TRANSFORMATIONAL LEADERSHIP - INSPIRATION OR DOMINATION: A CRITICAL ORGANISATIONAL THEORY PERSPECTIVE

by

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DECLARATION

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I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was not used. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters of Social Science in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any other University.

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Rights are increasingly ephemeral in this new word of ours. At just the time that organisational commitment to the employee has been thoroughly violated, the employee is expected to exhibit feverishly enhanced commitment to the organisation…Even the values of the employee are offered up as fodder to be transformed by management for organisational ends. Yet these high-velocity, high commitment workplaces…offer no ongoing relationships, no safe-haven, no personal space (Victor & Stephens, 1994, p. 481).

Abstract

Within academic literature and contemporary organisations, it has become widely accepted that transformational leaders are required to harness the potential of their human resources in the direction of accomplishing organisational objectives and achieving organisational success. Transformational leaders are typically portrayed as charismatic, visionary individuals who are primarily concerned with the needs of their followers and who project a passionate and inspirational attitude within the organisational context. Little research however, has been directed toward a critical analysis of the power dynamics inherent in the leader-follower relationship and the discursive practices which influence and are influenced by this relationship. The current study sought to determine the extent to which a textual analysis of electronic journal articles pertaining to transformational leadership accurately reflected the presence of discursive effects. The findings revealed that both the knowledge products associated with transformational leadership as well as the practice of transformational leaders were informed by and embedded within a human resources management (HRM) discourse. As this discourse seeks to advance the interests of management and the organisation, transformational leadership functions as a mechanism through which the control and domination of workers is enacted within the workplace. Transformational leaders, through their alliance with a managerialist ideology, aspire to motivate employees to transcend their own self-interests and align their values with those of the organisation thereby engendering compliance, docility and self-domination. Discursive formations persuade employees to invest their subjectivities in the organisation, producing a hegemonic situation in which employees become instrumental in their own subordination.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Since Burns' (1978) initial introduction of the term *transformational leadership* over thirty years ago, interest in its utility within an organisational context has proliferated, attracting considerable attention from both researchers and practitioners. In accordance with the turbulent global and organisational environment characterised by increased competition, rapid technological advancements and a need for continuous innovation; numerous authors have advocated that transformational leaders are required to motivate and inspire employees to transcend their own self-interests and align their values with the organisation in order to achieve job satisfaction, empowerment and ultimately organisational objectives (Bryman, 1996; Jansen, George, Van den Bosch & Volberda, 2008; Ristow, Amos & Staude, 1999). In a National Leadership Study, it was found that "…leaders who spend more time managing and rewarding performance, showing individual consideration, intellectual stimulation, inspirational motivation, and idealised influence, will tend to be more effective than those leaders who demonstrate more corrective or transactional leadership" (Robbins, Odendaal & Roodt, 2003, p. 253). Mainstream literature pertaining to transformational leadership however, appears to be tainted by a managerial bias as the majority of articles deal with issues directly related to *organisational outcomes* such as promoting employee productivity, performance and organisational commitment. Additionally, transformational leaders are portrayed as charismatic role-models, who have the ability to inspire their followers to achieve their maximum potential through the provision of intrinsic motivation. Conversely, little (if any) literature exists that deals with how the well-being of employees as opposed to organisational outcomes may be advanced within the work context. Themes such as power, control and domination in the workplace and how the subjectivities of employees may be subjugated in order to achieve organisational ends, are typically alluded to within mainstream literature whilst themes such as efficiency, productivity and profitability are prioritised. This presents a major issue as a distorted, naïve understanding of the nature of transformational leadership is presented which functions to reinforce a status quo rooted in unequal power relations. The current state of academic knowledge production on transformational leadership represents a one-sided conceptualisation of the roles and impacts of leaders in relation to their followers. Transformational leaders are portrayed as being courageous, value-driven, visionary, inspirational and demonstrating personal character (Tichy & Devanna, 1996), however little is said about the strategies of control and domination at the disposal of such leaders to effect their will (which is congruent with organisational objectives) on employees.

Leadership is an accepted input in the organisational system; its purpose is to directly impact various organisational outputs such as employee productivity and effectiveness. Despite the contributions of mainstream organisational theory to making organisations productive elements of society, it has simultaneously contributed to the creation of an ideology that serves to stifle and subjugate the individual, hinder the attainment of socially desired goals and distort the fundamental values upon which a democratic society is based (Abel, 2005).

The aim of this research was to determine the extent to which a textual analysis of electronic journal articles pertaining to transformational leadership accurately reflected the presence of discursive effects. The research suggested that upon analysis of current transformational leadership literature, elements of coercion, domination and power would be revealed; however they would not necessarily be in the form of overt control and domination but rather emerge in more insidious forms in which employees play an active role in their own self-subordination. The rationale for choosing this topic was to address the gap that currently exists within transformational leadership literature by adopting a critical theoretical perspective toward the leadership role within the labour relationship. Contemporary leadership literature appears to focus on such themes as employee motivation, job satisfaction and the inspirational role that transformational leaders play within the organisation whereas very little literature focuses on the dark side of leadership and its ability to coerce employees into behaving in ways that may be contrary to their interests but necessarily always in the interest of the organisation. Additionally, the intention is to add to the current knowledge base of constructionist research in order to provide an impetus for future researchers to begin thinking about leadership in a more critical manner. Finally critical, empirical research of this nature is particularly rare within a South African context, as historically primary emphasis has been placed on issues of race, gender and class discrimination in the workplace thereby rendering the study of more subtle forms of domination and coercion largely absent.

