probably because of my experience, but I really feel that’s what it hinges on.

Brooke had, by her own accounts and those of secondary participants, difficult experiences when managing staff in the past; this decreased her confidence and increased her anxiety towards her current leader identity. Executive coach Maddie describes Brooke as follows:

I think she struggles, she tries to intellectualise everything rather than just be and I don’t know whether or not there’s a bit of, there was and there is now, a bit of a confidence piece, and that impostor syndrome around her. But I think that has got stronger over time. She does need positive reinforcement.

Lack of confidence emerges for a number of primary participants in the form of impostor syndrome. Those impacted by impostor syndrome find that, “after having achieved success, are troubled by the feeling that they are impostors” (de Vries 1990, p. 671) and feel that at any stage they could be “found out or unmasked as unworthy of the success they have attained or the positions they have won” (Vinnicombe & Singh 2002,

p. 302). This sense of not being worthy of leader status can also be linked to the risk associated with claiming leadership due to society's propensity to 'trim our tall poppies'. As Enoch (2014, p. 14) notes, "Australians have a deep-seated mistrust of authority and leadership" and for many participants it may be safer to reject leader status than claim leader identity and face the risk of attack from disparagers who resent outward expressions of leadership power (Trevor-Roberts, Ashkanasy & Kennedy 2003).

Digital designer, Sam, is very aware of impostor syndrome: "I think everyone who goes to art school massively has it ...because you come out and go 'I'm getting paid to draw pictures! Is this really happening' and that never goes away". Others link the sense of being an impostor to the fact that in creative roles you are often only as well received as your last project. As Dave (Advertising) says, reputation is "so subjective". Uri (Advertising) agrees: "Advertising people, especially in creative departments, tend to be sensitive. It's because you might do something really well one time and then the next, for some reason, it doesn't work".

Cora (Film) said her lack of confidence was, in the past, a primary contributor to her unwillingness to embrace leadership. Film-making is a cooperative process, often involving volunteers or low paid professionals, and the ability to build a working team is crucial. For Cora that ability was a key stumbling block: "I think the more important thing is how do you have the confidence to be in control of people and claim you're right: 'Yes, my project is important, everyone come and do it'". As she got older, however, her confidence improved "I didn't get confident in what I was doing until I was 29 or early 30s". It was not until Cora led her screenwriting community that she developed that she the confidence to embrace her leadership role.

As noted previously, Cora also acknowledges the importance of role models, in particular director Jane Campion. Here we see the importance of "notable people" (Kempster 2006) and self-to-exemplar comparisons that actually support, rather than detract from, leadership identification (Guillén, Mayo & Korotov 2015). By understanding the narratives of leaders they admire, participants such as Cora are able to understand that developing leadership identity and confidence, may be process that takes time.

Lack of confidence expressed by many leaders in the arts and cultural sector motivates activities to reaffirm their self-identity. For many, this is linked to personal development and external recognition. External validation that the individual is or could be a leader was mentioned by several participants and is clearly supported by Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) identity regulation strategies. Sonia (Music) states that being selected into leadership programs and courses gave her a sense of validation that imparted confidence in her own leadership ability: "I think those training courses (reiterated) that I could do it, they reinforced that I could do it. And that I had a place, a place at the table and I could play the game". Neil suggests that Sonia "builds that confidence through structured programs that offered reassurance or offered opportunities to demonstrate and develop in ways that might have been previously unavailable to her".

Appointment into new positions, particularly more senior roles or roles with greater salary also boosts the confidence of study participants. Francis (Music) describes that going through a job application process, often demoralising for some, provides faith in her ability to succeed: "Even the process of interviews gave me a huge amount of confidence, I realised that I had a lot to offer somebody". For those in Advertising, winning prizes gave practitioners a confidence boost. Dave (Advertising) suggests external validation received when he won a Cannes Lion had made him "feel more confident that your opinion might (be) right".

Secondary participants spoke of the importance in bolstering emerging leaders' confidence through reassurance. Maddie suggests Brooke (Design and Craft) often is "approval seeking" and needed a lot of "positive reinforcement". Terrence says he spent time coaching Brooke to "increase her confidence". Helen (Fashion/Blogging) says Georgie required "guidance and reassurance". Lynn (Music) recognises Sonia needs to "embrace her inner power a bit more". As shown later in this chapter, the role of communities in supporting identity development from a psychosocial perspective is important. Finally, Tania (Design and Craft) suggests "that ability to have the confidence ... a self-awareness ... (in) personal growth, (is) the cornerstone of leadership".

7.2. Leadership Reluctance

As discussed in previous chapters, the most prominent way participants demonstrate the effects of identity regulation is by undertaking a form of dissent, namely distancing themselves from leadership. Significantly, the identities profiled in this chapter demonstrate the distinctive, often ambivalent relation participants have to leadership, which may be described as sites of “oppositional discursive practices and resistance” (Gagnon & Collinson 2014, p. 648). Rather than considering data holistically, this chapter explores the emerging leaders’ specific relationship to leadership, that is, whether participants consider themselves a leader or, in DeRue and Ashford’s (2010) terms, whether they are willing to claim leader identity. The analysis centres on the question “Do you consider yourself a leader?” and then seeks to situate this answer in the context of the broader interview.

As described in Chapter Three, all participants were asked to reflect on leadership; however, primary and secondary participants were asked different questions. Near the end of the interview, after a broad discussion of their career, which not only contextualised their leadership experience but helped build rapport between interviewer and subject, the emerging leaders were asked the question “Do you consider yourself a leader?” In contrast, the secondary participants were asked about the primary participant’s leadership identity. Specifically, secondary participants were asked the questions: “Does you consider <primary participant> a leader?” followed by “Does <primary participant> consider themselves a leader?” These questions demonstrate whether secondary participants granted leader status to the primary participant, but also whether they believe primary participants claim leader status.

Existing literature outlines how leadership reluctance can be considered as a developmental phase that the emerging leaders go through on their way to affirming their leadership identity. It is within critical discourse, however, that disinclination towards leadership is more thoroughly explored. It considers the impact of the social environment, organisational control, power and the resulting anxiety this can cause within individuals. Where identity regulation aims to control and encourage employee loyalty, the actual result, however, may be the potential to “spark dissent” in employees (Gagnon & Collinson 2014, p. 648). This dissent can take the form of overt action, such as strikes or other forms of employee unrest and action, but also may be more covert in nature, including “disguised processes including output restriction or ‘distancing’”

(Gagnon & Collinson 2014, p. 648). Zoller and Fairhurst (2007, p. 1334) document the diversity that resistance to organisational and dominant discourses can take including “symbolic and material forms of resistance such as ambivalence, resignation, toleration, theft, non-cooperation, sabotage, confrontation, collective action, formal complaints, legal action, or violence”. Like many critical approaches, consideration of power in identity formation often sheds light on “resistance as the ability of individuals to construct their own identities in ways contrary to dominant organisational narratives” (Zoller & Fairhurst 2007, p. 1336). Examining examples of the nine emerging leaders within this study highlights forms of “distancing” from leadership identity, positioned in response to the contexts outlined in Chapter Five and the factors that shape leadership identity in Chapter Six.

Analysis of data shows that, for participants, there is a clear distinction between the undertaking of leadership activity, that is “doing leadership”, and the willingness to be seen as a leader, or “leadership identity”. In DeRue and Ashford’s (2010) terms some primary participants in this research had both collective endorsement and relational recognition of leader status, but had not yet individually internalised their leader identity. Of the nine emerging leaders asked to discuss claiming leader identity, only one gave an unequivocal affirmation, whereas all others ranged from qualified yes through to qualified no. Kristen (Festival and Event Curation) was the only participant to assert their leader status without qualification, replying to the question “yes, absolutely”. Sonia (Music), Marion (Theatre) and Cora (Film) also demonstrate a positive relation to leader identity, but their answers are qualified in a way to compensate or justify their leadership constructions. Sonia agrees she was a leader but suggests stating this publicly makes her uncomfortable or “sheepish”. Marion qualifies what type of leader she is saying she’s a “very collaborative leader”. Marion’s use of “collaborative” as a qualifying term defines her leadership identity with respect to her individually constructed hierarchical leadership schema. By saying she was a collaborative leader she is also determining the type of leader she is not, such as hierarchical or authoritative.

Cora (Film), without prompting from the interviewer, gave the most extensive narrative about her relation to leadership. Having begun training as a director in film school at aged 18 she acknowledged “the leadership part of it (film making) is probably the

hardest part”. Her inability to step up and assume leadership roles from an early time in her career has, in her view, influenced the achievement of her career goals. Nearly 20 years on, however, Cora demonstrates a willingness to embrace leadership. This willingness, however, is formed in the context of her writing group and role as a screenwriter and festival director, rather than her role as a film director.

The remaining five emerging leader participants are not willing to call themselves leaders, all providing reasons as to why in their view, they were not yet ready to be called “leader”, despite their leadership practice. As Carroll (2016, p. 95) notes “talking about leadership and doing leadership don’t always equate to the same thing”. Dave (Advertising) and Brooke (Design and Craft) both acknowledge they have the capacity to be leaders, but suggest they are not yet leading. Dave went as far to call himself a “reluctant leader” adding “I think I’m already doing it, I just don’t recognise it”. Sam and Tom both compare their leader identity to hierarchical leadership schemas, suggesting their relative lack of seniority or experience. While Georgie acknowledges her leadership capacity, and influence, but was concerned about the personal and instrumental risks associated with claiming leader status. The levels of leadership reluctance reported are shown in Table 1.

Discipline	Do you consider yourself a leader?	Level of reluctance
Kristen: Festival and Event Curation	“Yes, absolutely”.	None
Marion: Theatre	“I consider myself a collaborative leader”.	None
Sonia: Music	“I feel kind of sheepish saying I’m a leader, god no man would say that”. “It’s an outward expression of ambition that makes me uncomfortable”.	Low
Cora: Film	“Yeah I think I do now”. “Not on set as I don’t make films that often”. “I feel I have a voice out of proportion with what I’m actually doing”.	Low

Dave: Advertising	<p>“I’m a reluctant leader”.</p> <p>“Winning stuff means you back yourself”.</p> <p>“I think I’m already doing it, I just don’t recognise it”.</p>	Medium
Sam: Digital Design	<p>“I consider myself a leader...in my formative years”.</p> <p>“Within my discipline, I am; not a business leader”.</p> <p>“I still feel like a kid in the room”.</p>	Medium
Tom: Visual Arts	<p>“In some ways I do, I advocate, champion, comment”.</p> <p>“But I’m not senior enough”.</p> <p>“I don’t feel paternal”.</p>	Medium
Georgie: Fashion/Blogging	<p>“I don’t want to be up myself”.</p> <p>“I’m gaining traction, I see my influence and inspiration and I think maybe I am”.</p> <p>“I want to remain humble and not be a maniac”.</p>	High
Brooke: Design and Craft	<p>“I’m working on it”.</p> <p>“I have the capacity”.</p> <p>“I’ve done the learning, but I’m not leading”.</p>	High

Table 1: Reluctant Leadership Demonstrated by Key Statements

When considering secondary participant narratives, there is often correlation between levels of reluctance demonstrated by the primary participant and the secondary participants’ view of their leadership status. This suggests that the identity destabilisation that emerges in primary participant identity narratives were also recognised by those in their community. Secondary participants interviewed about Marion (Theatre), Sonia (Music), Kristen (Festival and Event Curation), Brooke (Design) and Sonia (Music) are strongly in agreement that they are identified as leaders, that is, they all granted them leader identity status. These are the only examples where all secondary subjects gave unqualified positive responses to this question. These were also the five primary participants who are willing, even in a qualified way, to identify as leaders. In effect, in these cases there is a correlation between the individual

internalisation of the primary participants and the collective endorsement given by the secondary participants (De Rue & Ashford 2008).

At the other end of the spectrum, secondary participants are most reticent to label Georgie (Fashion/Blogging) as a leader. This was not necessarily due to perceptions about her performance or capability, but due to her confidence in her own abilities. Secondary participants recognise Georgie's inability to claim leader status. While current manager Greg describes Georgie as providing "inspiration" and being a "role model", her former boss and mentor, Helen, suggests, "she needs guidance and reassurance" before she will embrace her role as a leader. Greg also adds that she lacks confidence, was too accommodating, and needs to stand up for what she believed in.

Similarly, secondary participants chosen by Sam (Digital Design) and Dave (Advertising) were hesitant in using the word "leader". Responses from Sam's cohort reflect his choice of secondary participants. These individuals clearly gave Sam significant guidance as he built his career, but were less professionally involved with him at the time of interview. In choosing these secondary participants, Sam articulates his connectedness to leaders in the digital community, potentially attempting to position himself among them. However, his choices mean it is difficult to learn as much about his leadership identity formation in his day-to-day work environment.

In Dave's (Advertising) case, while acknowledging his leadership potential, there was a hesitancy expressed by secondary participants about Dave's confidence in his own ability and depth of experience in the sector. Diane said Dave needs to express "self-belief" even though his "intellectual weight and his personality define him as a clear leader". Current manager Ted, feels Dave could be a leader if Ted "made him one" suggesting Dave needed both time and guidance from those he worked with. Diane and Ted are both practitioners with a long history in advertising who see Dave as having the "gravitas and personal characteristics" associated with leadership, but that he needs time to develop is leadership experience.

Tom (Visual Arts) has a community around him that recognises his leadership potential but also linked leadership to organisational size and structure. Belle suggests he "had potential to be a leader" but that he needed to learn that "popularity is not leadership". Secondary interviewees highlight that Tom's professional reputation was a polarising

force in the community. While some in his community, such as Karen, support his leadership they also recognise he was disliked by some in the industry. Visual Arts was the only case study to link popularity and leadership, and to recognise potential incongruity between the two.

Turning to the second part of the question, “Does <primary participant> consider themselves a leader?”. Secondary participants are more willing to grant leader status than primary participants are willing to claim it. Secondary participants, however, often question the concept of leadership in their discussions. The most consistently positive endorsements were for Sonia (Music) where, while acknowledging her potential for self-doubt, all secondary participants suggest she would consider herself a leader. Sonia’s community, like those in the Advertising case study, tend to align her leadership position with her organisational role. Former staff member Francis highlights her own follower status, thus granting Sonia relational recognition (DeRue & Ashford 2010), “She was my boss. My immediate relationship to her was as her leading our team, so it’s hard for me to not envision her as a leader”.

Overall, the narratives constructed by the secondary participants about leadership identity were consistent with those of their primary counterparts. Those more willing to embrace the role of leader (Kristen, Marion, Sonia, Cora) are all recognised as leaders by those in their community, and those with higher levels of reluctance (Georgie, Tom, Sam, Dave) have secondary participants that share narratives recognising their unwillingness to be perceived as leader.

Most studies into leadership identity do not question that individuals aspire to leadership. Sinclair notes that “leadership is widely accepted as an uncontested good, an ideal to which we should all strive” (Sinclair 2004, p. 10). There are several reasons, however, why emerging leaders within this study may choose to disassociate with leadership. Research recognises that the traditional, heroic, masculine focused concept of leadership may be inconsistent with individuals’ personal perspectives (Fairhurst & Grant 2010; Sinclair 2004; Wilkinson & Blackmore 2008). Sinclair (2004) identifies that women often “simply refused” to identify as leaders due to factors such as modesty, humility or outright rejection of given the patriarchal associations. We see evidence of these views in Tom’s description of paternal leadership or Sonia’s reflection that men and women are willing to embrace leadership identity differently.

For many in this research the relationship to leadership identity reflects a comparison of their own identity to others, or to the dominant leadership paradigms in our culture. As Sinclair notes “most of us know that the arguments are in favour of a different model, heroic individualistic leadership is remarkably resilient” (Sinclair 2012, p. 17). Even those who have explored leadership at a theoretical level may struggle to own their leadership identity in the face of dominant discourse. Implicit theories of leadership influence individuals’ claims of a leader (or follower) identity (DeRue & Ashford 2010). Where emerging leaders in arts and culture are finding space for leadership, however, is through participation in development that expands theoretical concepts of leadership in a way that allows for a matching of leadership self-identity to leadership models.

As noted in previous chapters, emerging leaders in the arts and cultural sector may feel tension between their role as a creative practitioner and organisational pressure to take on business leadership roles. There may be instrumental, interpersonal and image risks associated with leadership (DeRue & Ashford 2010). For emerging leaders moving out of a strictly creative role into one that takes on managerial responsibility there may be “conflicting loyalties between professional affiliation and organisational responsibility that compound difficulties in retaining bureaucratic means of control” (Alvesson & Willmott 2002, p. 623). Emerging leaders Sam (Digital Design) and Dave (Advertising) feel the weight of organisationally driven leadership expectation. Their experiences contradict theoretical approaches in arts management that give primacy to creative or artistic leadership over general management. Caust (2006) highlights that:

Leadership of arts organisations in the study is often interpreted as the artistic leadership of the organisation as opposed to the positional leadership of the organisation. While an individual may be designated as the chief executive officer for instance, this role may be perceived by others within the organisation as a management function, rather than as a leadership role. In the study, leadership as a concept and as a role, is frequently associated with expertise or superior knowledge about an art form. Thus, the role of managing the organisation may not be perceived as providing leadership for the organisation. (p. 257)

This is an idea that has emerged in academic approaches (Lapierre 2001), but is countered by those who feel that creativity and management are not only linked but also

crucial to cultural organisational success (Rentschler 2001). Caust also recognises, however, that leadership is a question of perception. She notes that if individuals perceive a CEO role as management, for example, then they may not recognise the position holder as a leader. For those in creative for-profit organisations like Advertising or Digital Design, however, general management may be recognised as more important to the organisation and, thus, more associated with leadership.

Sam and Dave's reluctance toward leadership is "a struggle between the vision and needs of the artist and the 'normalising' impact of management" (Caust 2010, p. 576). If arts and cultural workers are "are encouraged to develop self-images and work orientations that are deemed congruent with managerially defined objectives" (Gagnon & Collinson 2014, p. 647) they may be more willing to embrace managerial leadership identity only after they demonstrate a level of comfort with being recognised as a creative leader.

For those juggling managerial responsibility within an organisational setting along with a creative practice, leadership reluctance may also emerge due to the tension and conflict the individual feels in participating in more than one community simultaneously. Handley et al. (2006) argue that individuals participate in multiple communities of practice within their lifetime and each will have different practices, discourses and identity structures. For those negotiating leadership self-identity, the different social constructions could impact identity work and prompt anxiety:

An individual's continual negotiation of 'self' within and across multiple communities of practice may, of course, generate intrapersonal tensions as well as instabilities within the community. (p. 648)

Handley et al. (2006) note that individuals may choose to remain on the margins of a community to avoid compromising their sense of self, or alternatively engage in identity work to secure a sense of identity while still adapting to community norms. Additionally, individuals may choose not to join a community of practice if it is seen as non-complementary to their identity. Arts and cultural workers, particularly those in organisational settings, articulated the difference between being recognised as a creative or business leader, and navigating these two communities may be a cause of identity destabilisation leading to some resisting leadership.

7.3. Building Positive Leadership Identity

It has been demonstrated previously that there are many factors that shape leadership identity and can contribute to leadership reluctance. When considering emerging leaders' reluctance in terms of the disciplinary cultures, as outlined in Chapter Five, it is clear that leadership reluctance can emerge both within and outside organisations, regardless of gender, role, and participation in leadership development. It is important, however, to note that emerging leaders in the arts and cultural sector are not passive agents, buffeted by the organisational and social forces that influence leadership discourse and identity. They are active co-constructors in the narratives that shape their perceptions of, understanding, and relationship to leadership. This section will demonstrate that emerging leaders who actively co-create and collaborate in shared practice, building learning environments that align to the theoretical models of effective communities of practice, have lower levels of leadership reluctance. In doing so they construct concepts of leadership that both align to their creative practice, but also protect themselves against the destabilising impacts of identity regulation, creating a supportive environment that contributes to a sense of safety in the precarious labour market of the modern arts and cultural economy.

Evidence of Communities of Practice in the Research Case Studies

While each case study includes a variety of different professional relationships across a specific discipline, not all can be characterised as communities of practice from a learning and identity development perspective. In describing learning oriented communities of practice Wenger (2000) proposes three criteria for success: a level of energy with regard to learning, the depth of social capital as represented by a sense of community and mutual engagement, and a degree of self-awareness in developing practice and the skills of those within it. Fourie (2009) describes a successful community of practice as:

What is critical to an effective knowledge structure is the element of community. A community consists of a group of people who interact, learn together, build relationships, create knowledge and have a sense of belonging and commitment. It is not just a website, database or collection of best practices. In a community where participants share the same views of

their domain, but still bring their own perspectives, ideas and experiences, a learning system is created where the whole is much more than the sum of its parts. (p. 52)

The key to defining a community of practice is the successful melding of practice and learning. Those within the community are aware of the benefits the community brings and consciously contribute to the outcomes. Looking back at the contextual and leadership narratives constructed by participants in each case, there are examples of groups that clearly demonstrate characteristics of communities of practice and others that remain in the realm of networking.

As shown through the examination of culture in Chapter Five, theatre practitioners are the most comprehensive example of understanding and actively promoting working within communities of practice. Tess suggests that to build a strong career, practitioners should “Establish a cohort of some sort that will become the people you can go through with” then “set up situations where you can really try your ideas, and decide how to do that freely.” When discussing how work is undertaken in theatre, Henry also describes the natural gravitation practitioners have towards communities of practice, “every director forms their own little group or family of performers and creatives that they like to work with because it’s quicker, you develop a shared language...” Participants identified others who augment their skills and support them in achieving artistic goals. As Fourie (2009, p. 54) observes, “people have different areas of individual expertise, but they still have the basic foundation of knowledge that enables them to work together effectively”. Marion suggests that given she did not have strong producing skills she was “lucky to find others that have those skill sets”. While communities of practice are built around the creation of work, the formation of peer networks also provides necessary development in the long term, through legitimate peripheral participation (Lave & Wenger 1991). Practitioners such as Marion move from the periphery of their community closer to the core as participation in projects develop their skills (Handley et al., 2006; McLeod, O’Donohoe & Townley, 2011). As noted, Tess, who engages in social learning through her theatre practice, spoke of the “redundant” introduction of communities of practice into the university environment. Henry, Oliver, Marion, Tess and Zara all recognised the role of shared practice development, the benefits of a common vocabulary and learning that supports the group, rather than just enhancing

individual careers—all facets of a learning oriented community of practice (Wenger 1998, 2000). Henry mentions the importance of an inclusively oriented learning community, but one that was continuously open to refreshment through new ideas: “I think there’s a great deal of peer learning and but I don’t think they, they are also good and ensuring they don’t work in a closed circle”.

The Film case study, centred on Cora, highlights the difference between cooperative and collaborative work. While Cora participates in communities both as a director and writer, it is only in her screenwriting community that she gains the benefit of a community of practice. Cora fulfils a leadership role in her writing community, and “internal leadership is an important aspect that all healthy communities depend on” (Fourie 2009, p. 54). Leadership in a community of practice, however, is more about creating an ecology of leadership, where distributed leadership roles, organisers, thought leaders and administrators, all contribute formally or informally to the community’s continued existence. Cora created a developmentally oriented community that significantly impacts the careers, and leadership identity, of participants within it. Keith describes the group as providing “critical feedback” essential to the work they do as artists. Sara, Cora’s long-time collaborator, who had been part of the writing group since its inception, notes that even though people “come and go”, a core group remains and, from that group, a variety of projects developed. She says, “I’ve seen various members of the group, their careers, I reflect on it, everyone has really come a long way [and] become leaders”. Orla says the group “pushes each other and sets standards for work” to facilitate learning and engagement. Orla reflects on the learning that occurs among the community, calling it experiential learning or “self-driven circles”, arguing that it fills a gap in the current educational approach, which privileges vocationally driven training. Cora’s community has strong interpersonal relationships between members with “mutual feelings of trust, openness, a sense of belonging, shared commitment and common values that enables joint learning among the community members” (Fourie 2009, p. 52).

Festival and Event Curation participant Kristen also describes the role observational learning plays in her development, particularly given her practice spans a variety of creative disciplines:

I haven't had any [formal] training, I've learnt a lot from other people and observing other events and observing other things, and the thing that I've been able to do, being an omnivore and being across different industries is that I can go 'well photographers do it like this, why don't they do it in design?'

Kristen's community, described as a "curator's brains trust", is both tertiary educated but also less focused on formal leadership development. Coming from a diverse range of roles, organisation types and work practices, their one commonality was learning through experience on-the-job. Faith, who works across journalism, film and academia, explains why she felt formal mentoring programs were unnecessary: "You can't impose mentorship". She explains that learning through participation offered the greatest opportunity to build knowledge, skills and identity as follows:

The way that I can teach you is that we work together. When I got to a point where I could start helping people, I wasn't even doing this consciously, but when I look at the people I hired they were all really, really bright young women who I sort of got along with and felt I could advise or help or whatever. And we've remained really good friends, and I don't regard me as a mentor in that sense; we've never had that discussion, but I can see the parallels in those relationships ... that I had with people I learnt a lot from when I was at the same point in my career who [sic] I now regard as mentors.

Through the work that they collectively undertake, Faith (as expert) is able to bring new staff (as novices) into the community of practice and help them develop their professional identity in the same way that had been done for her. Faith said she "didn't really learn much at film school" and while she is "not anti-formal education", she learnt most of what she needed professionally through engagement with work.

Unlike the Film, Theatre and Festival and Event Curation cases, when examining the interviews within Fashion/Blogging, Digital Design, Visual Arts and Advertising there is an individualistic quality to development. While Georgie (Fashion/Blogging) mentions her family and partner as being supportive influences in her career development, from a peer perspective she suggests "I pretty much kick my own butt",

and fails to name any peers as secondary participants. Her community notes she was a very “self-driven person”, but also that she “needs support, positive energy”.

There is a difference in language used by those who actively participate in shared practice and those whose engagement with the community is based around networking and peer influence. A network is not the same as a social learning group. As Fourie (2009, p. 60) argues: “A community of practice is different from a network; a community about something, whereas a network is limited to a set of relationships”. Sonia (Music) said, “networking is kind of a key thing” and that she developed a group of people around her that had “influence and networks and power themselves”. Her peers recognise that networking was something she is adept at:

Sonia is a very good networker, and I think that is a very good skill if one wants a career in this business in this country. You need to be known by a lot of people, you need to be known by fairly key people at the right times for your career acceleration.

Similarly, Tom (Visual Arts) says that the most important activity you can do is “concentrate on relationships, meeting people, talking to people”. In Digital Design, the network Vince and Sam participate in comprise peer or knowledge sharing activities that include barriers to entry (job title, experience level or agency size) and do not actively include participation in collaborative work. The difference between the focus on relationships within Sonia (Music) and Tom’s (Visual Arts) narratives, however, versus Marion’s (Theatre) and Cora’s (Film), is the way they engage with their peers and community. In the former, relationships are “informational” as opposed to “narrational”, based on exchange of data and “catching up” rather than shared practice (Wittel 2001, p. 51). Where Sonia and Tom focus on networking for career progress, Marion and Cora speak of working within their community to produce creative output and enhance their practice.

How Communities of Practice Support Positive Leadership Identity Construction

Participation in communities of practice counters the impact of identity regulation, creating stable leadership identities that align to creative practice. What is evidenced within these cases is a sense of leadership identity alignment to practice within the

community, or as Handley et al. (2006, p. 645) describes it a “resonance of those opportunities with their current senses of self”. DeRue and Ashford (2010, p. 635) suggest that to build a strong and sustainable leadership identity there needs to be strong claims and grants. Clear claims and grants create “transparency as to how an individual sees themselves and how they are viewed in the social context” (DeRue & Ashford 2010, p. 636). Communities of practice are places of collective identity construction, spaces where claims are heard and grants given. The nine case studies show how shared leadership understanding occurs throughout the community. Collective identity construction is “key to communities of practice as they face images of them being reflected or mirrored back to them from the internal world” (Fourie 2009, p. 79).

Marion’s (Theatre) style of leadership was collaborative or relational in nature. This mirrors the culture and a way of working within the theatre community. She is the most explicit in her use of terminology when referring to her own leadership identity, describing herself as “a very collaborative leader”. Elaborating on the leadership role she plays within her practice, she said: “I suppose the way I view my role is as a facilitator for the making of a show and the room. That I facilitate the collaboration and I start coming in with the project and ideas and thinking, what are the questions we want to ask, why are we doing this show?” Secondary participants from the theatre case study also took a more collective approach to leadership that echoed Marion’s leadership narratives. In describing Marion’s leadership approach, Henry emphasises both her collaborative approach and her fearlessness:

Not by being bombastic, polemic, but simply by leading through her work and the way she approaches her work and she quite rightly and bravely leading a newish group of artists onto the main stage.

Marion’s peer, Zara, confirms she too has developed this style of leadership: “I’ve developed quite significantly over the last two years, from quite an authoritative director style to being actually a lot more collaborative now”.

Both Zara and Henry explicitly mention what type of leadership style Marion and Zara are not: bombastic, polemic, authoritarian. As noted, the use of these words suggests they are reacting against positivist leadership theory by positioning the type of leadership that works in theatre as being distinct from the Great Man theories of the

past. Marion exemplifies how theatre directors are seen as leadership role models for the business sector, where “collaboration is at the heart of the work” (Dunham & Freeman 2000, p. 115) while also highlighting the changing nature of creativity and leadership, where creativity is recognised as a process rather than an innate individual trait (Bilton & Leary 2002). Oliver explains the relationship between Marion’s leadership identity and her creative practice and suggests that it is their common way of thinking that supports their collaboration:

(Marion is) saying ‘I want to make work that actually says something about the world, shapes the world, makes people grapple up with ideas’ and this is the kind of work I want to make as well and this is why we work together. We have to deal with things, we can’t just sit back and provide entertainment, I’m not a content provider, I’m an artist. And I think that is the leadership role she has taken, and created herself, through the kind of artist she wants to be.

There is consistency in narrative between the members of the Theatre case, that aligns with constructions of communities of practice: shared constructions of what a leader in the theatre community looks like and similar use of language and approach. This consistency of narrative demonstrates shared understanding of what constitutes leadership within Marion’s community, and by developing her leadership identity within this supportive community of practice, Marion’s leadership self-identity aligns with both her practice and the leadership discourse that surrounds her. Marion does not feel destabilised or a need to live up to any form of leadership ideal, as she and her community co-construct their leadership identities from within.

Similarly, narratives from the Festival and Event Curation case study demonstrate a consistent view of leadership that suits the environment in which Kristen and her peers interact. Kelly describes Kristen using charismatic terms, as “a social leader, a think (sic) leader, she’s challenging, she’s incredibly charismatic, she’s an absolutely leader”. According to Ida, Kristen “speaks freely” which she argues is a trait not prevalent in the arts community. As Faith remarked:

You need to be able to present a vision that people want to be part of. And (Kristen) has the enthusiasm, and she’s bright, so she’s good at

encapsulating thoughts and ideas, but I think it's mainly her enthusiasm. I think that she is someone that people align themselves with, and that's like charisma. People want to be part of [that].

The narratives used to describe Kristen as a leader echo Jungian archetypes: outspoken, engaging, charismatic, intelligent, encapsulating, bringing people together through ideas, “a courageous fighter who is well aware of his (her) task” (Steyrer 1998, p. 819).

The key attributes of communities of practice that make them positive sites for leadership identity development are their collective nature. Unlike leadership development programs experienced by some research participants, communities of practice focus not on enhancing behaviours of emerging leaders, but provide a contextual understanding of how leadership operates within a specific community. Marion’s understanding of what leadership entails in her theatre environment, therefore, is largely driven by her practical experience in her community, as leader, follower and collaborator. The same can be said for the charismatic, more outspoken leadership attributes displayed by Kristen, and the relational approach constructed by Cora that emerges from her writing community in Hobart. Evidence suggests that for many in this study, participation in formal leadership training has a positive impact, particularly, when it expands understanding of theoretical approaches and allows space for personal reflection and critical understanding of leadership. However, it is those who develop their leadership identity primarily through communities of practice that realise constructed notions of leadership more fully aligned to their community and practice.

The tighter the community of practice the more alignment there is between the individual claims of leader status and the collective endorsement of the secondary participants. This can be seen in the shared views of leader status displayed by primary and secondary participants. It could be argued that in communities of practice the claims and grants of leader status are more clear, visible and credible (DeRue & Ashford 2010). When Cora, Kristen or Marian claim leader status, it is also granted in turn by their communities in a way that creates a positive spiral of leader identity reinforcement. In contrast, the relatively ‘loose’ communities we see in the Digital Design or Fashion and Blogging case studies mean that claims or grants of leader status are less clear.

Communities of practice, however, are not only sites for the co-construction of leadership identity that supports shared practice. They provide valuable psychosocial support that bolsters emerging-leader confidence and act as a countermeasure to the neo-liberal, individualist environment that emerging leaders typically work within. Higgins, Dobrow and Roloff (2010, p. 28-29) found in their study of developmental networks, that “individuals who continue to cultivate developmental relationships over the course of their careers may be better positioned in terms of withstanding inevitable career risks, stress, and hardships in today’s career environment”.

The Film, Theatre and Festival and Event Curation case studies all demonstrate a high level of psychosocial support for their emerging leaders. Cora believes networks are not just about making art, but offering encouragement and confidence building: “I think it’s the (community) support. You can always find a crew if you really have to”. Being part of her physical and online communities strengthens her leadership capacity:

I’ve got the confidence to say, ‘even if this is the way everyone else is doing it, this is the way we’re going to do it’. That’s my thing at the moment, where I finally feel I know what I’m doing as a creative person, and I also have confidence and I have a lot of contacts or communities.

Every participant in Cora’s case study mentions the importance of the writing group in supporting Cora and her community to achieve their goals. Similarly, Marion’s community in Adelaide saw support as one of the key benefits of the community. Oliver, a writing partner of Marion’s, describes their relationship as “theatre husband and wife”, adding:

We were able to emotionally support each other, intellectually support each other and I felt kind of calm when I was doing the most reckless things, whereas in previous relationships I felt much more anxious when I was doing similar things.

He stresses the importance of a supporting environment in the creation of work:

If you create a supportive environment where people feel safe and actually respected, that’s why it’s great to work with people when there is

so much respect and care in the room. You can create much better work because everyone feels OK.

Oliver's description of a safe and supporting environment stresses the role that collaborative practice plays in counteracting anxiety felt by creative workers in an increasingly individualised labour market. Fourie (2009, p. 52) highlights that trust is an important part of a community of practice, providing a safe space for participants: "The trust relationships between (community of practice members) allow them to feel safe asking for help and in turn, experts can be comfortable that members who ask questions are competent". A collective approach to learning and identity development helps emerging leaders depersonalise the buffeting they feel from identity regulation and labour market challenges.