The remainder of this study is presented as follows: Following this introduction, a review of the existing literature pertaining to transformational leadership as well as the role of industrial/organisational (I/O) psychology in maintaining the status quo is provided. Secondly, the theoretical and conceptual framework that was used to inform the analysis of data is elaborated. Thirdly, the human resources management (HRM) discourse is discussed. The following section explains the research methodology. Thereafter, the data analysis and discussion of results is presented, followed by a brief conclusion to the study.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1. Transformational Leadership

The first studies of leadership revolved around theory development. However, in later years, as leadership became the focus of empirical study, academics, researchers and scholars sought to understand and define leadership (Konorti, 2010). Upon observation of the evolution of the field of leadership, a trend emerges. Early definitions of leadership asserted that successful leaders possessed specific traits and physical characteristics. "In later years, scholars used the term *inducing compliance* to describe the role of the leader" (Konorti, 2010, p. 10). More contemporary conceptualisations of leadership however insist that the role of a leader includes: influencing relationships, initiating structure and achieving goals (Friedman & Langbert, 2000). The concept of transformational leadership was first introduced by Burns (1978) and has subsequently become the focus of considerable attention by researchers and practitioners within the social sciences as well as other fields such as education, economics and politics. Transformational Leadership Theory suggests that leadership ability is neither innate nor stagnant but rather consists of a collection of skills that may be learnt and developed over time through both theory and practice. Transformational leaders are defined as the type of "leaders who inspire followers to transcend their own self-interests for the good of the organisation, and who are capable of having a profound and extraordinary effect on their followers" (French & Bell, 1999, p. 77). Transformational leaders raise the aspirations of their followers so that they move away from self-interest and become fused with the success of the organisation (Bryman, 1996; Jansen et al., 2008; Ristow et al., 1999). They have the ability to make the necessary successful changes in an organisation's vision, mission, goals, strategies, structures, culture and rewards systems i.e. second-order changes (Smit & De Cronje, 2002). A transformational leader has the ability to make a group of followers function at a higher level of performance without making them feel coerced (Muchinsky, 2003). Transformational leadership is said to consist of four fundamental components: idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration (Bodla & Nawaz, 2010; Jansen, et al., 2008; Konorti, 2010; Muchinsky, 2003).

Research on transformational leadership has focused on broad topics such as: the personality traits and skills of good leaders, leader-follower relationships, leadership within teams, enhancing innovation and creativity through leadership as well as the contextual effect

of leadership ability. The Transformational Leadership Theory is generally regarded to be the most accepted of the leadership theories and is currently used by many organisations worldwide (Muchinsky, 2003). There is an overwhelming amount of South African research proving the superiority of transformational leadership over transactional leadership on a range of effectiveness criteria. Avolio, Bass and Jung (1999) conclude that the effects of transformational leadership including, but not limited to, better communication flow, energised followers and higher follower performance have further implications that result in improved employee productivity and financial results.

2.2. Critique of Transformational Leadership

Ford and Harding (2007) maintain that leadership as opposed to management is currently advocated within mainstream literature and organisational policies as being essential for successful organisational performance. A vast body of literature exists pertaining to leadership traits, behaviours and outcomes. "Suffice it to say that this literature has a strong, uncritical managerialist focus, and is slanted towards: (1) developing theories of leadership; and (2) using those theories to develop ways of improving leadership, and thus performance, within organisations" (Ford & Harding, 2007, p. 477). The literature reveals a substantial absence of critical analysis and an inability to agree on definitions of leadership (Gordon, 2002). It is further argued that as these texts ultimately produce the knowledge products that inform leadership-training programmes; such programmes will serve to control leaders (and subsequently followers) by constructing for them manipulative and exploitative subject positions (Alvesson & Willmott, 2002). As the nature of leadership-training programme appraisals are "evaluative rather than aiming at explanation or understanding, (they) offer a managerialist perspective that focuses only upon what goes in (the contents of the programme) and what comes out (whether participants become better skilled at their work)" (Ford & Harding, 2007, p. 478). What is largely neglected is the interpellation of leadership identities and concepts of the self through engagement in leadership programmes. In response to this, Ford and Harding (2007) prescribe leadership-training programmes that offer a range of alternative interpretations that are more reflexive, dialogical and avoid explicit construction of leadership identities and positions consistent with mainstream leadership literature.

In *Governing of the Soul: The Shaping of the Private Self*, Rose (1990) explains how, in the years following the end of World War II, the psychology of group relations elaborated

its theories around the new language of the workplace: leadership, commitment, morale, communication, motives and purposes. The psychology of the worker as a social subject was intimately linked to a radical project that sought to transform the conditions of work and the authoritative relations inherent in the workplace through the use of ethical principles, political beliefs, industrial efficiency and mental health. "It would be misleading to see these post-war debates over the organisation of work as 'objectively' about different ways of soft-soaping the labourer into docile acceptance of exploitation and alienation" (Rose, 1990, p. 82). Rather the emergent issue was the appropriate relations that ought to be established between the leader and the led, employer and employee within a democratic organisational context. Firstly, the employee (follower) is positioned as a citizen both within and outside of the organisation. Secondly, work productivity and job satisfaction became essentially bound to the perceived stake the employee had in the organisation (organisational goals, products and decisions). Deetz (1998) asserts that employees' identities, especially in knowledge intensive work, become invested in being perceived as a competent worker that contributes toward the organisations goals.

> Democratic styles of leadership, communication, and consultation within the enterprise and so forth were of significance not only because of the values they embodied, but also because of their consequences for efficiency and productivity, through the links they established between the feelings and aspirations of the worker and those in the enterprise (Rose, 1990, p. 82).

A pervasive fabrication has emerged within mainstream organisational literature that posits that managers and their subordinates are not antagonists but rather the manager acts as a leader, "the most cunning word in the modern management lexicon; a leader is on your side rather than your ruler" (Sennett, 1998, p. 111). Whilst political leaders often have to contend with multiple ideologies and value positions, organisational leaders claim to be solely accountable to their superiors, even though they are often explicitly aware of multiple stakeholders or financial intermediaries. As the agent (leader) is unable to serve the interests of all stakeholders (including employees), he is forced to take action that serves to benefit certain stakeholders often to the detriment of others; the leader has the power to determine which stakeholders to satisfy. "This is another example of the so called managerial revolution where the special knowledge and capabilities of agents allied to the conflict among potential and actual principles cedes power to the agent. Asymmetries indeed! Leadership indeed" (Berry & Cartwright, 2000, p. 344)! Sennett (1998) suggests that managers seek to blur the reality of modern capitalism and its realisation within organisations by creating the

impression that they are not responsible actors but merely naïve, complicit agents of higher superiors.

Upon reflection of early leadership theories (traits, style and contingency), a realist ontology and a functionalist epistemology are explicitly identifiable; emanating from this tradition is the notion of transactional leadership and transformational leadership theories. Diphofa (2003) maintains that "the interest in leadership qualities, leadership styles and leadership situations is really about establishing effective ways through which people can be influenced to follow the direction provided by the leader, and to achieve the goals of the organisation" (p. 71). Such theories are consistent with the managerial functionalism institutionalised by Henri Fayol. "The criterion for effectiveness is still the functional effectiveness of the leader's behaviours" (Berry & Cartwright, 2000, p. 344). However, both Fayolian functionalism and structural functionalism have suffered considerable critique and have been in academic retreat for decades. Therefore it is necessary to question why, in a post-modern era, leadership theory still subscribes to the dictates of outdated modes of thought. Berry and Cartwright (2000) assert that it is because the field of management studies still maintains a fervent preoccupation with such an approach.

Denton and Vloeberghs (2003) maintain that due to the development of smaller competency-based organisations, a greater degree of employee empowerment coupled with a people-centered managerial approach (as opposed to task-centered) will be required. The literature declares that transformational leaders are not dictators but have integrity and are sensitive towards the needs of their followers, striving to empower employees (Tichy & Devanna, 1996). The critique of empowerment within capitalist organisations is that "it is still embedded in the power relations of the masters and workers, it only empowers contributions in that context and that it uses empowerment to extract more effort from the workers for the same rewards" (Berry & Cartwright, 2000, p. 345). Appelbaum, Hébert and Leroux (1999) assert that critical approaches "illuminate the contradictions of business empowerment, namely, that while the language of empowerment promises the acquisition of power in exchange for the different kind of effort and responsibilities that such programs engender, practice limits the devolution of power to subordinates" (p. 237). It is however, not contested that empowerment does have particular intrinsic benefits for employees such as learning, a sense of psychological well-being, and even the potential for individuals to discover within themselves the ability to deconstruct the contextual power relations once

empowerment has been institutionalised (Berry & Cartwright, 2000). However, despite these superfluous benefits, it is undeniable that the fundamental aim of empowerment from a managerialist and a leadership perspective is to effect changes in employees that will increase productivity and ultimately profitability.

> The more radical critique of leadership is rooted in the attention of critical theory to issues of power and its exercise, but not so much the obvious focus on the process of commanding action, output and achievement and the unequal distribution of earned surpluses as incomes or rewards in kind, but on power that is exercised in subtle and hidden ways that maintains the legitimacy of the political constitution…, that defines and delimits the rights of various citizens, that shapes the languages and discourses in that place (Berry & Cartwright, 2000, p. 346).

Critical theory seeks to explicate why it is that certain organisational actors are privileged as leaders whilst others are compliant in a mode of self organised acceptance of the status quo. Deetz (1992) suggests that in order to understand the processes which result in value conflicts being suppressed and certain interests and forms of reasoning being privileged, an investigation into the politics of meaning, language and personal identity is required. As many leaders assume that organisational shareholders are the primary delegators of individual rights, and they (transformational leaders) are responsible for disseminating the organisation's vision, defining the mission and managing meaning, the language of leadership becomes a critical subject of examination. Burrell (1992) contends that the language of leadership functions as a manger of emotions within organisations. Power within an organisational context enables, limits and marginalises for "it is not just rules and routine which becomes internalised, but a complex set of practices which provide common sense, self-evident experience and personal identity" (Deetz, 1992, p. 37). Within the organisational context the surrender of individual citizenship is enacted, accepted and unquestioned serving to maintain unequal distributions of privilege (Berry & Cartwright, 2000). With regards to the control of discourse, it has been argued that leadership is a process of seduction in which leaders attempt to instill in employees a sense of commitment to the organisation and it goals (Calás & Smircich, 1991). One of the means by which leaders control the discourse of organisational life is by both consciously and unintentionally distorting communication (Berry & Cartwright, 2000) in order to ensure that the decision-making agenda is skewed in such a way that the outcomes favour organisational goal achievement rather than employee satisfaction; this situation echoes Habermas' notion of instrumental rationality (chapter 3).

Processes of normalisation and surveillance, as proposed by Foucault, are evident throughout modern organisations, promoting visibility and compliance (Clegg & Hardy, 1999). Leaders act as instruments for increasing surveillance and normalising organisational processes that exclusively serve the interests of the organisation. "The use of individual performance reviews, where the manager sets, with the employee, a series of personal goals in line with the organisations objectives, supports this process, as the employee is now encouraged to make the organisations objectives his/her own" (Braynion, 2004, p. 459). The leader, who followers seek to emulate, often embodies the values and meanings that the organisation seeks to uphold, resulting in followers internalising organisational values and aspirations as if they were their own (McKinlay & Starkey, 1998). Deetz (1992) asserts that potential symbols of normative control include: employee dress code, ways of interacting with colleagues and rules of appropriate work conduct. In accordance with Foucault's ideas, the purpose of leadership extends beyond the enhancement of productivity for economic reasons; it serves to construct useful, compliant, docile and self-controlled subjects thereby extending normalisation processes to the broader society (Jackson & Carter, 1998).

Ford and Hardy (2007) emphasise that a more critical (non-performative or anti-performative) approach to leadership is required, that aims to challenge the legitimacy and efficacy of conventional patterns of thinking and behaving by utilising a broader range of theories from the social sciences as opposed to seeking knowledge of how to improve organisational efficiency and profitability. This sentiment is echoed by Berry and Cartwright (2000) who assert that "to study leadership in organisation separate from the social and political context which shapes it and is shaped by it is to unnecessarily bound the study and perhaps miss significant events and understanding" (p. 46).