Creative workers, as represented by participants in this research, are accustomed to the precarious nature of their employment and labour. They recognise "the seemingly exciting compensation for work without protection is the personal reward of 'being creative'" (McRobbie 2016, p. 35/170). Kristen expresses the ambivalence of her situation: "(I have had) years when I've done really well money wise, and I've had years with no money. It is about values, but for me it's also about the idea of freedom, which is a total lie because I'm not actually free". Creative work is one where individuals are "promised freedom (to self-actualise) while also being subjugated to the normalisation (and privatisation) of risk and uncertainty" (McRobbie 2016, p. 14/170). The arts and cultural sector displays characteristics that isolate practitioners from the structures of support that existed in traditional workplaces. Creative practitioners are responsible for actively constructing their own social bonds—the focus on building "a multitude of experiences and biographies" that involve participation in "ephemeral but intense, focused, fast and overloaded social ties" (Wittel 2001, p. 66).

Arts and cultural workers take steps to counter the risks associated with creative labour, and the emotional toll it enacts, through collective activity such as working within communities of practice. Communities of practice are the antithesis of Wittel's network sociality, which is "not based on a shared history or a shared narrative" (Wittel 2001, p. 65). Communities of practice go beyond networking to build support structures based on shared experience. Tess's support group helps emerging theatre practitioners understand "aspects of the industry that they are taking personally". While Cora

acknowledges the importance and downside of working alone: “(when) it’s just you by yourself, I’ve found it’s not possible to get (the) enthusiasm”. Some participants, like Katy (Festival and Event Curation) recognise the increased individualism of work in the modern era, and express a desire for more collective approaches. Communities of practice are collective vehicles that support emerging leaders to maintain enthusiasm, to understand the industry in which they operate, and to form non-competitive relationships when pitted against peers for scarce opportunities and resource. Marion (Theatre) recognises that competition can be a negative force in creative contexts:

One thing that I think is the least helpful kind of thinking to have in this industry is competition. I actually think that I want other artists to do well, it means we will be making good theatre, it means that audiences will want to see more theatre and they will want to see my shows.

7.4. Summary

Over the past three chapters we have considered what we can see when we look at, or look for, leadership in the Australian arts and cultural sector. An analysis of the narratives across the nine case studies, covering different working styles and employment types, locations, ages, genders and disciplines, demonstrates the influences and impact of social factors and identity regulation both in and beyond the organisational domain.

Each case study demonstrates a distinct context for developing leadership identity, with different approaches to learning and development and, as a result, contrasting approaches to leadership practice. There are lessons that can be learned, however, about the way leadership is conducted in the arts and cultural sector that provide insight and offer opportunity for debate and change. Emerging leaders are comfortable in creating, articulating and sharing vision, however, sometimes the implementation of this vision can cause their confidence levels to falter.

Emerging leaders and their community often struggle with the challenges of organisational management, particularly the management of people, and do not see their industry valuing these skills. Leadership development within the sector is largely focused in developing leaders, and there is evidence of a deficiency in holistic

approaches to leadership. Emerging leaders assess the interpersonal and instrumental risks associated with identifying as a leader and feel the weight of organisational expectation. They recognise the need to balance leadership identification with creative aspirations—an area in which they were typically more comfortable. The presumption of leadership status that goes hand in hand with career success, as defined by role, job title, experience level, seniority or managerial expectation, and places pressure on individuals leading to concentrated identity work.

Labour market characteristics of the arts and cultural sector make it a unique environment to explore identity development. Alvesson and Willmott (2002) recognise the importance of knowledge and skills as an input into the identity framework, but do so from the perspective of training and development within an organisational context. Arts and cultural leaders are not immune to the forces of identity regulation, despite largely working in contexts less associated with organisational management. Yet, examples of identity regulation are identified across all participant sectors, in particular, the impact of learning and development as a method of constructing leadership status and as a group affiliation activity. Leadership development programs are more than just places for cognitive development. According to Gagnon and Collinson (2014), these programs:

...may be viewed not only as learning processes for leadership competence, but also as relatively intensive regulatory practices designed to target and transform participant identities through processes that may add to or diminish participants' sense of self. (p. 663)

Within the context of the study presented herein, leadership development programs are strong contributors to identity regulation and both add to and diminish participants' sense of leadership. Formal leadership development, however is not necessarily a tool for organisational identity regulation in the arts and culture sector. Organisations with the resources to develop tailored training of the kind found in larger companies are scarce. Those who attend formal leadership interventions tend to participate in community or industry leadership development programs, which raises questions of how leadership identity is or is not addressed, what theoretical models are used, and what techniques support the development of leader identity in each program.

While most research into the role of leadership development programs and identity focus on the outcomes of participation, emerging leaders in this study recognise that leadership development is supplementary to their involvement in a cultural community. Being selected to participate in formal programs grants leadership status. Actual attendance in development interventions provides a sense of group affiliation for leaders, confirming they can “play the game”, or understand the rules of arts and cultural leadership. For others, however, being exposed to leadership development triggers a process of comparison to prototypes and exemplars that facilitates anxiety inducing identity work. Participation in formal leadership development, however, also has potential to expand the construct of leadership for emerging arts and cultural leaders, allowing them to see their leadership identity reflected through a new theoretical lens. Emerging leaders in the arts and cultural sector, not confronted with organisational constructs of the “ideal leader”, often see leadership theory as an enlarging identity force, rather than contracting the notion of what a leader should be. Consistent with leadership development models espoused by critical theorists (Carroll 2015; Carroll & Levy 2010; Sinclair 2011), exposure to a broad range of leadership models facilitates the development a personal leadership identity that is reflected by a theory relevant to specific practice.

Considering identity development in the context of shared practice allows us to see other, non-organisational, forms of identity regulation that shape emerging leaders. External, socially driven discourses influence individual identity construction; gender expectations, location and notions of egalitarianism. Tall poppy syndrome, the behavioural and communicative norm that dictates individuals “should not appear ‘uppity’ (Australian English for ‘self- assertive, arrogant, affectedly superior’) to the general public” (Peeters 2004, p. 82), discourages “grandstanding, boasting and other similar behaviour”. This regulates behaviours in line with the particularly Australian view of egalitarianism (Peeters 2004, p. 89). Research into Australian and New Zealand leadership found that “Australian leaders must be careful not to display their status and power too openly” partly due to “a public inclination to disparage high achievers in society” (Trevor-Roberts, Ashkanasy & Kennedy 2003, p 523), and Caust (2006) has identified that arts and cultural leaders are not immune from this influence.

Social pressures impact the claims and grants (DeRue & Ashford 2010) of leadership identification. Gender roles and perceived constructions of what an arts and cultural leader should be: humble, and equal to their peers, yet outspoken and willing to stand up for what is important, are recognised as contributing to identity constructions.

Intellectualisation of leadership, neo-liberal individualism and the institutional factors that create leaders into cultural gatekeepers motivates some participants to criticise leadership as a concept—a process that may distance them from their own leadership identity, even when playing the role of leader. Sinclair (2012) notes that there has been a failure to recognise women’s contribution to public life as leaders, and Wilkinson and Blackmore (2008) demonstrate how some women struggle with leadership identity against dominant discourses in organisations and the media. Some who question their leadership identity in the face of social constructions are stuck in the old heroic notions of leadership. Sinclair (2012, p. 17) notes “They (women) don’t want to be labelled a leader because of what it connotes for them; that is, the out-front, tough and stoic male hero”. Emerging leaders in the arts and cultural sector, both male and female, clearly feel the impact of gender discourse on their identity framework. Many participants indicate a level of awareness regarding gendered constructions of leadership. There is a recognition that gender was a defining influence in leadership identity formation that positions the individual as a certain style of leader (non-paternalistic, collaborative) and impacts their willingness to identify publicly as leader.

The outcome of the identity pressures felt by arts and cultural leaders is a lack of confidence and this is a key inhibitor toward realising their leadership status.

Participants seek ways to build and maintain confidence in the face of identity work and regulation. For nearly half of the emerging leaders in this study, challenges to leadership identity facilitates a reticence or reluctance towards leadership, an unwillingness to claim their leadership identity. There are those who critique leadership in on conceptual grounds, but most recognisable is an unwillingness of emerging leaders to identify as a leader, despite demonstrating leadership behaviours and any collective endorsement that defines them as such. Factors such as confidence, the perceived need for humility, and anxiety caused by identity regulation all contributed to leadership reluctance. While functionalist theory suggests that leadership reluctance is a developmental phase, the narratives collected in this study suggest otherwise. Reluctance is a form of action by those participating in identity work, a form of distancing that exerts control over their

own identity construction in the face of social pressures. It is a form of dissent, or resistance to the pressure to conform to expected models.

In their quest for leadership in the arts and cultural sector there are those who construct a sense of leadership that does not cause anxiety or provoke the need for dissent, while providing an antidote to the neo-liberal styles of work that proliferate. There are emerging leaders who construct an identity that melds collaboration, creativity and communities of practice. These leaders have the support of their community in building a leadership identity that aligns to their creative practice, free from identity regulation or social expectations associated with leadership theory. These leaders are forging their identity within their own spaces, supported by their similarly located geographic community, or those that inhabit their shared virtual worlds. Members of these communities provide psychosocial support, leading to increased leadership confidence and act as a collective buffer to the impact of increased network sociality.

The next chapter continues to explore the construction of leadership identity in emerging leaders by presenting a series of leadership personas that emerge from the narratives, co-constructed by primary and secondary participants and the interviewer. These personas provide an insight into different forms and causes of leadership reluctance and, in turn, facilitate an understanding of leadership development.

8. THE LEADER PERSONAS

This chapter takes themes that emerged in the previous three chapters and distils them through a sensemaking process to derive a collection of leadership personas. These personas paint a picture of emerging leader identity development and, in particular, explore different forms of leadership reluctance. The personas are configurations of leadership identity as they exist within various forms of creative practice. The chapter begins explaining how sensemaking contributes to the research, not only as a researcher driven process, but how collaborative conversations and participation in shared practice by participants are, in effect, sensemaking activities. The outcome is the development of five personas—ways in which emerging leaders, reluctant or otherwise, may be recognised by others in their community. The chapter then outlines the attributes of each persona, how they relate to and are formed by the communities in which they emerged, and how they compare to each other. Finally, how these personas can contribute to arts and cultural leadership in both theory and practice is briefly discussed.

8.1. Constructing the Personas: The Role of Sensemaking

Sensemaking is creating meaning from experience. It asks “what’s going on here?” and then, in response, “what do I do next?” (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005, p. 412). Sensemaking contributes to this thesis in various ways, because each group in the study engages in sensemaking of their own and others’ leadership identity. The sensemaking methodology is a process of interaction between primary and secondary participants, the interview process, and the research investigator. These stakeholder relations were shown in Figure 1, duplicated here, in the context of sensemaking conversations as Figure 13.

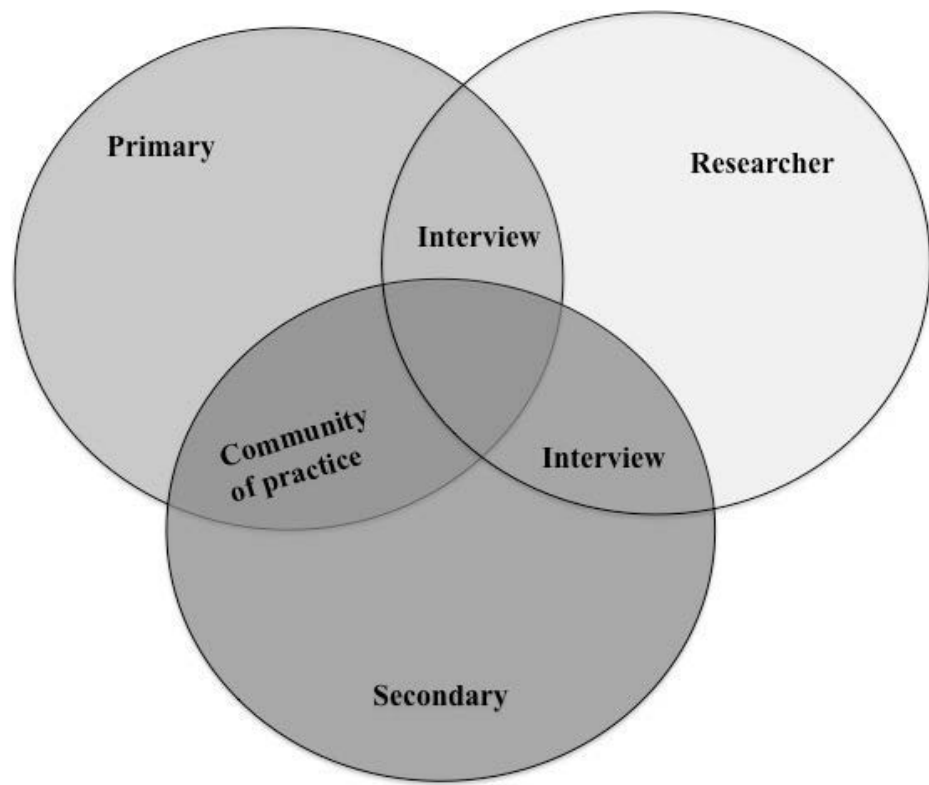


Figure 13 (Duplicate): Relationship between the Research Stakeholders

Figure 13. shows that research methods used capture a series of collaborative conversations that shape leadership identity. Leadership identity construction is an ongoing process that that primary and secondary candidates participate in, but do not always stop to reflect on. The interview process prompts identity work, reflection and sensemaking for all stakeholders, which then feeds back into their own identity construction. Interviews are the space where the question “what’s going on here?” is considered, allowing participants to reflect on key moments of action that contributed to their own understanding of leadership. In addition, the process of analysis and writing allows the researcher, as the investigator, to organise thoughts about leadership identity, both from a personal and a theoretical perspective.

Communities of Practice as Sites of Sensemaking

Sensemaking, like communities of practice, is a matter of identity; it allows us to “understand ourselves to be in relation to the world around us” (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005, p. 411). Identity is socially constructed within the communities of

practice, and the image the individual has of themselves is reflected and shaped by the views others in the community hold. Weick says if “images of us change, our identities may be destabilised and our receptiveness to new meaning increase” (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005, p. 416). Arts and cultural leaders construct their leadership identity in their community and see that identity reflected back. For most there are no prescribed leadership ideals, no identity models or exemplars in which to compare because, in a community of practice, there are “no formal roles and job descriptions that can form part of a member’s definition of identity” (Fourie 2009, p. 78). The fluid nature of communities of practice allow for sensemaking opportunities and a redefinition and projection of the self into that community. The thesis captures a snapshot of the sensemaking process through the primary and secondary candidate narratives. Here, we see a reflection of emerging leader identity as it is seen, and mirrored back, by the community in which it was constructed.

Interviews as Sites of Sensemaking

Sensemaking and communication are intimately linked. The interview process offers an opportunity for both the researcher and participants to engage in sensemaking as they sort through development and leadership experiences, processing them with new perspective. As Taylor and Van Every argue (cited in Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005, p. 412):

Sensemaking is about organising through communication. We see communication as an ongoing process of making sense of the circumstances in which people collectively find ourselves and of the events that affect them.

Sensemaking is a retrospective process. By looking back at leadership experiences and reflecting on identity, participants engage in sensemaking constructions. Shamir and Eilam (2005, p. 403) argue that constructing “life stories” is a crucial part of leader authenticity and self-justification: “It is through life experiences and the way they are organised into life-stories that people can develop a self-concept of a leader that supports and justifies their leadership role because the life-story not only recounts but also justifies”. We see evidence of this through the acknowledgment of identity work and sensemaking activity by research participants in the interview process. As noted, Georgie’s (Fashion/Blogging) response to the researcher was, “Thank you for making

(my leadership identity) more recognisable to me”, while Liam (Digital Design) joked that the interviews “are like therapy”. Another participant, Diane (Advertising), contacted the researcher post interview to add new thoughts on leadership, thus indicating a period of further identity work.

Research Process as the Site of Sensemaking

The research process is a site of sensemaking because “we shape experience into meaningful patterns according to our memory of experience” (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005, p. 411). At this stage of the process the experience of the researcher, as leadership scholar and practitioner, arts and cultural community member and leader, contributes to research outcomes. Prior research knowledge provides an interpretation of institutional conditions and customary practice, contributing to the retrospective analysis of data to create a theoretical model of five arts and cultural leader personas. According to Weick, the “answers to the question ‘what’s the story?’ emerge from retrospect, connections with past experience, and dialogue among people who act on behalf of larger social units” (Weick, Sutcliffe & Obstfeld 2005, p. 413). During the research process, emerging themes and concepts were discussed with peers and colleagues and shared publicly on a blog to engage with the arts and cultural community and test emerging theories.

The role of the researcher is to analyse the data collected across disciplines and consider it in context of arts management and leadership theoretical models. This process combines intersubjective ideas concerning leadership identity into one space, providing perspective and highlighting commonalities. As Fourie (2009, p. 8) observes, “While interpretation is about discovering something that is already there, sensemaking involves the invention or construction of that which finally makes sense”. The outcome of this process, the answer to the question “what’s going on here?”, is the development of five leadership personas. A persona, or “the face individuals wear to meet the social world around them” (Rozuel, Ketola & Ketola 2012, p. 471) comes from the mask worn by actors in Greek drama. Leadership personas, however, can be considered a sociological subset of leadership identity (Richardson & Loubier 2008), the aspect or characteristics of an individual presented to or perceived by others. Curry describes the leader persona as “a constellation of factors that supports the ways in which communities experience their leaders” (Curry 2002, p. 35). Sinclair links the concept of

the leadership persona with the pressures of ongoing identity work, where individuals are both authors and the resulting outcomes of their identity construction (Sinclair 2011, p. 508–09). A persona differs from identity, however, as it relates specifically to how individuals are perceived, as much as the internal processes that they engage in. Most of the literature considers how the individual actively constructs a persona to create a vision of themselves in the community in which they practice. As Ibarra (1999) observes:

Identity is distinguished from image or persona, terms I use interchangeably, to refer to the impressions people believe they convey to others. People enact personas that convey qualities they want others to ascribe to them, for example, qualities prescribed by their professional roles, such as judgment, business acumen, competence, creativity, and trustworthiness. (p. 765)

In this thesis, however, the leadership personas reflect sensemaking activity enacted between the participants and the researcher, a way of organising the reluctant leadership concepts that emerged in Chapters Five through Seven. This is not to suggest the personas are untested. Several research participants engaged in public writing about leadership concepts, via the researcher’s video interviews and blog posts, and provided feedback on the relevance of the emergent theory.

8.2. Leader Personas

Leadership personas are a useful way to coalesce the data collected on leadership identity presented in this study as they include both the narratives constructed by the primary participants, in conjunction with their community, and the perceived leadership identity documented by the researcher. The personas identified within this research are:

- The Collector
- The Learner
- The Outsider
- The Underdog
- The Community Builder

The Collector

The Collector builds their career through targeting experiences, companies or brands they want to work with, learn from and, importantly for them, have on their resume. Each item added to their career portfolio is “checked off a list”. Public recognition of their work, through awards, job offers, promotion or salary are representations of their current or potential leadership status. They are, however, ambivalent towards their own leadership identity, regardless of job title or position, as they are always comparing themselves to the next opportunity that they are targeting. Unless prompted, they may fail to reflect on their current leadership position because they believe there is always something lacking in their experience.

Two of the three participants who demonstrate Collector attributes come from the for-profit case studies. Sam (Digital Design) and Dave (Advertising) were the participants who most clearly exhibited the characteristics of a Collector. While they have slightly different career paths, they both demonstrate the need to constantly add skills and experiences to their repertoire. Sam has spent much of his career in short-term roles, either as a freelancer, business owner or contractor, while Dave tended to be employed with organisations of increasingly larger size. Neither stay in the same role for more than two years, often expressing regret they had been in a position for too long.

Dave (Advertising) measures his leadership identity against the external benchmarks of the advertising sector. Each step in his career aims to work within a larger advertising agency or work on bigger brands and campaigns. Linked to this is the need for external recognition by winning international awards, such as the Cannes Lion. He outlines his focus on progression and forward mobility as follows: “You definitely have to be proactive, the best creatives, the most awarded ones, are the ones that are the most proactive”. His idea of career progression follows a linear path that involved promotion, salary increases, bigger clients and international experience.

Sam (Digital Design) has a similar approach, collecting experiences but moving across sectors and industries. When at university, he aimed to work in computer animation before moving into web design and launching his own business. After transferring his skill set into digital design, he spent time in the advertising sector in an attempt to broaden his experience and change his career path: “It was a conscious decision to try and step away from being labelled as ‘just a digital designer’ and I wanted to see myself as an advertising creative”. While he did not enjoy the culture of the advertising sector,

he spent several years freelancing to gain exposure to a variety of brands. This was a strategic career move that provided him with more opportunity and, as a result, more income:

I could see which parts of my portfolio the guys were gravitating towards, so they were the brands I wanted to plump up. More car stuff, more alcohol stuff, more FMCG [fast moving consumer goods] stuff. I worked on a lot of other stuff, like finance, insurance stuff, but I usually left that off the resume as it didn't look as sexy.

Unlike Dave, Sam's career is not linear, as he moves between bigger and smaller organisations based on opportunity and his career goals at the time. After working at larger agencies, he made the move back to digital design: "I needed to get back into small digital agencies, I wanted multimedia experience again". He then decided his future was in the tech sector:

I was starting to think about moving out of advertising world and towards tech, mostly because I had a conversation with a friend, he'd say 'why are you persisting in this advertising world when it's not really you?' At the same time, I didn't have the capital, or the balls, to go straight up and do a start-up again with a mortgage and a kid and a wife.

While wanting to move into the world of start-ups, Sam became more focused on career stability as his family responsibilities shifted: "I thought a natural transition would be to go on to a tech company because that would at least equip me with more of a resume that resonates with people in the tech world, that's where I want to be, hopefully with a future start-up of my own". While some may characterise Sam and Dave's continued job hopping as indicative of their Generation Y demographic, their career paths clearly demonstrate protean or boundaryless characteristics (Briscoe & Hall 2006; Briscoe et al. 2012) and were responsive to changes in the economy that occurred throughout the past ten years.

While in Advertising, Dave compares his career to the next level in the organisational structures, Sam sought out new sectors for opportunity. Both strategically collect the experiences they believe they need to build a successful career, including stepping into

leadership roles. Always looking forward or outside their existing roles, means continually comparing themselves to exemplars (Guillén, Mayo & Korotov 2015). Unlike some participants in the study, the Collectors demonstrate a clear motivation to lead, as this is a natural evolution in their career path. As noted previously, Dave suggests his employers were “pushing me towards more of a leader role” while Sam indicates that “I know I need to step out of that (his reluctance to be seen as a leader within his business) at some point”.

The other Collector in the study comes from the core creative arts: the independent visual arts sector. Tom, a curator and organisational leader, has a slightly different Collector orientation, one with an entrepreneurial focus. Tom recognised a potential gap in the sector and systematically set about collecting the skills experiences and networks to then implement his plan. The founding of his own arts organisation is:

the most conscious thing that I've done. It was in a direct response to a need, seeing a need, seeing a gap that was really, really obvious to me. All the other stuff that I've done has sort of flowed off that.

After working in a large art organisation for several years Tom “was very conscious (of the need) to expand my world” and connect with the broader arts ecology. He took “any opportunity to expose myself to work, to learn about things and ... form relationships and (take) a real kind of interest in a broad range of skills”. Tom highlights the need for experience, education and networks to achieve the goals he had set.

Unlike most participants in this study, Tom speaks about mentors and his conscious decision to cultivate mentoring relationships. His mentors tend to be very visible and respected figures in the visual arts sector and, in a sense, Tom collects these relationships in the same way as he collects skills and experience. Tom also compares himself to exemplars, suggesting he is not “senior enough” to truly be a leader. Like Sam and Dave, Tom does not necessarily reflect on his current position, but compares himself to an external ideal.

The Collector is someone who demonstrates reluctant leadership due to his or her focus on the leadership horizon. By always wanting to add more experiences, skills, or contacts to their resume, they constantly compare themselves to exemplars that may be

just out of reach. Taking time to reflect on their own experience, actions and achievements, may make them more willing to embrace their leadership identity.

The Learner

Learners see development as crucial to their career and forming their leadership identity. Brooke (Design and Craft) describes herself as an “ongoing learner”:

I've always got to learn something new, I need to know how this works. And I don't even know I'm doing it, right? I saw Maddie the other day and I'm like 'Maddie I'm doing my teacher training at yoga', and she went, 'Of course you are'. Rather than moving on all the time, I've got the skills ... actually try to stop and be present and apply some of the stuff you've learned. It's probably because I'm reaching a limit on how much I can take on.

Learners are similar to Collectors, except they measure identity against development activities they are selected for or participate in. They do not compare their leadership identity to other Learners, but seek validation through acceptance that comes from selection in leadership programs and accumulation of skills or capabilities that are not always put into practice. Not all Learners are reluctant leaders; for some, learning has expanded their idea of what constitutes leadership and consequently they can see how their own style is reflected in leadership theory. For others, however, there is always something else that is needs to be learnt before they become “true” leaders.

Sonia (Music) is a learner who strategically uses development to position her career. Moving from the corporate environment to the cultural sector, she relied on a university degree in arts administration, in conjunction with significant marketing experience, to obtain an arts role. Having entered the sector, she brought her corporate background with her, complete with a language peppered with jargon. In her words, “I came to the arts with a portfolio of skills”, and she spoke about “transparency”, “vision”, “commodifying the arts” and “breaking team silos”.

Sonia’s attitude to development was also the most corporate in approach. With the support of her organisation, she sought out leadership programs such as INSEAD in Singapore and the Sydney Leadership Program. These programs are not cultural

industry specific and attract a broad range of participants, giving Sonia exposure to leadership concepts in a wide variety of contexts. Participation in these programs shaped Sonia's leadership identity in two ways. Initially, acceptance and participation in the programs validated her as a leader; "I think those training courses reiterating that I could do it (lead), and that I had a place at the table, I could play the game". The primary benefit she receives from leadership development, in her own words, is "confidence". However, being involved in leadership development also expands Sonia's perception of what leadership is, and consequently she saw her own identity reflected in theory. She reconstitutes her version of leadership from the positivist, hierarchical, Great Man approaches to one more collaborative, relational and aligns it to what she sees within her industry. As she says, "I'm not the loudest person in the room. I'm not the extrovert in the room, particularly in a room full of artists, performing artists". However, her participation in leadership programs allows her to recognise that not all leaders are necessarily extroverts and performers.

Sonia's experience with leadership development, as a way to embrace her own leadership identity, contrasts with the idea that leadership development necessarily leads to anxiety. In some critical discussions on leadership and identity, such as Ford, Learmonth and Harding (2008), leadership development is seen as potentially unsettling for individuals who are forced to compare their identity with idealised versions of leadership. Their inability to measure up to such exemplars may mean a rejection of leadership identity, as demonstrated by the Collector persona. Sonia, however is an example of a different, more emancipatory outcome. Development allows her to see that leadership is not rigidly defined, that there are more inclusive concepts than those dominant in media and social constructions.

Brooke (Design and Craft) is the other participant who was strongly identifies as a Learner, but her experience was more akin to the Collector than Sonia. Brooke's career progression focuses on both professional and personal learning (through executive coaching and physical training such as yoga and triathlons); and this, she believes, contributes to her career development and approach to leadership. From early in her career, Brooke focused on learning as a requirement for job success, but came later to the realisation that qualifications were not always necessary:

I was never coached, I was never offered support or that type of mentoring or development, it was just a bit like 'you are fine, you can do it just get in there and have a go' and this industry is something you can learn, it doesn't matter that you don't have a degree in marketing, it's kind of common sense, but it's taken me a lot of years to acknowledge that.

In terms of leadership, however, she is not ready to embrace a “have a go” approach, applying for leadership development programs and participating in six-months’ of one-to-one executive coaching. Despite participation in these programs and organisational recognition as a leader, she is still reluctant to claim leader identity.

Learning, for Brooke, is a way to create confidence in her ability, similar to Sonia’s experience. She says, “I tried to buffer my own lack of confidence in what I was doing by applying for a study grant”. Not being accepted into leadership programs run by the Australia Council was, for Brooke, an indicator that she is not yet worthy of the title “leader”. She states, despite her development endeavours, “I’ve done the learning, but I’m not leading”.

The Learner persona most closely aligns with Leadership Identity Development models. Sonia and Brooke’s participation in reflective learning experiences provided them with new language and ideas that aided their development (Komives et al. 2005). Their development enhances self-confidence, taught them new skills, broadened their view of leadership and gave them affiliation with fellow development participants and peers. All these activities change their view of self and offere space for reflection (Komives et al. 2005). Brooke, however, has not reached a level of confidence where she can identify as a leader, suggesting development does not always lead to a positive view of leadership identity.

The Learner persona can also demonstrate how skills and knowledge are used as identity regulation tools. Alvesson and Willmott (2002, p. 630) argue that “knowledge defines the knower: what one is capable of doing (or expected to be able to do) frames who one is”. In this study, Sonia defines herself as leader based on participation and knowledge gained through leadership development programs. Alternatively, Brooke, who followed a similar path, feels that she is not yet ready to embrace her leadership identity, despite acknowledging her capability. The Learner uses development and

education as a way of reflecting on their own leadership identity. For some, they will never learn all they need to accept themselves as a leader; and for others, learning is a way to expand their perception of leadership and embrace the role.

The Outsider

The Outsider persona positions himself or herself as working beyond the boundaries of the dominant leadership or cultural sector power paradigm. By asserting their point of difference, whether this be gender, class, race, education or other qualifying characteristics, they do not fear disenfranchisement by the “establishment”, because they already see themselves as being external to the group. Outsiders may see others, including peers or current leaders, as lacking in courage for not stepping up. The Outsider does not consider learning about leadership or leadership development a priority because they are already defining what constitutes leadership in their own terms. In some ways, the Outsider captures the most recognisable leadership persona—one who made familiar by Richard Branson and Steve Jobs—the “leadership development out of struggle” narrative, where leaders construct life stories that position them as having “strong will, self-confidence, proactivity, ability to take on big challenges and cope with difficulties, independence, and toughness” (Shamir & Eilam 2005, p. 404).

A visible example of the Outsider persona can be found in Wesley Enoch’s monograph (2014) *TAKE ME TO YOUR LEADER: The dilemma of cultural leadership*, where the author calls out those in the cultural sector for not leading in the face of political, economic and social challenges. Whether someone who was head of the Queensland Theatre Company, as Enoch was at the time of writing, could truly be considered outside the establishment is contestable. However, Enoch accuses mainstream cultural leaders for being out of touch with audiences, for being in an ivory tower, for being a pack of whiners and for being deluded. As noted in the opening chapter of this thesis, Enoch (2014, p.4) writes “I am looking for Cultural Leadership. Do you know where I should look?”. He throws down a gauntlet for his peers to step up to his (leadership) level.

One participant is unequivocally positive about their leadership status. Kristen (Festival and Event Curation) could be classified as an Outsider. She opens the interview by

describing herself as a “cultural omnivore” or a “unicorn” (a term used also by her secondary participants.) By using this term from the outset, she establishes herself as a unique figure in the creative space. She elaborates on this point as follows:

I call myself an omnivore, because what I do spans curating events and festivals but also actually curating physical pieces of art. More interventions. A lot of people don't know about the public artwork curation I do.

Her remark that, “people don’t know about the public artwork curation that I do” suggests that she is more than what people perceive her to be. Like other cases study participants, she is aware of the leadership identity she constructs, but in contrast to Georgie (Fashion/Blogging), for example, she sees her prominence as a positive.

Kristen’s narrative also indicates reflexivity regarding her own career and leadership story. She demonstrates an approach to leadership development where those who can “justify to themselves the social position they claim for themselves, and their sense of self-confidence, self-efficacy, and knowing better than others where to go or what to do” (Shamir & Eilam 2005, p. 403). She spoke of having to “look in retrospect and craft your own narrative” in terms of building a career. As a child of immigrants, Kristen positions herself beyond the dominant, white, middle-class discourse that pervades the arts and cultural sector:

I come from an immigrant family so it's very different. My Dad's from India and my Mum's from Chile. This is my chip [on the shoulder]. Middle class white people are very lovely but there is an inherent understanding of the cultural foundations that these entire society is built on, like the Beatles. You are aware of the Beatles. You are aware of Shakespeare, you come out knowing about this stuff. And then there's the slightly wealthier white people who know about other stuff, like art and theatre. My parents are really creative; my mum is an interior designer, but they also had 50,000 jobs in their lives. They were self-employed, my dad was a milkman, a bread man, he worked as a barman. They are very stylish, sophisticated people who come from a non-western perspective.

I think the immigrant perspective is actually the thing arts policy lacks. There's very much a calcified notion of what culture is, but it's the second generation who have a very different perspective because you grow up with a very different idea of what is culture. My parents are very stylish, sophisticated, well-travelled, [but] don't read books, don't have music collection, don't go to art galleries.

In describing her family and background this way, Kristen raises issues of class, economics, education and race. She sees herself as having creative persona, but not embedded in the dominant discourse. She constructs a narrative that positions her as an outsider from the mainstream, and that this (being a leadership outsider) is what arts policy requires. She spoke of her career success as follows:

You kind of go 'yeah I can kind of do that' and you figure it out as you go. I haven't had any training, I've learnt a lot from other people and observing other events and observing other things. The thing that I've been able to do, being an omnivore and being across different industries is that I can go 'well photographers do it like this, why don't they do it in design?'

Kristen emphasises how her “omnivore” status gives her unique benefits, derived from an ability to learn from a variety of groups. To this extent, she shares attributes with the Community Builder persona in that she participates in and actively learns from in a variety of communities. While she works collaboratively across communities of practice, she does not seek or necessarily value mentors: “I would like one, I don't know, it's weird, there isn't really anyone who does what I do, and if they do they're competition”.

In terms of her leader persona, Kristen clearly sees herself as a critic of the status quo; something she perceives others are not willing to do based on their fear of exclusion:

That's actually the definition of leadership: getting involved. Having an opinion and being present and doing stuff. I think that's actually what a leader is, being there, giving a shit, showing up, having an opinion, doing something about it. And so, there's this complete lack of leadership in the arts. Everybody is so bloody upper class.

Unlike most other personas, the Outsider does not utilise comparison against a leadership ideal that would mark them as deficient. Kristen clearly sees herself fulfilling a need in the creative sector.

The idea of the Outsider is also relevant to gendered discourse in leadership studies. Sinclair (2012) suggests that many women take up the role of the outsider when developing their leadership identity:

For example, leadership is often provided from the position of being 'outsiders' denied access to networks of privilege and power. This outsider status frequently requires, and bestows, a discernible courage, a familiarity with 'not belonging' and a willingness to be non-confirming. Women leaders often have less to lose in 'going it alone'. (p. 26)

While gender does not feature in Kristen's "outsider-ness", she clearly believes that she has less to lose by promoting her leader identity. However, she also sees that leadership accountability is strongly needed in the current Australian creative environment and is willing to take risks based on her personal values. This aligns her views with arts advocates such as Wesley Enoch.

In terms of identity regulation, the Outsider positions their identity not as within a group, but deliberately outside it. As Alvesson and Willmott (2002, p. 630) argue, for some, "Being a team member and/or a member of the wider corporate family may then become a significant source of one's self-understanding, self-monitoring and presentation to others". However, in Kristen's case she constructs her leadership identity in contrast to the dominant paradigm she describes as white, middle-class, highly educated, polite and quiet.