2.3. Industrial/Organisational (I/O) Psychology and the Status Quo

As an applied field, industrial/organisational (I/O) psychology influences the lives of millions of employees worldwide; thus it can be said to play a crucial role in either changing or maintaining the status quo in organisations and society (Prilleltensky, 1994). More often than not however, I/O psychology has been used by those in power to preserve the status quo. "Managers, as managers, are in business to make money. Only to the extent that social scientists can help in the realisation of this goal will management make use of them" (Baritz, 1974, p. 196). Numerous conceptions have been identified as contributing toward I/O psychology's role in maintaining the status quo: I/O psychology is good for society, the

personalisation of conflict, the co-operative approach, the professionalisation of managerial decisions and, a dominant management voice within I/O psychology journals (Islam & Zyphur, 2006; Prilleltensky, 1994; Steffy & Grimes, 1986). If one accepts the above assumptions as truth, it is feasible to conclude that I/O psychology serves to benefit both leaders and followers; however this by no means the case.

2.3.1. I/O psychology is good for society.

The first premise is derived from the syllogism proposed by Warwick (1980): "Social science is science; science contributes to human welfare; therefore social science contributes to human welfare" (p. 31). As elucidated previously, I/O psychology endorses a technical rationality in which scientific and technical means are used to solve social problems to the exclusion of political solutions (Prilleltensky, 1994).

> In the technological-capitalist society, there is a general tendency to redefine problems concerning purposes, aims, and values so as either to make them appear to be technical issues, or to make them seem irrelevant. Questions involving such matters as alienation, and the content and value of work, are defined as problems which socio-technical and other organisational principles should solve within the framework of prevailing conditions…In this way, a world picture which supports the predominant rationality is transmitted (Alvesson, 1985, p. 127).

2.3.2. The personalisation of conflict.

The personalisation of conflict, that is, attributing employees' problems to internal causes, was pioneered by Elton Mayo, the father of the 'Human Relations School' during the Hawthorn experiments. He asserted that cooperative human relations between employees and management will result in both productivity and tranquility. Therefore employees are encouraged to interpret their dissatisfaction as a product of their own inadequacies. Through the provision of counselors mandated to inspire, motivate, support and empower employees, management becomes exempt from any responsibility for their role in causing such employee unrest. "An additional bonus…is that they come across as caring and personally interested in the welfare of the employees, thus strengthening loyalty and commitment to the firm" (Prilleltensky, 1994, p. 142).

2.3.3. The co-operative approach.

The new technology of human relations has come to be referred to as the "co-operative" approach. Critical organisational theory asserts that management can ensure tangible benefits by normalising the assumption that both themselves and employees are working toward mutual goals. This would serve to eliminate the notion that antagonism exists between the interests of employers and employees as a function of capitalism. Despite convincing arguments pointing to the conflictual nature of the employee-leader relationship, "I/O psychology has nonetheless operated as though business were a cooperative enterprise whereby all parties benefit equally and conflicts are the result of either mismanagement or misunderstanding" (Prilleltensky, 1994, p. 134) or intra/interpsychological variables. Additionally I/O psychology literature makes little mention of industrial relations issues including union membership. Possible explanations as to why such critical issues have been omitted from the literature include: it is in the political and economic interest of I/O psychologists to maintain the status quo; averting or minimising ideological resistance and industrial conflict through the introduction of 'objective scientists' benefits *leaders* by removing threatening politics from the workplace and *scientists* by providing lucrative contracts; and finally, issues of class and power within the workplace are omitted as social scientists believe in technical rather than political resolutions (Prilleltensky, 1994). This argument cannot be easily abandoned, as the pervasive character of *technical rationality* in contemporary times has scarcely left an area of social enquiry unscathed (Alvesson, 1985). This approach is one of the most effective methods of social control as it does not elicit conflict but rather manipulates employees to believe that leaders genuinely have their best interests at heart. This type of social control is referred to as *softened power*:

> Softened power decreases individuals' experience of political impact on their lives and thought, promoting uncritical internalisation of prevailing ideologies and anesthetising persons to the ways in which they are being led, influenced, or controlled. Softened power circumscribes their consciousness, allowing illusions of free choice to persist while available choices are curtailed through a subtle foreshortening of their imagination (Schacht, 1985, p. 513).

Mainstream organisational theory, more specifically industrial psychological theory, has as its preferred methodology scientific approaches which aim to provide instruction on how to control and regulate events and situations through knowledge of their causes (Abel, 2005). Therefore this orientation places primary emphasis on how individuals and environments may be managed so as not to upset the development and exercise of power in the pursuit of

organisational objectives. Dachler and Wilpert (1978) posit that the individualising nature of programmes (participative management and worker empowerment programmes) has turned attention away from structural problems in organisations, thus paradoxically reinforcing the structures that prevent fully democratic organising.

2.3.4. Professionalisation of managerial decisions.

Management decisions that result in unfavourable outcomes for employees become justified by the fact that they are based on 'expert advice' that is supposedly removed, impartial and fair, and therefore managers do not have to take responsibility for employee discontent. Manipulation of employees therefore is often proposed to be an inherent part of I/O psychology. "Its ability to overcome worker's resistance, prevent industrial unrest, discredit discontented employees as maladjusted, and subtly control labour are some of the features that made the field indispensable for some companies" (Prilleltensky, 1994, p. 146). Whereas forms of social control in the past were relatively explicit, contemporary I/O psychology has rendered strategies of control and domination more refined, subtle and covert. Psychology's alignment with management is reflected in management's justification of its practices of control and domination through the use of industrial psychological knowledge products. As industrial psychology claims to be a science, knowledge produced in the field is purported to be objective, neutral and professional and therefore managerially unbiased. However, this is seldom the case. "Academics provide epistemological tools for management to legitimise power relations by discussing them in terms of scientific facts, where these power relations are further hidden by the fact that these tools emanate from a third party" (Islam & Zyphur, 2006, p. 26). Additionally, management provides a legitimising function for industrial psychological academics who are able to justify their theories as practical due to their application within an organisational context (Islam & Zyphur, 2006).