Like the issue of humility in constructing leadership identity, the Outsider persona is one of perception as much as reality. Artists such as Enoch or Kristen may not truly be outsiders in the cultural community, because both hold positions of power and have a platform to share their ideas. In fact, they may be the next generation of the establishment. However, in terms of leadership identity, it is their positioning outside the dominant discourse that makes them an Outsider.

The Underdog

The Underdog is the persona least likely to embrace their leadership identity. Demonstrating reluctance, lack of confidence and humility, those with characteristics of the Underdog are concerned they may be ridiculed for seeming to be arrogant or ego driven if they claim leadership status. Georgie (Fashion/Blogging) displays the characteristics of the Underdog more than any other participant in this study. After a very successful career in media, she struggled to find her place during her 30s. While demonstrating pride in her accomplishments, both those in the past and in her current role as a sustainable fashion expert/blogger, she repeatedly returns to the idea of being cut down to size.

Several factors shape Georgie's attitudes to leadership and positioned her as an Underdog. Georgie's creative roles in television and now as a media commentator and blogger, place her in public view on a regular basis. In particular, her role as a blogger leads to public attack and criticism. Georgie's success as a blogger, particularly in the area of sustainable fashion, requires a sense of authenticity. Marwick (2013, p.2) describes blogging authenticity as:

- A sense of truthful self-expression
- A connection with and responsiveness to the audience
- An honest engagement with commodity goods and brands

Georgie's blog requires her to reveal an authentic persona to increase the likelihood that readers will interact with her and regularly view her content. Blogging authenticity, however, may not be compatible her leadership persona. Further to this, Georgie started her blogging career after a period of unemployment, and struggled to build regular income from the business. Her work with a charitable organisation in the year prior to the interview was suddenly terminated, which further undermined her confidence. Gender constructions also influenced Georgie's Underdog status. When referring to public criticism she received, she says, "I'm a woman and I'm sensitive and I do take it personally sometimes"; inferring that, as a woman, criticism may be more difficult for her than it would be for a man. Her remarks highlight the role that gender plays in leadership identity construction, as outlined in Chapter Six.

Georgie's attitude towards leadership identity was the most fragile of all participants. While authenticity is crucial to some leadership theories (Gardner et al. 2005) and

Georgie is building her role as an authentic leader, she has not yet found a balance that enables her to embrace the role of leader without positioning herself outside the group. In this sense, the Underdog may be the persona that demonstrates the effectiveness of socially constructed identity regulation most comprehensively.

The Community Builder

The Community Builder is externally oriented viewing leadership as a process that connects others to achieve collaborative goals. For this reason, Community Builders are those most closely linked to social learning and distributed leadership. Collectively, those that identify as Community Builders display low levels of leadership reluctance. They recognise that successful creative leadership is not necessarily about charisma, extroversion or organisational hierarchy, but working with others to achieve a shared vision. Community Builders share a broader, often more collaborative, definition of leadership.

Marion (Theatre) demonstrates the strongest community building characteristics. While still in the early stage of her career, she began to strategically build her community. After graduating, she proactively reached out to the theatre sector across multiple states, and took up internships and contract roles to gain experience, supporting this through part-time work and professional development grants. Where she differs from the Learner or Collector personas, however, is her learning through legitimate peripheral participation (Wenger 1998). She established a small theatre company with two other colleagues and put her learning into practice. This initiative created a community of likeminded theatre practitioners who have worked with her for several years in various capacities.

Cora (Film) found that working in the film sector was less collaborative than she expected. While film and theatre are both collectively driven artistic endeavours, the rigid role structures in film make it more cooperative than collaborative in nature. This impacts the formation of communities of practice which, in turn, influences the formation of leadership identity. Cora suggests at film school the men gravitated towards technical roles while the women tended toward production and support. It was not until Cora moved into festival development and, in particular, writing, that her practice became more collaborative.

Both Cora and Marion describe themselves as collaborative leaders. Marion said, “I’ve approached the work with people in the same way as I did as an actor, just being a collaborator, cooperating, working with them”, but “still with respect for ... my contribution to the show ... the direction of ideas”. Marion recognises that while she works collaboratively with others, her role is one of leadership in establishing vision, ideas, and coordinating resources.

The Community Builder differs from the Collector, who also cultivates networks as part of their development process, through legitimate peripheral participation. While Collectors see contacts and networks as career enhancing relationships, they do not necessarily work collaboratively with others, even when they work on symbiotic projects. Both Collectors, Sam (Digital Design) and Dave (Advertising) express their preference for independent work, even when in sectors that work predominantly through creative partnerships. Community Builders are in effect the opposite; even when working on what could be a solo project, such as script writing, they prefer to work collectively, sharing ideas and building their practice through social learning.

8.3. The Leadership Personas in Context

Leadership personas emerge from the context of each case study. Like leadership itself each persona is constructed via mutual influence and social interaction. The identity and personas of the research participants are directly linked to the community in which they practice, and “various contextual factors can cause leader and follower identities to shift over time and across situations” (DeRue & Ashford 2010, p. 628). As Fourie (2009, p. 78) observes, “Since the identity of a community and its members is directly related to their domain, any problems around the domain will influence sensemaking opportunities in the construction and reconstruction of identities”.

The leadership schema which the Collector persona emerges is hierarchical, status driven and focused on eternal measures of success. The environment is one of network sociality rather than formation of strong developmental communities. While Advertising and Digital Design are populated by participants employed by commercial entities, they still represent the freelance oriented, fluid labour practices associated with the modern creative industry workforce. This means that they look toward the accumulation of recognisable achievements, whether they be associates, roles, awards

or salaries. Belle's (Visual Arts) narrative was indicative of these themes. She consciously set out to collect the skills and experiences that would position herself as the curator of a large presenting organisation. Belle describes her approach as "sometime fortuitous and sometimes deliberate", but she also recognises the strategic attitude she brought to collecting:

I did things, because (the commercial gallery) couldn't always pay me, I went to work at (craft organisation) for a while; I worked for a government organisation for a year, editing a book on architecture and public space. I also worked for the (large contemporary gallery) for a year doing public programs and education. I had a column writing reviews every week. I would write ten articles a month to raise my profile and reputation.

Belle's description of her career is consistent with the "tool kit" approach to leadership identity development discussed in functionalist literature. However, it also exemplifies the protean nature of creative graduate skill development, where practitioners are "intrinsically motivated in career and engaging in self-directed career behaviour" (Bridgstock 2011, p. 17) to consciously build the right leadership profile aligned with socially constructed identity ideals. Similarly, Tom was comfortable in listing his roles and the skills he acquired while undertaking them, which helped him achieve the goal of opening his own arts organisation. These narratives demonstrate not only the importance of recognition in the industry of position, but also how systematically Tom, and others in the Visual Arts case, collected the skills and experiences necessary to construct the desired leader identity.

Advertising and Digital Design environments encourage "brand chasing". It is not surprising, therefore, that emerging leaders measure their identity against external benchmarks such as title, brands worked with and roles. Those exhibiting the characteristics of a Collector, suggest the influence of social pressures discussed by Sinclair (2011), they are conscious of both popular and social constructions of leadership and the pressure to measure themselves against externally benchmarked leader performance. The forces of identity regulation that impact Collectors most strongly are those involving definition and hierarchy, group categorisation and affiliation and the "rules of the game". Collectors, can see leadership as an "other", a role that they are not yet experienced/recognised/senior enough to undertake. The

opportunity for a Collector, however, is looking beyond surface achievements and taking the time to reflect on what has already been learned and how it can be implemented.

The Learning persona emerges within communities that are developmentally oriented. While there is much to applaud in the provision of leadership development opportunities for arts and cultural practitioners, leadership development is only successful if it leads to a strengthening of leadership identity. For Learners such as Sonia (Music) and Brooke (Design and Craft), there was potentially more time spent obtaining the qualifications than implementing leadership learning in practice. As Brooke notes, a need to “actually try to stop and be present and apply some of the stuff you’ve learned”.

Many Learners also demonstrate a strong emphasis toward formal education and organisational development. While all those from the Music case study mention the importance of learning to their leadership identity, they all worked for organisations that placed significant importance on staff development. For many (Sonia, Donna, Lynn) a strategic approach to the collection of learning experiences adds to their career progression and resume. Francis (Music), however, saw learning not only as supporting her career, but engaging her personally: “it’s the learning aspect of it. I need to be challenged constantly”. For Francis, it was less about the qualification and more about the process of learning new things.

Terrence (Design and Craft) speaks at length about the importance of learning in his organisation, and is one of the few managers who mention specific resources dedicated to staff development. Brooke’s reluctance is a source of frustration given “we have limited resources for development and in the past year we put most of it towards Brooke”. Terrence adds, “she (Brooke) wants to learn constantly”, but she “presents one way and probably personally thinks another”; that is, that in her “heart of hearts” she recognises her leadership status, but publicly she is always “identifying gaps” she needs to fill.

The Outsider and Underdog personas are impacted by the entrepreneurially oriented environment that increasingly dominates the arts and cultural sector. As McRobbie (2016, p. 75/170) argues, “The meaning of professionalism for art students is also now

understood in terms of entrepreneurialism”. For Outsiders like Kristen this takes the form of the hustle. Kristen has, in her own words, created her career narrative over 15 years in the hope that this will eventually “pay off” in terms of financial and career success. This need to self-promote is not only crucial in the freelance world she inhabits, but is representative of both her extraversion and the willingness to position herself outside the mainstream.

The Underdog persona represents the flipside of Kristen’s confidence. Like the Outsider, the Underdog is faced with the need to self-manage their own career, or, as Georgie (Fashion/Blogging), said “kick my own butt”. The Underdog, however, lacks the confidence that the Outsider has. In not participating actively in communities of practice, the Underdog may miss the supporting role communities play in enhancing self-esteem. Georgie’s secondary participants note her lack of confidence when it came to leadership. Many, such as manager/client, Greg, stating that they were there “to support her” as she grew her business and career: “We (encourage) her all the time, we hardly say no to any ideas. She finds confidence in that”. Georgie included various mentors in her secondary participants who had observed her career and confidence change over several decades. As mentioned earlier in the thesis, many of Georgie’s community are hesitant to label her a leader, noting she needed to be less “accommodating” and “find her confidence”. As Helen put it, “I don’t think Georgie is not a leader, but I don’t think she recognises herself as a leader yet”.

While both the Underdog and the Outsider exist in fragmented, dispersed environments that do not naturally lead to collaborative practice, how they choose to engage with their community creates the differences in their leadership persona. While Georgie goes it alone, Kristen relies on her support group, her “cheer squad”, which provides a buffer against the challenges of being a woman forging a new career path in a precarious industry.

The Community Builder persona displays the most consistency between primary and secondary participant narratives. The idea of reaching out to others in the sector to build communities of practice was prevalent in participant narratives. There was a consistency in the identity development processes discussed by secondary participants and how they related to the concept of leadership. Henry (Theatre) describes Marion’s leadership style as one that brought a new generation of collaborators to the stage. Marion leads,

according to Henry, “by leading through her work and the way she approaches her work and quite rightly and bravely leading a newish group of artists onto the main stage”. Those within the theatre community, such as Henry, are very conscious of the need to foster a collective approach to the artform to achieve project outcomes and create a sustainable sector. He believes that there was a strong focus on development “because senior artists want to be associated with the next phase of the industry” give theatre is “an industry that’s always renewing its approach to its own form”. Similarly, Cora’s (Film) community are either participants in the writing community she fostered over seven years or knew of it. Ian recognises the role Cora played in making the community work: “She’s obviously good at designing and nurturing (creative) spaces”.

Many secondary participants also note how Cora uses social media as a way of establishing her identity and her role as a leader in the virtual film community. Described by many as “shy” and “not as charismatic” there was a distinction between her level of outspokenness and confidence on social media, which is linked to her writing talent, and her ability to build relationships and communicate with individuals face-to-face. Hence, Cora’s experience demonstrates the Community Builder can work in several spaces, and how social media presents new opportunities to develop positive leadership identity.

8.4. How the personas help support arts and cultural leadership

If the personas are a distillation of the question “what do we see when we look for leadership in the Australian arts and cultural sector?” then they help us understand “what’s going on here?” when considering leadership identity development. We are left, however, with the question of action: what can be done with this information? In what way can these personas be useful theoretically and in practice to those in the arts and cultural sector—or indeed, to other industries?

The personas contribute to a theoretical understanding of leadership identity development in the Australian arts and cultural sector. Considering the personas in a communities of practice context can highlight the different ways emerging leaders actively construct leadership identity in response to, and conjunction with, their community. Thus, the personas provide a model that can be explored within other sectors and contexts. They build on the critical approaches of scholars such as Alvesson

and Willmott (2002), Carroll (Carroll & Levy 2010; Carroll & Nicholson 2014) and Sinclair (Sinclair 2004, 2010, 2011) in exploring how leadership identity is constructed from a critical perspective, how leadership development and organisational power can destabilise, or prompt identity work, and the importance of space for critical reflection in the development of leaders.

From a practical perspective, the personas can be useful from a personal point of view. Readers have already engaged in discussion of the concepts during their formulation via interviews and blog posts. Individuals may recognise they share attributes with one of the five personas and consider what this means for their own identity, that is, use them to prompt further identity work.

Similarly, those who lead others, whether organisationally or in collaborative situations may recognise followers who avoid ownership of their leader identity due to attributes associated with one or more of the personas. They are tools helpful in holding developmental conversations and providing focus on developing others. The personas would be useful inclusions into development programs focused on emerging leaders, to consider the potential barriers in developing a positive leader identity, facilitating conversation around what constitutes leadership in the sector. Understanding the model as a means of, and space for, critical reflection on leadership, may promote further understanding and practice.

There is also an opportunity to explore developmental approaches that could overcome leadership reluctance associated with the constructed persona. Can a Community Builder be created, or are they a unique product of their environment that must originate from within a community of practice? This research suggests that, while personas emerge from with arts and cultural contexts, reflecting and reacting to identity regulation and social forces that contribute to identity construction, individual emerging leader agency cannot be neglected. By understanding the role identity plays in leadership development, offering space for reflection and critical consideration of leadership discourse, emerging leaders may be able to influence their leadership persona.

8.5. Summary

From the research five leadership personas emerged that help reflect how the nine emerging leaders relate to leadership and construct their leadership identity. These personas are a “constellation of factors that supports the ways in which communities experience their leaders” (Curry 2002, p. 35), and are collections of the leadership characteristics that the emerging leaders in the study display to the social world. These personas reflect social and identity regulation factors that influence identity construction, demonstrating the impact of issues such as humility, confidence, learning, egalitarianism and organisational expectation have on emerging leaders. Of the five constructed personas, only two are willing to embrace the role of leader in a public way, either by finding a space to marry their personal constructions of leadership with those socially constructed around them, or by positioning themselves as outside dominant discourse. The remaining personas are characterised by an ambivalent or reluctant attitude to leadership identity demonstrating how identity regulation can create anxiety or unsettle the individual.

The personas identified in this research represent characteristics, or tendencies that those in emerging leader roles may display. While each primary participant could be identified as one persona, they may also share characteristics with another.

The Collectors and the Learners share obvious characteristics as they both seek out experiences to develop their career and understanding of leadership. The difference between them lies in their methods of comparative reflection. The Learner compares their leadership identity to those they see in training courses, books or development activity; that is, the leadership prototype. Some Learners struggle to see themselves as “complete” leaders and therefore continually add to their learning. Others expand their ideas of leadership identity through development activity and subsequently embrace the leader label. The Collectors, however, lack this process of reflection, continually looking outside themselves to those higher up the organisational hierarchy or some other external measure of success.

The idea of keeping abreast of their peers is also reflected in the persona of the Underdog and the Community Builder. These personas both demonstrate levels of humility. For the Community Builder, this influences their drive toward collaboration and a distributed leadership approach, but for the Underdog, it has a more paralysing effect on their leadership identification.

The Outsider could be considered a more isolated persona, in the sense they do not compare themselves with others; however, they do share traits with the Collectors by building their career through externally measured success—particularly external recognition of their leadership (and outsider) status.

From the analysis of research data, five leadership personas emerged. A summary of the personas is listed on the following page:

Persona	Defining Characteristics	Constructions of Leadership	Level of Reluctance	Compared Themselves To	Influenced by Identity Regulation Types
The Collector	Collects: jobs, brands, salary or experiences. Always looking forward. Lacks reflexivity.	Functionalist, hierarchical, positivist.	Medium	Exemplars	Definition, hierarchy, group affiliation.
The Learner	Compares leadership ability to an ideal, whether academic or popular— expansion of knowledge expands view of self and can reposition their leadership identity.	Expands with learning, highly socially constructed.	Low	Prototype	Knowledge and skills, group affiliation.
The Outsider	Sees themselves as outside the dominant paradigm. Does not fear exclusion or failure.	Charismatic	None	No one	Group affiliation, hierarchy.
The Underdog	Extremely concerned with reputation. Real or faux-humility, influenced by tall poppy syndrome. Lacks confidence in own abilities.	Charismatic, transformational.	High	Everyone	Morals and values, group affiliation.
The Community Builder	Seeks out others with similar and complimentary skill sets. Actively participates in social learning. Through practice, develops confidence in own leadership ability.	Relational, distributed, authentic.	Low	Prototype	Definition

Table 2: Summary of Leader Persona Attributes

9. CONCLUSION

Motivated by Wesley Enoch's 2014 monograph, *TAKE ME TO YOUR LEADER: The dilemma of cultural leadership*, this thesis shined a spotlight on what we see when we look for arts and cultural leadership in Australia. The thesis highlighted the complex, often resistant relationship emerging arts and cultural workers have with the concept of leadership, and explored both the causes for, and strategies to alleviate, this reluctance. It achieved this result by examining the interconnected nature of leadership, leadership development and identity within a social learning context. The methodology employed social constructionist approaches to leadership and identity, situating them in spaces of shared practice to consider the influences that shape leadership identity development. The research demonstrated that communities of practice support the development of creatively aligned leadership identity while counteracting forces of identity regulation.

The research question, "What role do communities of practice play in the social construction of leadership identity in Australian arts and cultural workers?" highlighted several factors that influenced methodological and epistemological choices. The research showed that leadership and identity are fluid constructs involving both community and individual agency. Despite significant research into leadership from both critical and functionalist standpoints, no singular definition of leadership is universally accepted (Yukl 1989). The research demonstrated how those actually working in the arts and cultural sector construct their own concepts of leadership influenced by various factors including identity regulation and dominant leadership discourses. For emerging leaders, the process of identity work and the influence of organisational and social pressures on their understanding and relationship to leadership can elicit a sense of anxiety. This anxiety, as reflected in critical approaches to leadership identity, most often manifested itself as a reluctance towards leadership.

To reflect on the development of leadership identity in the arts and cultural sector, the research presented nine case studies from a variety of arts and cultural disciplines. Unlike most research into leadership in the arts, the research situated the study of participants in the constellation of communities of their sector, rather than locating them in the organisations in which they were employed. The communities included workers from a variety of disciplines as defined in the UNESCO Framework for Cultural

Statistics (UNESCO 2009) and across organisational boundaries and economic categories to represent different employment relationships that reflect the modern, flexible and precarious creative labour market.

In considering the leadership identity development within a community context the research also recognised that formal leadership interventions, such as organisational driven development, leadership development programs, mentoring and coaching may not be the most influential methods to support leadership identity construction. Given the characteristics of the labour market, those working in the arts and cultural sector had less access to formal development. This does not mean, however, that art and cultural workers could not develop leadership understanding, capability and identity through social means. The research demonstrated that through active participation in communities of practice, emerging arts and cultural leaders could build their leadership identity in a way that align and supports their creative practice and actively reduce their resistance towards leadership.

9.1. Key Findings of the Research Study

Emerging leaders displayed varying degrees of reluctance towards leadership

One of the key findings of this study is that emerging leaders in the arts and cultural sector in Australia had a complex, often resistant relationship to leadership that results in a hesitation to embrace, or claim, their own leadership identity. Of the nine emerging leaders participating in the study, seven demonstrated some degree of reluctance towards leadership, with five of those unwilling to categorise themselves as leaders. For many participants, the role of leader was something that had to be qualified against their organisational or creative practice; for example, they identified as a “creative leader” as opposed to a “business leader”.

Functionalist approaches to leadership identity development consider leadership resistance as a developmental stage (Komives et al. 2009; Komives et al. 2006; Komives et al. 2005); yet, critical approaches argue that resistance to leadership may be an outcome of the anxiety inducing elements of identity work and identity regulation (Alvesson & Willmott 2002). This research demonstrated that those in the arts and cultural sector were subject to a variety of influences, both organisational and social,

that influenced the ongoing construction of their leadership identity. Unlike the largely linear, structured developmental approaches, this research showed that the construction of leadership identity is a continuing process of identity work that can be influenced, but not necessarily structured, by categories of experience, age, knowledge or organisational role. The emerging leader identity narratives were used to formulate five leader personas that characterise both the relationship arts and cultural practitioners had with the concept of leadership and the influences that contributed to the construction of that identity.

The Collector persona is influenced strongly by organisational identity regulation, the impact of hierarchy and other visible determinants of leadership status. The Learner considers knowledge and skills, or perceived lack thereof, as a determinant of leadership status. They see their own construction of leadership align to expanded theoretical models of leadership or, as with critical approaches, fail to recognise themselves in leadership ideals. By positioning themselves outside perceived dominant discourses, the Outsider stands alone and identifies as the leader they believe their community needs. However, in comparison, the Underdog is concerned with standing out from the crowd and, thus, is unwilling to put themselves forward as leader. The Community Builder represents a largely positive relationship to leadership by constructing their identity through collaborative practice and aligning their individual leadership construction with their creative output. Like the Outsider, they are willing to embrace the role of leader, but they do so from a position within their community, in a distributed or relational fashion.

These personas are reflections of the relationship emerging leaders have with leadership, the claims and grants (DeRue & Ashford 2010) of leadership identity, as documented by narratives constructed jointly with the researcher and their secondary participants, at a particular point in time. This does not suggest that each emerging leader in this study will always demonstrate reluctance towards leadership, nor, however, does it argue that this resistance to identifying as a leader is a developmental phase. The research has, however, demonstrated that the relationship creative practitioners have with leadership is not as straightforward as a simple desire to be recognised as a leader. The personas highlight there is disconnect between “doing leadership” and “identifying as a leader”.

Arts and cultural workers were actively engaged in social construction of leadership identity

The research question explicitly positioned the role social factors play in the construction of leadership identity. The study employed Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) identity framework to explore the impact of identity regulation on emerging leaders in the arts and cultural sector and demonstrated that those working within organisational contexts in particular are exposed to identity regulation in variety of forms. Because of the variety of employment types in the arts and cultural sector, with a tendency for casual, flexible, contract and volunteer work, it was important to consider social influences on identity development not necessarily linked to demonstrations of organisational power and control.

Emerging leaders employed by organisations often felt the weight of leadership expectation. Leadership is linked strongly to externally benchmarked indicators such as role title, salary, and position within the organisational hierarchy and industry recognition. Some stood on the outside looking at "leaders" as a group they had not yet accessed, while others recognised that their peers, managers and colleagues expected them to be a leader, but they could not yet self-identify with the title. Those working for organisations, particularly in the digital design and advertising sectors, were prone to the anxiety inducing identity regulation factors described in critical leadership literature.

Examples of organisational control through identity regulation were not the only factors that shape emerging-leader identity formation. Approximately half the emerging leaders in the study were employed in an organisational setting, and often they recognised the transitory nature of their employment. Those that ran their own small businesses or worked freelance were potentially free from the organisationally driven identity regulation, but this did not mean they were not exposed to identity pressures. All participants, regardless of employment relationship, constructed a definition of leadership as it related to their personal circumstances. They measured their own identity against this personal construction and reflected their leadership status against it.

Gender and gendered constructions of leadership were acknowledged by research participants and influenced their identity development. Emerging leaders were self-aware as to how they, as female or male leaders, were supposed to articulate their

gendered leadership narrative. While it was considered appropriate, or expected, for male leaders to embrace their leadership identity, for women, it was a demonstration of ambition they were not always comfortable with, even while aware of the double standard.

Issues of confidence and humility emerged in interviews, which raised questions concerning how leadership was viewed both in the arts and cultural sector and Australian society in general. For emerging leaders, desire to avoid tall poppy syndrome may be a factor that motivated the construction of a humble identity, particularly in a sector that viewed itself as egalitarian in nature. Many participants in the study explicitly linked confidence to leadership, and emerging leaders often looked for external validation through learning and other measures of success.

Emerging arts and cultural leaders also struggled with the weight of expectation regarding their roles as leaders. For those in organisations, there was pressure to embrace their role of a leader, often made explicit by their managers. Once practitioners achieved a certain level of experience, external recognition or were appointed to a particular role, leadership became an acknowledged part of their function. For several emerging leaders in this study this expectation was something they were cognisant of, but not necessarily ready to embrace. Others struggled with the idea of leadership as a concept, seeing it as a corporate construct that did not necessarily align with creative practice and required further critique.

Location was another factor that contributed to the way emerging leaders engaged in leadership identity construction, including the geographic location and the physical or virtual spaces in which they engaged with their creative practice. Those who worked outside major metropolitan areas recognised the importance of community to the sustainability of their creative practice, together with an obligation to give back to that community. This cycle may promote active engagement in communities of practice, particularly in absence of more formal development options. In addition, although not extensively explored in this research, the role of both virtual and co-working spaces was considered as a potential contributor to social learning.

Understanding of, and participation in, leadership discourse also influenced identity construction. Emerging leaders in the arts and cultural sector were familiar with

leadership concepts through media and popular constructions of leadership, participation in learning and development, and their experience working in organisations. These discourses were reflected in the leadership narratives participants constructed and, in turn, they demonstrated a range of leadership styles and theories.

Participation in communities of practice provided developmental opportunities to work through leadership resistance and cope with the precarious nature of arts and cultural work

The most prominent research finding in terms of opportunity for practical benefit for arts and cultural workers is the role that communities of practice played in developing leadership identity that supported creative practice and reduces leadership reluctance. Participation in communities of practice provided space for emerging leaders to explore leadership identity construction in a way that did not deny dominant discourse or identity regulation, but incorporated an understanding of leadership that aligns to creative work. Emerging leaders within communities of practice were more likely to claim leader status and the secondary participants were also more visible in their granting of that status. Those working within communities of practice were less likely to separate “business” from “creative” leadership or exhibit pressure to conform to a particular leadership ideal. In this way communities of practice were spaces that gave “people new ways of understanding identities and helps them reflect on, selectively resist and re-direct energies and identifications” (Sinclair 2011, p. 512).

Communities of practice also played an important function in buffering arts and cultural workers from the psychologically challenging winds of precarious work. In a career environment that is increasingly individualistic in nature, where existing leadership and other professional development options focus on the promotion of individualistically oriented entrepreneurial skills and the creation of the “leader”, communities of practice provided a collective approach to identity development. Those active in these communities received valuable psychosocial support from their community peers in a way that boosts confidence and, therefore, contributed to positive leadership self-image.

9.2. Implications for Theory and Practice

The research highlighted the reluctance towards leadership in the Australian arts and cultural sector. The five leadership personas demonstrated how emerging leaders socially construct their leadership identity in a variety of ways, some with a level of reluctance and others finding a leadership construct that matched with their practice and supported leadership self-confidence. For many emerging leaders in the cultural sector, there was a disconnect between undertaking the activity of a leader, being recognised as a leader within their community and their self-identity. The personas with higher levels of reluctance (Collectors, Underdogs and Learners) tended to display lower confidence levels and were more influenced by dominant discourses surrounding them, either through organisational and practical engagement or theoretical understanding. Conversely, those with more willingness to embrace leadership identity (Outsiders and Community Builders) socially constructed a version of leadership that matched their identity and creative practice. How then can the cultural community, through training, education or practice, address the issue of reluctant leadership in a way that creates strong leaders needed in the rapidly changing, political tumultuous, Australian cultural sector? This section discusses the theoretical and practical implications that emerged from the research study.

Theoretical Implications

This research contributed to knowledge in three areas connected with leadership, leadership development and the Australian arts and cultural sector. The research contributed to the understanding of how leaders are developed in the arts and cultural sector. Existing research, predominantly within the arts management discipline, had focused on leadership within organisational structures (Caust 2013a, 2013b; MacNeill & Tonks 2013); the increasing importance of entrepreneurial leadership to contribute to sustainability of the arts and cultural sector (Rentschler & Geursen 2004); and the intersection of creativity and leadership (Caust 2005, 2006, 2010). The study built on existing knowledge in several ways: by providing insight into the development of leadership identity and the formation of arts and cultural leaders in Australia; by critically examining arts and cultural leadership to incorporate leadership reluctance; and by considering arts and cultural leadership outside the organisational context to demonstrate the role communities of practice played in supporting leadership identity development.

The thesis argued that arts and cultural leaders are developing their identity through a variety of practices shaped by social influences and leadership discourse. Traditional leadership development methods, particularly interventions or programs, can provide an understanding to emerging leaders about the breadth of leadership discourse, allowing them to see their own leadership identity reflected in leadership models. Alternatively, formal interventions can act as a continually shifting hurdle—a set of standards that can never be reached. Leadership development in the arts and cultural sector can be viewed as the creation of an idealised version of leadership, as reflected in critical leadership theory (Ford, Learmonth & Harding 2008; Gagnon & Collinson 2014) or it can be a place for critical reflection on leadership identity in a way that offers space for personal identity work (Carroll & Levy 2010; Sinclair 2011). Importantly, however, participation in leadership development within the arts and cultural paradigm was often construed as an identity signal, those that obtained a place saw it as giving their status as a leader a sense of legitimacy. Conversely, those who were not successful in their application for formal development viewed this as an indicator that they were not yet leaders.

For most emerging leaders, however, their leadership identity construction occurred within the context of their workplace or social learning. Social learning brought competence, understanding and identity through engagement in mutual activity, constructing shared images of what competency was and aligning it to practice (Wenger 2000). While scholars highlight that creativity is a social process (Bilton 2007, 2010; Bilton & Leary 2002) and the role of communities of practice in creative output (Brown & Duguid 1991; Flew 2002) there has been little consideration of communities of practice as a location of learning and identity development in the cultural context. The research demonstrated how and why communities of practice were an important part of leadership identity construction: they facilitated social processes allowing emerging leaders to develop a leadership identity (relatively) free from the anxiety causing processes of identity regulation.

Scholarship concerning resistance to leadership is most often located within critical discourse in terms of organisational control and power, examples of which can be overt (stop work) or covert (distancing) (Gagnon & Collinson 2014) and in this study, it took the form of a reluctance to claim leadership identity. Taking a critical approach to leadership in arts and culture reflected leadership debates in the sector over recent years.

However, these approaches have not been represented by the mostly functionalist academic approaches to leadership in arts management.

While this research acknowledged the role identity regulation, social influences and dominant discourses had in shaping leadership identity development, it also stressed the positive, liberating and supportive role communities of practice played in providing a space for anxiety reduced identity construction. In taking this approach the research considered theoretical approaches (Carroll & Levy 2010; Carroll & Nicholson 2014; Sinclair 2004, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012) that argue critical reflection on leadership identity can offer individual emerging leaders a sense of agency. Furthermore, this reflective approach acted as a buffer from the neo-liberal educational attitudes and discourses concerning career development (McRobbie 2016). Unlike research focused on development programs as spaces to explore the role practice has on shaping leadership identity, this research considered practice within the social learning context. This approach was a theoretical and methodological choice that reflected the labour conditions of the arts and cultural sector and emphasised the role of practice in shaping leadership identity development.

How might we explain the development of a more positive relationship to leadership by participation in communities of practice? An answer may lie in leadership development theory that links development, practice and theory. Critical leadership scholars have focused on the identity regulatory aspects of leadership development programs (Alvesson, Lee Ashcraft & Thomas 2008; Ford, Learmonth & Harding 2008; Gagnon & Collinson 2014); however, in recent years, new readings of leadership development offer more emancipatory approaches. The work of Carroll, Levy and Richmond (Carroll & Levy 2010; Carroll, Levy & Richmond 2008) demonstrates the “storying” of social construction of identity. They argue leadership development programs can be places for “increasing or diminishing the identity possibilities” (Carroll & Levy 2010, p. 224). Their research considers the importance of practice over competency development, a traditional focus of leadership development interventions. Practice, scholars argue, is explicitly constructionist in nature, relational and collective in approach, and uses discourse and narrative and privileges day-to-day lived experience (Carroll, Levy & Richmond 2008, p. 366). Similarly, Raelin (2007, p. 503) identifies the importance of learning through practice noting, “The acquisition of mastery requires a *workplace*

learning process and reflection that improves upon classroom education. As in apprenticeship, it seeks to induct *novices into a community of practice*” (my emphasis). Furthermore, Sinclair suggests that identity work involves “explicit connection to past and present places and understanding how they’ve shaped what we do in leadership” (2010, p. 450). What these scholars demonstrate is that a space for reflection in leadership development practice expands leadership identity options rather than constricting them.

Where Sinclair (2011) and Carroll and Levy (2010) situate their discussion of leadership identity development in a programmatic context, this research demonstrated the linkages between communities of practice as sites of leadership development and the expansion of possible leadership identity options. If “the development of leadership practice would appear acutely experiential, interactive, situated, embodied, sustained and relational which created a new kind of engagement with self, others and the world” (Carroll, Levy & Richmond 2008, p. 375), then it made sense to explore leadership identity formation within a developmental context with a foundation of practice, as opposed to cognitive learning approaches. For emerging leaders in the arts and cultural sector, who did not resist their own leadership identity, leadership was, and emerged from, practice.

Practical Implications

This research suggested several practical outcomes that could promote positive leadership identity development in the Australian arts and cultural sector. The aim of leadership development should not only be to build the capacity of leaders, but to raise the standard of leadership across the whole sector: As Drath and Palus (1994, p. 594/731) argue, “If, in the past, leaders have been trained to exercise leadership, they will now be trained to participate in leadership”. While acknowledging that leadership development programs reach only a small number of emerging leaders in the arts and cultural sector and the dominance of protean career approaches (McRobbie 2016) modifications could be made to existing policies and programs to broaden the reach of development activity and potentially make it more impactful for participants and the industry.

A broader approach to leadership development

Crevani, Lindgren and Packendorff (2010, p. 79) suggest that “current leadership research is built on a taken-for-granted individualism that must be articulated and challenged.” Currently, professional development grants at the state level in all regions studied in this research are only offered for individual professional development (including leadership opportunities). At a federal level, the Australia Council development grants suggest that organisations may apply; however, examples given and illustrative case studies provided by the Council all represent individual development outcomes. Empowering leaders through individually oriented training and development can create strong individual leaders. However, by empowering creative leaders to build sustainable, developmentally oriented organisations and communities, and equipping them with skills to develop others, the impact would be felt by many across the arts and cultural sector, rather than a few. Broadening the definition of development to include organisational along with individual development may encourage more arts and cultural organisations to undertake collective activity, similar to that undertaken by those in the Design and Craft case study. In this situation, collective funding may achieve better performance outcomes, such as improving tenure or diversity metrics, achievement of creative goals along with reduction in leadership resistance.