2.3.5. Management discourse dominant in industrial psychology journals.

The majority of literature on psychology applied to the workplace is unidirectional, that is, it adopts an essentially positivist, uncritical stance. I/O psychology focuses on subject matters which have a micro-level focus such as psychometrics, job analysis, selection and training which emphasise precise measurement and prediction of individual behaviour, personality and emotion. In doing so however the assumptions underlying such developments have been largely neglected. Islam and Zyphur (2006) credit this state of affairs to two specific aspects in the field of (I/O) psychology. Firstly, in addition to I/O psychology being an application of

psychological principles to the workplace, its application has directionality i.e. toward increasing employee and organisational performance in order to ensure greater profits. "Often inherent in the discourse of these journals is the perspective of management and those who hold positions of power in organisations" (Islam & Zyphur, 2006, p. 22). This fervent focus of organisational research on performance, profit and managerial concerns termed 'management myopia' (Brief & Bazerman, 2003) is proposed to occur as a result of the unquestioned epistemology associated with I/O psychology. Promanagement biases arise less because of the actual topics studied than the subjects positions assumed within the study of such topics. Therefore social scientists in general and I/O psychologists in particular need to be cognisant of which groups of people the knowledge products they create serve to benefit. The second aspect is the strong methodological focus that I/O psychology has assumed as a result of the inherently vague nature of the topics studied within the field e.g. intelligence, performance, ability etc. As such concepts are abstract in nature; I/O researchers often align themselves with a positivist epistemology, seeking to discover an external, objective reality that can be accurately measured using the correct measuring instruments. "The focus on objectification and quantification… is not a simple choice of epistemological preference or historical outcome of the largely positivistic American psychological tradition. Rather…this epistemological choice reflects political dynamics that are often left unquestioned in the IP literature" (Islam & Zyphur, 2006, p. 24). In *Discipline and punish* Foucault (1977) explicates that measurement and evaluation provide powerful mechanisms of control over employees as they reduce the vast complexity of social behaviour into distinct units that can be administered, scored and placed within a hierarchy.

It is evident that mainstream organisational theory has failed to adequately address the "dark side" of organisational existence due to its insufficient representation of power and misunderstanding regarding the relationship between power and the individual (Abel, 2005), more specifically the use of power by transformational leaders.

Chapter 3: Theoretical Background

3.1. Critical Theory

Rush (2004) identifies three generations of critical theorists. The first generation is essentially comprised of members of the Frankfurt School such as Horkheimer, Pollock, Marcuse and Adorno amongst other seminal thinkers. The second generation is lead by Jürgen Habermas, who, to a large extent, dominated much of the literature on critical theory since the 1960s and continues to influence a wide spectrum of disciplines including philosophy and sociology. Finally, the third generation of critical theorists is represented by Axel Honneth who offers his view on the legacy and continued relevance of critical theory. The works of both Marcuse and Habermas will be elaborated in subsequent paragraphs. Certain commentators (Abel, 2005) contentiously include Michel Foucault under the category of critical theorists, and thus his ideas will be elaborated in the following chapter.

Held (1980) asserts that the task of defining critical theory is inherently problematic as it is conceptualised in different ways by its adherents. Steffy and Grimes (1986) succinctly define it as the "empirical philosophy of social institutions" (p. 325). Critical theorists focus their attention on understanding how networks of power relations intersect with knowledge and ideology. "Critical theory addresses the assumptions beneath practice and seeks to illustrate the consequences of those assumptions and invites actors to emancipate themselves from unacceptable consequences" (Berry & Cartwright, 2000, p. 346). Critical theory has two basic aims: Firstly, to provide a critique of ideology, including a critique of 'scientism' i.e. "an institutionalised form of reasoning which accepts the idea that the meaning of knowledge is defined by what the sciences do and thus can be adequately explicated through analysis of scientific procedures" (Habermas, 1971, p. 67). Agger (1991) maintains that critical theory serves as an effective critique of positivism in that it seeks to interrogate and question assumptions about the way in which social scientific findings are interpreted and applied. Critical theorists argue that attempting to reflect on the social world by disregarding presuppositions, philosophical and theoretical assumptions is both philosophically impossible and politically undesirable. Positivism has been identified as "the most effective new form of capitalist ideology" (Agger, 1991, p. 109) as it fails to recognise its own investment in the status quo. It is argued that positivism encourages individuals to accept social, political and economic conditions as they are, and therefore unwittingly perpetuate them. "Its notion that knowledge can simply reflect the world leads to the uncritical identification of reality and

rationality: One experiences the world as rational and necessary, thus deflating attempts to change it" (Agger, 1991, p. 109). Conversely critical theory aims to develop a mode of consciousness that encourages individuals to view taken-for-granted fact as products of historical vicissitudes that are not irrevocable but can be changed. And secondly, critical theory aims to develop an organisation science that has the ability to change organisational processes. Such an analysis would require an investigation into the interaction between research, theory, practice and organisational employees (Steffy & Grimes, 1986).

Critical organisational theory "focuses on the structural, economic and social system determinants of the distribution of power in organisations, and is concerned with the emancipation of workers and with establishing more democratic structures and forms of corporate governance" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 29). Critical organisational theorists build on the theory of Karl Marx by concerning themselves primarily with challenging the perceived right of owners and managers to suppress any conflicting interests through strategies of control and domination in order to achieve organisational effectiveness and therefore increased profits. They aim to create ethical, humanistic and inclusive organisational decision-making processes as opposed to the modernist rational alternative. "Critical theorists question the institutionalisation of power within the organisational hierarchy and the assumption that managers have a legitimate right to control others" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 266). This raises the question of why employees consent to their own domination as opposed to resisting it. The above phenomenon has been addressed by critical theorists by analysing the structural mechanisms and communication processes that serve to maintain and reproduce exploitative relationships inherent in the social and cultural status quo. The ultimate goal of such analyses is to ensure that the full spectrum of organisational stakeholder interests are represented through communicative rationality and democratic decision-making processes. Additionally, they present theories that attempt to explain how managerial control results in individual alienation and dehumanisation (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006; Richardson & Fowers, 1997).