Alternative methods of development of leadership capability also needs to be considered. Management research shows that “jobs, bosses, hardships, and special projects are considered the most useful experiences for leadership development” (Conger 2004, p. 137) and this research supported the idea that leadership identity is constructed through learning through practice. Arts and cultural organisations should be encouraged to consider their role in developing their people, whether by role structure or the establishment of specific organisation programs as recommended by Enoch (2014):

The apprenticeship is a long-established trade practice in other fields but has been abandoned by theatre and the responsibility surrendered to the tertiary education sector. But the university structure, with its emphasis on academic excellence and compliance is an inappropriate place for a budding actor or entrepreneur to learn the practicalities and opportunities of theatre life. (p. 65)

While Enoch's comments are confined to the theatre discipline, apprenticeship style programs have been recommended as a valuable source leadership development in other sectors. Kempster (2006, p. 19) argues for "leadership learnt through socialisation offered in career pathways of participation" provided opportunity for "leadership learning as a process of apprenticeship".

Encourage creatively aligned leadership identity development through critical analysis of leadership theory and personal reflection

A key factor in the development of a positive relationship to leadership identity was the ability to construct a model of leadership that aligned with individual creative practice, one that reduces the risks emerging leaders saw when claiming leadership. For some participants in this study, leadership was a concept outside their daily work, something to potentially aspire to, yet something that necessitated a change in their current practice or persona. For others, leadership emerged when they developed a positive understanding of the concept, either through exposure to expanded notions of what constituted leadership, or from gaining understanding of it from within their practice.

For those who create leadership development programs for the cultural sector, a process of reflection should be factored in to any program. Space for individual consideration of past leadership experiences may offer new perspectives on leadership identity when coupled with leadership theory and participation in narrative construction with other community members. Reflection on leadership development is the ability to question the assumptions and concepts in both theory and practice (Densten & Gray 2001) and relate leadership concepts back to personal experience. Reflection is an important element in the development of leadership identity because it is a process of sensemaking that allows individuals to contemplate their relationship to leadership. As the case studies in this research demonstrated, the leadership interview process helped participants and the researcher "make sense of the milieu of experiences and form a view of how these have shaped their perspectives on leadership" (Kempster 2006, p. 17). In her exploration of place in leadership identity development, Sinclair (2010, p. 449) writes that "leaders and leadership benefit from thinking about their places and identities – those they have come from and inhabit now". Considering their place, both past and present, in their community, organisation or within their practice, is a valuable

contributor in forming a positive relationship with the notion of leadership. Raelin (2007) described the role of critical reflection as follows:

Reflective practitioners thus are known to (a) question why things are done in a certain way; (b) accredit local and informal knowledge that has been acquired on the subject at hand; (c) consider the historical and social processes that affect their decision making; (d) admit non-traditional forms of knowledge, such as emotions, sensory perception, and aesthetics, into the inquiry; (e) question the questions that they tend to resort to; (f) look for discrepancies between what they and others say they do and what they actually do; and (g) try to become aware of how their reasoning may at times become self-referential and self-confirming (p. 501).

The current study demonstrated reflection was an important part of leadership identity in two areas; first, the role reflection plays for those who participated in development activity, whether it be formal training or social learning via communities of practice, or second, the role of the interview in prompting leadership reflection in collaboration with the researcher. In either case reflection can be identified as an important part of the leadership identity development process and emerging leaders should make time and space (physical and psychological) to include this as part of their development activity.

Emerging leaders should engage critically with the concept of identity (and leadership) and develop an understanding of their constructed nature, rather than compare themselves to potentially unobtainable ideals (Carroll & Levy 2010); They should understand the concept of identity work and how it is constructed and shaped through collaboration in the community in which they practice.

The importance of storytelling and role models in leadership development

Through the sharing and co-construction of stories, and exposure to role models, emerging leaders gain exposure to new leadership ideas that take creative leadership from the theoretical to the personal. As shown by Cora's experience in the Film study discussed in Chapter Six, she found Jane Campion a leader she could identify with, and this role model motivated her. This means ensuring a diversity of voices speaking about

cultural leadership, from both a practice and demographic point of view. Moreover, it is important for emerging cultural leaders to be exposed to a variety of narratives, including stories of achievements and struggles to overcome periods of apparent failure.

The role of storytelling has had significant discussion in leadership theory and development model literature. Kotter (2006) believes it is crucial for successful organisational change, and Harris and Kim Barnes (2006) argue that storytelling garners followers in transformational leadership approaches. However, emerging leaders should also be encouraged to develop their own stories and understand the value of narrative in supporting and influencing others in their communities and organisations. The communication of a story, and the co-construction of it with others in communities of practice, can link the concepts of leadership, development and identity.

Enoch (2014, p. 53) writes, “As potential cultural leaders, Australian artists do not spend the time documenting and sharing success stories. We leave the ‘bragging’ to the media, which it does poorly. There is no limit to successful projects across the country but we do not put them out there enough”. There needs to be broader acknowledgment of positive leadership contributions within the Australian arts and cultural industries. Discussions of leadership within the cultural sector over recent years have been largely negative in tone. Narratives often concern the failure of political leaders responsible for cultural policy, the lack of senior cultural leaders willing to take a stand against funding cuts and poor policy (Eltham 2016; Enoch 2014), and the importation of business leader methods into the sector. Positive discussions of cultural leadership are rare and usually linked to the ability to generate revenue or achieve goals with limited resources, the retirement of longstanding organisational heads, or the promotion of leadership development programs (Westwood 2013). Enoch (2014) highlights the need for stories concerning effective leadership and its outcomes:

As series of case studies showing what we are doing in Australia to address these issues (diversity, engagement, for example) would be a powerful tool recording the collective learning and analysis could aid many more organisations and artists to innovate and find what works for them. (p. 54-55)

The communication of role models and narratives concerning leadership, however, needs to be separated from organisational constraints and the shackles of privilege and power. Popular representation of leadership in the cultural sector is often coupled with organisational and institutional headship, not necessarily the distributional or relational models favoured by a number of emerging leaders in the research. One participant, Ida (Festival and Event Curation) described the Australian arts and cultural scene as follows:

The story I always tell is that a few years ago The Age printed in the arts section, or weekend thing, a 'Who's who in Melbourne Arts scene.' It was a photograph, and gathered together the great and good. And I looked at this group of 30 people and they were all the key gatekeepers, they ran all the peak bodies and arts organisations, and there was something dynastic about them, they were all interrelated, they were all a kind of wealthy and the other thing I'd noticed was they moved from one job to the next. I felt a deep sense of shame, this is the community that I have given my life, I've worked in the arts or film all my life, and I felt this shame come over my body, that I have a sense of belonging to a group that is policed by a group of people that are uniformly exclusive.

One exception to the negative or exclusive representation of leadership in the cultural sector was the grass roots “Free the Arts” campaign that emerged in 2015 to counter the federal government’s funding cuts at that time. In his 2016 monograph, Eltham writes of the emergence of a protest movement formed by a collection of small arts organisations, activists and individual practitioners. He argues that the group demonstrated “what can happen when the sector mobilises its innate creativity in the absence of money and power” (Eltham 2016, p. 41). These are the types of stories that need continued documentation and retelling to help shape a more comprehensive understanding of what leadership in the arts and cultural sector is and can be.

Development of communities of practice

Individualistic attitudes to learning, career development and leadership development potentially encourage creative practitioners to focus on their own development at the expense of collective approaches. This neo-liberal attitude to professional and

leadership development favours the individualised collection of developmental experiences over organisationally oriented development or consideration of communities of practice. Encouraging people to acquire skills, training, experiences, or remuneration increasingly propagates linear, upward trajectories of learning and career development (McLeod, O'Donohoe & Townley 2011). This individualistic approach is not necessarily representative of the real careers of those in the creative industries, nor does it consider the potential for other cost-effective collaboratively based developmental solutions. The alternative, then, is to consider the leadership identity development benefits found within communities of practice.

The examples set by the Community Builder persona are the most obvious indicators of the importance of participation in communities of practice, but there are also lessons from other case studies within the research that supported this practice as a key tool for development of leadership identity. Academic learning, even in small and selective classes such as those in film and theatre education, do not automatically create social learning environments. In both these case studies, communities of practices developed outside the academic environment, acknowledging that in Marion's case a former teacher had encouraged them. However, there could be a realisation of the benefits of social learning earlier if creative practice teaching included the benefits of social learning in the curriculum. This does not equate to group work for the purpose of review; it means equipping students with an understanding of how learning occurs outside the classroom environment through observation and participation in shared practice.

As noted previously, working in a collective based industry does not necessarily mean communities of practice will develop. While Cora and Marion both worked in what could be considered collective disciplines, the nature of film work, being more cooperative than collaborative (Jyrämä & Äyväre 2015) seemed to be less encouraging to the development of social learning than the collaborative approach of theatre. While communities of practice emerged organically in Marion's theatre community and Cora's writing community, they are not guaranteed.

It is also important to acknowledge the challenges and criticisms attached to communities of practice. Issues of power, trust and competition between workers must be discussed openly. Communities of practice will only flourish in environments where

there is a generosity towards the community regarding time and knowledge. In the Visual Arts case, Tom suggested that experienced members were often too busy fighting their own battles to support the next generation. Indeed, Roberts (2006) argues that the pursuit of individualism prevalent in western cultures may be a barrier in the development of successful communities of practice:

The pursuit of neo-liberalism with its emphasis on the market and the individual has eroded the sense of community over the past 25 years, communities of practice may be a less effective means through which to organize knowledge creation and transfer. (p. 632)

How then can social learning or communities of practice be successfully encouraged in the creative disciplines to facilitate a stronger sense of leadership identity early in creative practitioners' careers? To understand this, it is useful to explore how communities of practice can be supported in contexts that suit the working conditions of creative practitioners. Creating a community of practice is not as simple as working on projects with other practitioners, as the narratives of Cora and Marion suggested. Wenger, McDermott & Snyder (2002, p.137) state, "A community of practice is not just a web site, a database, or a collection of best practices. It is a group of people who interact, learn together, build relationships and, in the process, develop a sense of belonging and mutual commitment". There are, however, several actions that could form an effective groundwork for community development.

There are some that argue that communities of practice are not bound by company affiliation and are often most useful across organisational boundaries (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder 2002). Even so, the idea of learning via communities of practice is one that organisational development practitioners have grasped with enthusiasm in recent years. There is a certain irony in a theory that was specifically used to address learning without imposing boundaries that now has a significant literature on how to facilitate it as an organisational tool.

Designing communities of practice is complex because they operate best if they evolve organically. However, Wenger, McDermott & Snyder (2002) argue that an environment conducive to communities of practice can be created. Within organisations, this includes creating spaces for dialogue through meetings, work patterns and physical workplace

design. Much has been written about the need for lifelong learning and adaptive career development to meet the challenges of twenty-first century careers (Savickas et al. 2009)—essential in understanding how communities of practice can work. Community design, that is, creating an environment for communities of practice to generate, is similar to establishing lifelong learning approaches (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder 2002). The difference from standard neo-liberal developmental approaches, however, is that development is undertaken via practice in conjunction with peers, mentors, teachers, subordinates and colleagues, rather than individualised skills development.

Ensuring there is sufficient membership in the community and a constant flow of new members, who bring different perspectives can support learning and identity development. In the Digital Design case, the communities participated in by Vince and Sam were good examples of the more experienced creatives sharing knowledge, or the “instruction manual”, with new members, but they lacked the elements of shared practice. Many well-intentioned communities fall apart soon after their initial launch because they do not have enough energy to sustain themselves. In the case of Cora’s writing community, which had existed over seven years, there were always a dozen or so participants at any given time—enough to maintain continuity. Similarly, Tess’s theatre community in Adelaide, which facilitated the support female theatre practitioners as they left the educational environment, always had new members as new graduates commenced their working lives.

For communities of practice to be ongoing sites of leadership identity development they need deliver value for participants. The concept of value is not necessarily related to the development of leadership identity, which is almost a happy by-product of participation in these communities. Value, as shown by the case studies of this research, may be represented through generating quality scripts, peer counselling, or knowledge about the industry in which participants work. As Wenger, McDermott and Snyder (2002, p. 59) argue, “Communities thrive because they deliver value to the organisation, to the teams on which community members serve, and to the community members themselves. Value is key to community life, because participation in most communities is voluntary”. It is important, therefore, to ensure that members understand and articulate the value of the community in which they practice to those within and outside it. Organisations are required to become aware of the role that communities can play as key success factors

in developing leadership identity and supporting organisational outcomes. An understanding of communities of practice should become part of organisational and personal developmental activities. Arts and cultural workers, who are likely already participants in social learning, need to ensure “communities are acknowledged and legitimised” (Fourie 2009, p. 113). Community members should be encouraged to share, socialise, build relationship and construct a communal leadership identity around their discipline or domain.

Fostering collaborative approaches are not just the domain of universities and educational institutions. Industry support groups can, and do, play an important role in connecting arts and cultural practitioners in order to share and learn. Disciplinary based centres such as Australian Design Centre, Craft Victoria or Form, advocacy groups such as Theatre Network Australia or artist run initiatives can provide space and opportunity for connections, collaborations and facilitate learning about communities of practice. They can only do this, however, with the adequate funding and resources dedicated to supporting arts and cultural professional development. The role of government, and private philanthropy, in supporting not just arts and cultural practice, but arts and cultural practitioner development, is crucial.

In summary, to further the development of positive leadership identity for emerging leaders within the cultural community, the principles of social learning via communities of practice should be taught; emerging leaders should encouraged to recognise, create or participate in such communities, and understand the benefits they offer both to their creative practice and their leadership potential; and spaces should be created, by industry bodies, professional associations and passionate individuals to facilitate public and private dialogue within communities, both physically and online. Community members should be encouraged to share the learning and value gained from their participation in community praxis. Creating communities of practice is largely an organic process, no set rules guarantee success, but with the further understanding of the value of these initiatives, more creative communities may proliferate.

9.3. Limitations of the Study

Methodologically, this study comprised a qualitative examination of communities across the Australian arts and cultural sector and, in undertaking this approach, the

researcher chose to explore leadership identity construction using narrative techniques. The study aimed for depth rather than breadth. Initially the idea of undertaking a quantitative study into the participation in leadership development activity gave way to a desire to explore the relationship the arts and cultural community have with leadership and, in doing so, trade-offs were made.

By focusing on emerging rather than more established leaders it was difficult to determine whether resistance to leadership was a short-lived developmental phase, as suggested by developmental leadership approaches. What happens when the emerging leaders cease to be emerging? Participants in the research were chosen based on their status as leaders who were not yet fully established, which may be a factor that influenced their resistance or reluctance towards leadership. While acknowledging that modern leadership discourses have removed the idea of leading from position or hierarchy, there are still strong links between organisational role and status and leadership identity development.

If the same exploratory, semi-structured biographically-based interviews were undertaken with those heading arts organisations, for example, would they answer the questions “Do you consider yourself a leader?” in a different way? Perhaps some insight into this issue can be found in Caust’s (2006) research into leadership and creativity, which also identified resistance to leadership identification. There is scope, however, to explore leadership identity construction in established leaders, to determine whether there are levels of reluctance and how influenced these leaders are by factors such as confidence, humility and the even more pronounced leadership discourses attached to visibly public leaders. Alternatively, returning to the same emerging leaders over a period of time may provide insight into shifts in identity that occur both as they continue to engage in creative and leadership practice and the identity work that results from participation in the interview and research process. Evans and Sinclair (2016a, p. 277) argue that “Longitudinal ethnographic studies of a few leading artists or studies of leader-follower relationships over time and in particular contexts would give an externally verified, longitudinal sense of the impact of leadership identity work”.

The study also focused on the context of arts and culture as it impacted the development of leadership identity. There is increasing scholarship, however, around how leadership and identity intersect with other cultural attributes such as race or ethnicity, gender,

disability or sexuality. The researcher in this case chose not to capture this level of participant demographic data and, while gender, class and ethnicity were raised to varying degrees by participants, there is room to consider other cultural attributes when considering identity development. There is increasing focus on arts leadership in non-western environments, as demonstrated by the recent *Arts and Cultural Leadership in Asia* (Caust 2015) and leadership development in this context is ripe for exploration.

Finally, participants in this study represented a broad range of arts and cultural workers including those defined by the creative trident as support workers (who work in the arts and cultural sector, but not in creative occupations) and creative specialists (SGS Economics and Planning 2013). There is a third group of creative workers not considered by this study: embedded creatives. Embedded creatives, or “those who are creatively occupied, but work outside the creative industries” (SGS Economics and Planning 2013, p. 8) make up well over a third of creative workers in Australia. How they approach leadership and what influences their identity development was not considered by this study. Given their location as employees within other sectors, which may be more organisationally oriented, they may face a stronger sense of identity regulation, while also being exposed to different leadership discourses and development than their counterparts in the arts and cultural sector.

9.4. Further Research Directions

Emerging from this research, there were four areas that could warrant further study. There is scope to consider communities of practice from the perspectives of location and space. One theme that emerged was the role of geography (major versus minor cities, regional versus metropolitan communities) and its impact on the development of communities of practice. There is opportunity to consider whether communities of practice are more likely to emerge in the absence of more structured developmental offerings found in larger cities. In addition, there is scope to further explore the differences between online and physical communities of practice and their impact of leadership identity development. Cora’s (Film) experience in building confidence through online participation demonstrated new-media potential and, in an environment where resource constraints are limited, the facilitation of online leadership development communities may be relevant for groups such as the Australia Council. The corporate world has embraced the concept of social learning and collaboration as the new wave of

learning and development. It is often used in large, dispersed workplaces, and social media and other technologies are used to engage workforces and create self-reliant learning communities. The online space is seen as crucial for knowledge management and has become an area of focus for research into communities of practice development (Wasko & Faraj 2000). Social media tools like SnapChat, Slack, Yammer and Twitter are places in which communities meet, connect, share and develop their practices. How this type of community could be leveraged for the development of leadership within the arts and cultural community is not known, but there is potential to examine how these tools are influencing the sector. Last, the role of shared studios, co-working spaces or artist's residencies in forming learning communities, within and across artistic disciplines, would be another beneficial study. Co-working spaces are increasingly prevalent in inner cities in an attempt to provide inexpensive space to artists and other creative workers. Within the sector, their role in facilitating peer-to-peer learning and knowledge sharing is beginning to be recognised (Boland 2016). Similarly, scholarship is emerging around co-working and the potential for knowledge creation and innovation (Peschl & Fundneider 2012). Consequently, there is scope to undertake research into role of co-working or co-locating in the development of leadership and creative identity through participation in communities of practice.