The fundamental importance of critical organisational theory is that it seeks to emancipate dominated groups from hegemonic practice. Despite the relative contributions of mainstream organisational theory, it has simultaneously contributed to the creation of an ideology that serves to stifle and subjugate the individual, hinder the attainment of socially

desired goals and distort the fundamental values upon which a democratic society is based (Abel, 2005).

3.2. The Frankfurt School

The Frankfurt School refers to a loosely associated group of neo-Marxist economists, historians, legal and social theorists, philosophers and psychoanalysts belonging to a set of interconnected institutions that were founded in Frankfurt during the late 1920s and subsequently maintained their identity through a series of historical circumstances until the late 1960s. The institutions included The Institute of Social Research and The Journal of Social Research. This group's inner circle included prominent figures such as Max Horkheimer, Herbert Marcuse, Franz Pollock and Leo Löwenthal. Members of the Frankfurt School used the term *Critical Theory* to describe the intellectual project to which they were committed (Agger, 1991; Geuss, 2004). Social theory emanating from the Frankfurt School generally believed that traditional Marxist theory was inadequate for understanding and explaining the chaotic development of twentieth century capitalist societies. Critical social theorists affiliated with the Frankfurt School primarily concerned themselves with the conditions that allow for social change and the establishment of rational institutions. The Frankfurt School studied ideology as the distortion of social realities in order to benefit the interests of a particular group. "The critical theory of the Frankfurt School…is concerned both with familiar evils and injustices and with new forms of domination and corruption that are unique to a modern technological society" (Richardson & Fowers, 1997, p. 271-272). Karl Marx's theory of capital provided the foundation for critical theory through its early critique of capitalism. Marx argued that capitalism is dependent on a fundamental antagonism that exists between the interests of capital and the interests of labour which "arises over how to divide the excess profits generated when products or services are exchanged on a market at a price that is higher than their costs" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 29). As employee wages form a large part of organisational expenses, capitalists put pressure on employees to work more efficiently by imposing new forms of managerial control on their work processes (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006); the rationale being to maximise the extraction of both absolute and relative surplus value from labour.

3.3. Herbert Marcuse

German philosopher, sociologist and political activist Herbert Marcuse, associated with the Frankfurt School of critical theory, has frequently been celebrated as the *Father of*

the New Left. As a member of the Institute for Social Research, Marcuse was intimately involved in numerous interdisciplinary projects which included developing a critical social theoretical model, developing a theory of advanced capitalism and explicating the relationships between cultural criticism, philosophy and social theory (Kellner, 1984). Marcuse's critical theory of society is committed to a continuing dialectic and a reciprocal relationship between theory and practice (Rush, 2004), and is inclined "toward the understanding of all forms of social practice and the factors which hinder their self-consciousness and free development...and the critique of current conditions and the analysis of their tendencies" (Held, 1980, p. 224). Throughout his writings a recurring theme of the social status of pleasure and happiness is evident; at the fulcrum of Marcuse's analysis is the concept of alienated labour. "Instrumental reason is not in itself a source of social oppression and alienation, although some forms of it, that is, capitalism, are" (Rush, 2004, p. 29). He conceptualises happiness as the ability to fulfill individual potentialities and freedom as the ability to be fulfilled. Individual potentialities are essentially well-developed depending on the relative freedom that exists. In contemporary capitalist society however, happiness and labour seldom coincide. However, if society is rearranged in a way that allows for the free production and distribution of products based on need, labour will no longer be arduous; happiness becomes detached from capitalist consumption, and the rigid opposition of labour to happiness disappears (Rush, 2004).

In *One-Dimensional Man*, Marcuse systematically develops his vision of how economies, technologies and states coevolve in order to enable the domination of individuals and their social environments (Luke, 2000). He argued that society is structured in such a way that 'surplus repression' is produced through the unnecessary imposition of labour within a social system organised around exploitation and profit (Marcuse, 1991). "The mechanism which ties the individual to his society has changed; social control is anchored in the new needs that it has produced" (Marcuse, 1991, p. 9). Marcuse maintains that this one-dimensional society is achieved through 'new forms of social control' such as mass culture, advertising, industrial management and contemporary modes of thought which generate needs and consciousness that conform to the system; the resultant effect being that the need for critique, opposition and radical social change is systematically suffocated. These forms of social control indoctrinate and manipulate; they promote a false consciousness which is resistant to its falsehood (Kellner, 1984). Marcuse uses the concept 'one-dimensional' to describe an "epistemological distinction between signifying practices that conform to pre-

existing structures, norms and behaviour in thought and practice, and 'bi-dimensional' thought which appraises values, ideas and behaviour in terms of possibilities that transcend the established state of affairs" (Kellner, 1984, p. 235). Within a one-dimensional society, the subject becomes incorporated into the object and adheres to the commands of the external, objective structures, thereby denying itself the ability to distinguish more liberating options and engage in transformative activities. Conversely, 'bi-dimensional' thought assumes that an inherent antagonism exists between subject and object, and therefore the subject is open to explore imagined possibilities which may not exist but can be realised through practical engagement (Kellner, 1984). The 'one-dimensional man' that Marcuse describes, is in the process of losing or has already lost his/her individuality, freedom and the ability to inform his own destiny. Such freedom involves knowledge of one's genuine needs and wants, the will to make choices and deny options, and the power to realise ones needs and develop potentialities (Kellner, 1984).

> One-dimensional man does not know it's true needs because its needs are not its own – they are administered, superimposed and heteronymous; it is not able to resist domination, nor to act autonomously, for it identifies with public behaviour and imitates and submits to the powers that be; lacking the power of authentic self-activity, one-dimensional man submits to increasingly total domination (Kellner, 1984, p. 237).