The second major area of potential research is the area of Indigenous arts leadership and its relation to development and identity. The intersection of leadership, culture and identity is being considered within the Indigenous context through the scholarship of Evans and Sinclair (Evans & Sinclair 2016a; Evans & Sinclair 2016b). They argue that the richest explorations into leadership come from places that are outside the historic male, white paradigm and that "Indigenous leaders often navigate the leadership identity differently: in and around, despite and against and because of, cultural identity" (Evans & Sinclair 2016a, p. 274). While Aboriginal leaders such as Wesley Enoch and Nakkiah Lui were mentioned in this study, there were no participants who identified as Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islanders in the research. This is, however, an area that offers significant potential as there is much that can be learned from Indigenous leadership and its intersection with identity. Evans and Sinclair (2016b) consider Indigenous leadership using social constructionist, narrative methods in a way not dissimilar to this study, and argue that "For well-founded historical and institutional reason, some Indigenous people are reluctant to identify with leadership or identity themselves as leaders as this may be

akin to singling oneself out as separate from community or further, to aligning with oppressors” (Evans & Sinclair 2016b, p. 471). While there is much to be explored by considering the role of community and social learning as it occurs in the Indigenous context, this is best undertaken, in the author’s view, by those from within Indigenous communities.

Third, the organisational structures and working styles of the film and theatre community hold great potential for exploration of leadership, collaborative work and communities of practice. Scholars have recognised that theatre and film directors often offer unique insights into creative leadership (Beirne & Knight 2002; Dunham & Freeman 2000; Glow 2013; Soila-Wadman & Köping 2009). However, most research into the impact of directors focused on individual leaders themselves as opposed to the holistic communities they worked in. As noted previously, while both disciplines are collective in nature, they are not necessarily collaborative which influenced the propensity for each sector to develop communities of practice. Primary participants from these disciplines (Cora and Marion) spoke about the impact their tertiary education and training had on their leadership identity, with Marion’s educational experience building a sense of confidence in leadership ability and Cora’s causing significant doubt and anxiety. Research into the organisational and educative practices of these different sectors would be an interesting comparison.

The final area of potential exploration involves a cross-cultural comparison of leadership reluctance, its influences and mitigation strategies. The research highlighted the, particularly Australian, and potentially arts-centric, notions of egalitarianism are recognised as contributing factors in emerging leaders’ reticence to embrace leadership identity. There is scope to consider if the same disinclination toward leadership is felt in other geographic and cultural contexts, such as the more individualistic American landscape or the distinct leadership cultures of Asia.

9.5. A Personal Reflection

Exploring leadership identity through a social constructionist lens highlighted the role the researcher plays in the process. In choosing to study leadership in the arts and cultural sector the research brings to the study my own understanding through 20 years’ leadership experience within both the arts and corporate environments. While the topic

of leadership development in the arts and cultural environment was chosen based on the lack of theoretical development in the literature, and a practical desire to support the growth of the sector long term, there were also personal factors that contributed to interest in the topic. Like most people, I have worked for inspiring, passionate, visionary people and also resigned roles because of poor management practices. Spending over a decade working in sectors such as financial services and government gave me a strong grounding in human resource practices and a behavioural approach to leadership. I believed if you followed the rules ascribed to leadership success and exhibited the right behaviours at the right time, you would be recognised and identify as a leader. Moving to the arts and cultural sector with this background, there was a significant adjustment period given the lack of structure that supported managerial practices. While the arts are full of visionary leaders, the ability to develop, inspire, motivate and manage others from an organisational perspective was less prevalent. One reason I embarked on this study was to determine whether there were ways to improve the leadership development processes at an operational level.

Being a leader is hard and, like many participants in this study, I have had negative experiences being managed and managing others. These experiences drove my intellectual curiosity to understand the how and why of leadership and, in the process, hopefully make myself a better leader. However, like many of the participants in this study, I resisted leadership. While preparing the content for a leadership course to be run at a NSW University, a colleague asked, “Do you see yourself as a leader?” Despite being well into the research process and recognising a disconnect between doing leadership and identifying as a leader, I hesitated to answer in the affirmative. I recognised my own failure to measure up to an unattainable leadership ideal. I would like to say that I would answer that question differently now.

I also must acknowledge the role I played in contributing to the leadership identity construction of participants in this research. The research process connected primary and secondary participants in communities of practice and the researcher in the joint process of narrative construction in the interviews. This work is located within existing discourses of leadership, and aims to contribute to them, but I am also aware that my ideas about leadership are constructed within, and limited by, my own assumptions and experiences. Reflection is an important part in critically considering leadership

constructs and shaping identity. As discussed in Chapter Eight, several participants referred to the interview process as “therapy”. The process of reflecting on their own careers, learning and leadership approaches created space for them to consider their identity in terms of leadership. In some cases, despite hesitation towards leadership, the interview process encouraged participants to consider their actions over their internal dialogue towards leadership and, to echo Georgie, “own it”. The research has been a significant sensemaking exercise. In understanding the importance of community, including my own community, in the development of leadership identity, my aim was to provide a tangible benefit, but in doing so, I have recognised the role my peers and collaborators play in shaping my leadership identity and understand that leadership is something that comes from within our individual practice, not from a book or a set of ideal behaviours.

Leadership is big business, but we sometimes fail to recognise the lessons learned from the world of arts and culture. Some of this is due to the sector itself inadequately recognising the importance, and potential for great leadership. There are few visible academic or popular narratives about the potential of arts and cultural leadership to change lives, audiences and communities. Despite the capacity for storytelling and vision, these skills have not been used to contribute to leadership understanding. Leadership should not be considered a dirty word in arts and culture. I hope this research demonstrated that leadership that emerges from within the arts and cultural community has the potential to make the sector a wonderful place to work and produce, and demonstrate the power of arts and culture to realise what Wesley Enoch hopes will be “evolutionary ideas for the benefit of the nation as a whole” (Enoch 2014, p. 10).

APPENDIX 1: INVITATION TO PARTICIPATE IN THE RESEARCH

Career Development within the Australian arts and cultural sector

Dear ...

My name is <researcher name> and I am a research student at the University of Technology, Sydney.

I am conducting research into career development within the creative industries and would welcome your assistance. The research will involve participating in one face-to-face interview and should take no more than one hour of your time. This interview will be conducted in a quiet, public location and will cover elements of your career in the Australian creative industries. In addition, I'd like to discuss with you the selection of a number of people who you have worked with, either currently or in the past, who will also be invited to participate in the interview process. I have asked you to participate because of your experience with the industry and current position as (adapted as per participant).

This research is for my studies towards a PhD in Communications and any subsequent publications on career development within the creative industries, which may include conference papers, journal articles or electronic publications.

If you are interested in participating, I would be glad if you would contact me at <researcher name>@student.uts.edu.au or on 0402XXXXXX.

You are under no obligation to participate in this research.

Yours sincerely

Researcher Name

Dear...

My name is <researcher name> and I am a research student at the University of Technology, Sydney.

I am conducting research into career development within the creative industries and would welcome your assistance. The research will involve participating in one face-to-face interview and should take no more than one hour of your time. This interview will be conducted in a quiet, public location and will cover elements of your career in the Australian creative industries. I have asked you to participate because of your experience with the <insert discipline> and relationship with <primary participant>.

This research is for my studies towards a PhD in Communications and any subsequent publications on career development within the creative industries, which may include conference papers, journal articles or electronic publications.

If you are interested in participating, I would be glad if you would contact me at <researcher name>@student.uts.edu.au or on 0402XXXXXX.

You are under no obligation to participate in this research.

Yours sincerely,

Researcher Name

NOTE:

This study has been approved by the University of Technology, Sydney Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any aspect of your participation in this research which you cannot resolve with the researcher, you may contact the Ethics Committee through the Research Ethics Officer (ph: +61 2 9514 9772 Research.Ethics@uts.edu.au), and quote the UTS HREC reference number UTS HREC REF NO. 2014000369. Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated fully and you will be informed of the outcome.

APPENDIX 2: CANDIDATE INFORMATION SHEETS

Primary Participants

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

My name is <Researcher name> and I am a student at UTS. My supervisor is A/Prof Elaine Lally.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

This research aims to investigate the characteristics and development of workers in the creative industries within Australia. Specifically, the research will examine:

1. Career development theory and issues are specific to the creative industries
2. Career development strategies used by those in the creative industries

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

I will ask you to participate in a one-hour interview on your own career development and identify four people who you have worked with in the past who may also speak on your career development activity. These may be current or former staff, superiors, peers or mentors. This will be undertaken in a public, quiet location that has been mutually agreed to by all parties.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?

There are very few if any risks because the research has been carefully designed. However, it is possible that you may feel uncomfortable talking about your career history or any negative experiences that have contributed to your development. In addition, there may be concern about others speaking on your career. All published data, however, is anonymous. In addition, the information gathered is not used to make any judgements about career success, only to identify career development milestones.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?

You are able to give me the information I need to find out about how people develop their careers within the creative industries. You have personal experience and have worked with others in the sector for a period of time.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?

You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?

Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?

You can change your mind at any time and you don't have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have concerns about the research that you think I or my supervisor can help you with, please feel free to contact me on 0402XXXXXX or via <researcher name>@student.uts.edu.au. Alternatively, my supervisor, Elaine Lally can be contacted on 02 9514 1960 or Elaine.Lally@uts.edu.au.

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on 02 9514 9772, and quote this number UTS HREC REF NO. 2014000369

Secondary Participants

WHO IS DOING THE RESEARCH?

My name is <Researcher Name> and I am a student at UTS. My supervisor is A/Prof Elaine Lally.

WHAT IS THIS RESEARCH ABOUT?

This research aims to investigate the characteristics and development of worker in the creative industries within Australia. Specifically, the research will examine:

1. Career development theory and issues are specific to the creative industries
2. Career development strategies used by those in the creative industries

IF I SAY YES, WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

I will ask you to participate in a one-hour interview on your own career development and the development of the primary interview subject who nominated you to participate. This will be undertaken in a public, quiet location that has been mutually agreed to by all parties.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS/INCONVENIENCE?

There are very few if any risks because the research has been carefully designed. However, it is possible that you may feel uncomfortable talking about another person's career history or any negative experiences that have contributed to their development. All published data, however, is anonymous. In addition, the information gathered is not used to make any judgements about career success, only to identify career development milestones.

WHY HAVE I BEEN ASKED?

You are able to give me the information I need to find out about how people, and particularly the primary subject, develop their careers within the creative industries. You have personal experience and have worked with others in the sector for a period of time.

DO I HAVE TO SAY YES?

You don't have to say yes.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN IF I SAY NO?

Nothing. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

IF I SAY YES, CAN I CHANGE MY MIND LATER?

You can change your mind at any time and you don't have to say why. I will thank you for your time so far and won't contact you about this research again.

WHAT IF I HAVE CONCERNS OR A COMPLAINT?

If you have concerns about the research that you think I or my supervisor can help you with, please feel free to contact me on 0402XXXXXX or via <Researcher name>@student.uts.edu.au. Alternatively, my supervisor, Elaine Lally can be contacted on 02 9514 1960 or Elaine.Lally@uts.edu.au.

If you would like to talk to someone who is not connected with the research, you may contact the Research Ethics Officer on 02 9514 9772, and quote this number UTS HREC REF NO. 2014000369.

APPENDIX 3: SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW PROMPTS

Demographics:

- What is your age range?
 - Under 30
 - 31-35
 - 36-40
 - 41-45
 - Over 45
- Location:
- Gender:
- Current industry employed in:
- Have you worked in any other cultural/creative sectors?
- Length of time employed in the arts and cultural sector?

Primary participant prompts

1. Can you tell me about your career to date, how have you got to your current position?
2. What activities have you undertaken to develop your career?
 - a. In your opinion, what were the most successful?
3. Can you tell me how others have helped to shape your career?
4. What role have your employers had in developing your skills? (e.g. payment for courses, time, coaching.)
5. How have you determined what was important in your career development?
6. How important is tertiary education for developing your career?
7. Do you consider yourself a leader?
8. What skills do arts and cultural leaders in Australia need?

Secondary participant questions

1. Can you tell me briefly about your career in the arts and cultural sector (or working with)?
2. Can you tell me about your working relationship with the primary subject (insert name)?
3. What activities have you seen them undertake to develop their career?
 - a. In your opinion what were the most successful?
4. How have others helped to shape their career?
5. Do you consider <primary participant> a leader?
6. Does <primary participant> consider themselves a leader?
7. What skills do you think a leader needs in the Australian creative industries?
8. How has (insert name) developed those skills

APPENDIX 4: DEMOGRAPHICS OF PARTICIPANTS

Pseudonym	Case	Current discipline	Manager/Practitioner	Employment status	Age	Length of time employed in industry (as at IV)	Gender	Location
Diane	Advertising	Advertising	Practitioner	Consultant	45+	20+ years	Female	Melbourne
Dave	Advertising	Advertising	Practitioner	Employee	30 and under	5-10 years	Male	Melbourne
Ted	Advertising	Advertising	Practitioner	Employee	36-40	10-20 years	Male	Melbourne
Uri	Advertising	Advertising	Practitioner	Employee	45+	20+ years	Male	Melbourne
Brooke	Design & craft	Design	Manager	Employee	31-35	5-10 years	Female	Sydney
Katrina	Design & craft	Outside arts	Manager	Consultant	31-35	5-10 years	Female	Regional NSW
Maddie	Design & craft	Arts consulting	Manager	Consultant	41-45	NA	Female	Sydney
Tania	Design & craft	Visual Arts	Manager	Employee	30 and under	5-10 years	Female	Sydney
Terrence	Design & craft	Design & craft	Manager	Employee	45+	20+ years	Male	Sydney
Bob	Digital Design	Digital Design	Practitioner	Employee	41-45	20+ years	Male	International
Liam	Digital Design	Digital Design	Practitioner	Freelance	36-40	10-20 years	Male	Sydney
Sam	Digital Design	Digital Design	Practitioner	Employee	31-35	10-20 years	Male	Sydney
Vince	Digital Design	Digital Design	Practitioner	Employee	41-45	20+ years	Male	Sydney

Greg	Fashion/Blogging	Retail	Manager	Employee	45+	NA	Male	Sydney
Georgie	Fashion/Blogging	Fashion	Practitioner	Freelance	36-40	20+ years	Female	Sydney
Helen	Fashion/Blogging	Media	Practitioner	Employee	45+	30+ years	Female	Gold Coast
Theo	Fashion/Blogging	Outside arts	Manager	Owner	36-40	NA	Male	Sydney
Faith	Festival & event curation	Media/Events	Manager	Freelance	41-45	20+ years	Female	Sydney
Ida	Festival & event curation	Outside arts	Practitioner	Employee	45+	20+ years	Female	Melbourne
Katy	Festival & event curation	Media/Events	Manager	Freelance	41-45	20+ years	Female	Sydney
Kristen	Festival & event curation	Festival & event curation	Manager	Freelance	31-35	10-20 years	Female	Sydney
Kelly	Festival & event curation	Broadcast media	Manager	Employee	31-35	10-20 years	Female	Sydney
Cora	Film	Film	Practitioner	Freelance	36-40	10-20 years	Female	Hobart
Ian	Film	Music	Practitioner	Freelance	36-40	5-10 years	Male	Hobart
Keith	Film	Performance	Practitioner	Freelance	41-45	10-20 years	Male	Hobart
Orla	Film	Performance art/Media	Practitioner	Freelance	36-40	10-20 years	Female	Hobart
Sara	Film	Film	Practitioner	Freelance	36-40	5-10 years	Female	Hobart
Donna	Music	Consulting	Manager	Consultant	41-45	10-20 years	Female	Sydney
Francis	Music	Music	Manager	Employee	30 and under	5-10 years	Female	Sydney

Lynn	Music	Music	Manager	Employee	41-45	20+ years	Female	Sydney
Neil	Music	Music	Manager	Employee	45+	20+ years	Male	Sydney
Sonia	Music	Dance	Manager	Employee	36-40	5-10 years	Female	Sydney
Tess	Theatre	Theatre	Practitioner	Employee	45+	30+ years	Female	Adelaide
Henry	Theatre	Theatre	Practitioner	Employee	31-35	10-20 years	Male	Adelaide
Marion	Theatre	Theatre	Practitioner	Employee	30 and under	5-10 years	Female	Adelaide
Oliver	Theatre	Theatre	Practitioner	Freelance	30 and under	1-5 years	Male	Adelaide
Zara	Theatre	Theatre	Practitioner	Freelance	36-40	10-20 years	Female	Adelaide
Belle	Visual Arts	Visual Arts	Manager	Employee	36-40	10-20 years	Female	Sydney
Karen	Visual Arts	Visual arts	Manager	Employee	45+	30+ years	Female	Sydney
Mary	Visual Arts	Visual Arts	Manager	Volunteer	31-35	1-5 years	Female	Sydney
Tom	Visual Arts	Visual Arts	Manager	Freelance	36-40	15-20 years	Male	Sydney

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