3.3.1. Marcuse, language and ideology.

Marcuse (1991) additionally addresses the political implications of subtle changes in the way that individuals speak about certain things. Language informed by advertising is increasingly becoming the norm for public discourse, resulting in the suffocation and transformation of public issues into the language of commerce. Society is experiencing a gradual abolition of a critical dimension in the use of language. As everyday language is used in such a way, "there is no longer a space in which… receivers of messages can properly 'think' alternatives and take up a critical attitude towards things: from being interlocutors in a discursive process they are increasingly asked to be mute consumers of images" (How, 2003, p. 81-82). The dialectical tension that exists between appearance and reality appears to be shifting toward a primary focus on appearances. Concepts that should allow for a certain degree of critical distance to understand the facts, are presented as facts. How (2003) accuses various authors of reducing meaning to facts thereby ignoring the ability of concepts to speak in a universal manner. For those influenced by ordinary language philosophy, the meaning of particular

expressions is context dependant thus there cannot be any transcendental meaning to the concept of justice. "Ordinary language philosophy saw its task as bypassing (metaphysical) discussions about transcendental meaning and instead clarify the situated use of the concept. For Marcuse, this eliminates the crucial speculative and critical elements that are natural to ordinary language" (How, 2003, p. 84).

Marcuse's (1991) view may be concluded in the following statement: The crisis of capitalism is not an economic problem, but rather a catastrophe of the human essence. Numerous authors have attested to the continued practical relevance of Marcuse's social theories for understanding contemporary social issues (Kellner, 1984; Luke, 2000). A Marcusean Renaissance is plausible firstly, because he addresses issues that continue to be pertinent to contemporary society in both his published and unpublished manuscripts. Secondly, he provides a comprehensive philosophical approach to liberation and domination, which provides a dominant framework and method for analysing society, and a vision of liberation which is richer than classical Marxism, other versions of critical theory and current versions of postmodern theory (Kellner, 1984).

3.4. Jürgen Habermas

German social philosopher Jürgen Habermas regarded his project as an endeavor to develop a theory of society which had a practical intention i.e. the self-emancipation of people from domination. Habermas' critical theory aspires to advance the self-understanding of social groups capable of transforming society though an assessment of the self formative processes of the human population (Held, 1980). He claimed that modern society is dominated by institutions that are governed by administrative, scientific and technical professionals who place primary emphasis on developing the most technically-efficient way of accomplishing goals. This technocratic ideology invades the lives of individuals on a daily basis, ignorant of the moral and ethical facets of individual and social development (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006; Held, 1980). Habermas asserts that such societies collapse the cultural and moral aspects of life (*praxis*) into merely technical and instrumental considerations (*techne*) resulting in the destructive reversal of priorities (Richardson & Fowers, 1997). In order to restore *praxis,* Habermas advocates that human action or social life cannot be understood as fundamentally instrumental or 'purposive-rational,' despite the fact that the majority of twentieth century social science insists that it is (Richardson & Fowers, 1997). "Defining instrumental rationality as achieving goals through efficient means, Habermas argued for the

alternative of communicative rationality, which he defined as debate, open discussion and consensus" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 269). He further maintains that instrumental rationality dominates and distorts communicative rationality due to the widespread acceptance of a technocratic ideology. Those in positions of power intentionally set the institutional agenda by creating an illusion of democratic processes however, only accept suggestions that are aligned with the organisation's and instrumental rationality's objectives thereby systematically distorting communication. "From a Habermassian perspective, systematically distorted communication is an implicit form of manipulation and control because it privileges one meaning and ideology over others; involves deception (of self or other); and precludes sincere and ethically informed conversation" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 269).

"Critical theory shows us how the natural and social sciences have been obsessed with instrumental values of control and domination at the expense of emancipatory values such as justice, mutuality, and autonomy" (Richardson & Fowers, 1997, p. 265). In order to promote a society in which collaboration, democratic participation and justice are valued and conflicting interests may be resolved peacefully; Habermas proposed a method called the *ideal speech situation*. Habermas suggested that when current values or practices come into question, individuals will draw on an explicit type of discourse in order to test alternative claims to truth that run counter their *praxis*. Instead of relying solely on standards of technical effectiveness or established authority/viewpoint, it is necessary to engage in a process of argument and discussion until the most appropriate, rational consensus is reached. This *ideal speech situation* is ingrained into human nature as we are communicative, social beings and dictates how issues should be deliberated (How, 2003; Roderick, 1986). Individuals seek consensus regarding issues of justice and truth. "We do this through discourse involving such things as full accountability to one another for the quality of our reasoning, arguing as many different points of view as possible in the search for a valid consensus" (Richardson & Fowers, 1997, p. 274); this excludes all motives except the collaborative search for truth. The *ideal speech situation* refers to the notion that "the reciprocal quality of linguistic communication, in principle, presupposes that all parties have equal opportunity to engage in the dialogue, without restriction or ideological pressure from the outside and that only the force of the better argument should hold sway" (How, 2003, p. 49-50). Habermas insisted that such argumentation, although never perfectly realised, can lead to a consensus that is

devoid of ideological influence and deception inherent in one-sided instrumental reason, rendering it more valid (Held, 1980; Richardson & Fowers, 1997).

Chapter 4: Conceptual Background

4.1. Ideology

Critical organisational theorists seek to understand how networks of power relations are intertwined with knowledge and ideology (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006). Ideology is undoubtedly one of the most widely debated and controversial concepts within the social sciences (Prilleltensky, 1994; Schäffner, 1996) with its connotations being represented as positive, neutral and negative by different authors. This categorisation refers less to its descriptive and explanatory value than to the meanings associated with it which usually have controversial, political connotations. Prilleltensky (1994) argues that if such connotations can be neutralised, the concept of ideology can potentially contribute toward an understanding of the reproduction of the status quo. The term *ideology* first appeared in the English language in 1976 as a directly translated form of the French word *idéolgie*; a term rationalist philosopher Destutt de Tracy used to explain 'the science of ideas' (Schäffner, 1996). Marx and Engels (1976) later popularised a more pejorative understanding and definition of the term. Karl Marx generated considerable discussion around the concept of ideology by asserting that individuals are self-delusional regarding their position, interests and society in relation to those in power. Additionally, he contended that in order to preserve the status quo, powerful individuals, groups and institutions seek to distort societal conditions as to create ideological delusions or 'false consciousness'. Thus, Marx defines ideology as "a system of ideas espoused by the dominant segments of society to preserve their position of power by portraying a distorted image of societal conditions" (Prilleltensky, 1994, p. 31).

> The ideas of the ruling class are, in every age, the ruling ideas: i.e., the class which is the dominant *material* force in society is at the same time its dominant *intellectual* force. The class which has the means of material production at its disposal has control at the same time of mental production, so that in consequence the ideas of those who lack the means of mental production are, in general, subjected to it (Marx, 1964, p. 78).

Additionally, philosophers such as Antonio Gramsci (1971) have emphasised the unconscious expression of ideology in practice; "a conception of the world that is implicitly manifest in art, in law, in economic activity and in the manifestations of individual and collective life" (p. 328). In agreement, Fairclough (1995) maintains that ideology is inextricably linked to action and therefore is judged based on the social effects it invokes rather than its truth value. Van Dijk (1996) asserts that ideologies provide the foundation for shared social representations between members of a given group; they are therefore both

cognitive and social in nature. Their primary social function is to ensure the sustained interests of a particular group; discourse is invoked in order to adjust, legitimise and justify social practices. The cognitive function of ideology on the other hand, is to systematise and monitor particular socially shared mental representations. The meaning attributed to the term *ideology*, is essentially associated with the sustainability of asymmetrical power relations between social actors, groups and institutions; this is referred to as the *critical conception* of ideology (Thompson, 1984) and is subsequently the perspective adopted in further discussion on the topic. Inherent in such an interpretation is a distinct bias against the status quo. Therefore, within this conception, ideology refers to the investigation and critique of techniques and strategies employed by powerful actors in order to conceal the interests and privileges they receive by virtue of the current status quo (Sampson, 1981). Although not all definitions and interpretations of *ideology* are mutually exclusive, many are rather restrictive in that their treatment of ideology is limited to a system of ideas that serve to defend powerful groups. Therefore Prilleltensky (1994) defines ideology as affecting the social order in which ideas are generally considered to include moral, cultural, and sociopolitical values; "no specification is made as to the direction in which ideas influence the social order; and ideas can affect the social order in ways that people holding them were not necessarily aware of" (p. 33). According to critical theory, ideology serves to legitimate the domination of one group over another. Within an organisational context, critical theorists claim that managerialist ideology assumes that managers and owners have the right to dominate employees which results in exploitation to achieve organisational objectives. By employees accepting and internalising the managerialist ideology, workers ultimately participate in their own exploitation "by legitimising their oppressor's right to dominate them (and therefore) exist in a state of false consciousness" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 266).

4.1.1. Ideology as system justification.

In order to investigate reasons why individuals accept, justify and perpetuate the status quo despite the fact that it may have negative consequences for them; Jost, Banaji and Nosek (2004) developed system justification theory. "System justification theory holds that people are motivated to justify and rationalise the way things are, so that existing social, economic, and political arrangements tend to be perceived as fair and legitimate" (Jost & Hunyady, 2005, p. 260). Much like practically all other psychological motives, there is a common tendency to rationalise the status quo however, individuals may display significant variation in the expression of such tendency due to situational and dispositional factors. Numerous

ideologies are employed in order to justify and maintain the status quo such as: protestant work ethic, managerialist ideology, economic system justification, opposition to equality and political conservatism amongst others. Such ideologies show significant inter-correlation with one another and therefore can be purported to serve a similar ideological function, that is, to legitimise the present societal economic, political and social status quo (Jost, Blount, Pfeffer & Hunyady, 2003; Sidanius & Pratto, 1999). In seeking to explicate why it is that individuals support social arrangement that directly oppose their self-interest, Jost and Hunyady (2005) assert that there are hedonic advantages to minimising the unpredictable and oppressive aspects of social reality. Besides the psychological consequences of justifying the existing status quo, there are also social and political costs, as individuals who justify societal conditions are unlikely to improve them through ideological resistance. Regarding dispositional variables impacting system-justifying tendencies, individuals who feel compelled to manage uncertainty and threat have an increased likelihood of embracing conservative, system-justifying ideologies. "For many people, the devil they know seems less threatening and more legitimate than the devil they don't" (Jost & Hunyady, 2005, p. 262). In accordance with Marxist notions of ideology, Jost et al. (2003) discovered that self-deception is a valid predictor of fair market ideology endorsement and capitalist support. Regarding situational variables, under conditions of high system threat in which the emergent counter ideology is not guaranteed success, individuals will tend to adopt conservative, system-justifying beliefs and increase their use of stereotypes to justify inequality within the system. In summation, the adoption of system-justifying ideologies has both advantages and disadvantages. On the one hand, it serves a palliative function by decreasing negative emotions such as uncertainty and fear whilst on the other hand, individuals belonging to groups that are disadvantaged by the status quo are presented with a dilemma i.e. the need to justify and support the status quo and the need to enhance the self-interests of their social group; thereby decreasing the value of subjective well-being (Jost & Hunyady, 2005).

4.1.2. Ideology and language.

The relationship between ideology and language has, for many years, attracted the attention of numerous scholars from multidisciplinary backgrounds (Schäffner, 1996). The concept of ideology was originally theorised at the periphery of language, however since the 'linguistic turn', language as a system of signification has been invaluable in defining and understanding ideology. Whilst the definition of ideology has typically emphasised cognitive aspects such as ideas and beliefs, these are not pre-social and idiosyncratic but rather "culturally produced

and collective, from which it follows that they must be expressed or represented in a social and public form" (Cameron, 2006, p. 142). As such many definitions of ideology make reference to language either implicitly or explicitly. Language should not be conceptualised as the foundation upon which ideologies are constructed, nor as the post-hoc medium through which they find their expression, as both instances neglect the reality that language itself is informed by the same social and ideological processes that it is invoked to explain. By virtue of the relationship between language and ideology, discourse also becomes inextricably linked to ideology. Within the field of discursive psychology, "ideology is conceptualised primarily as a property of language and discourse in a socio-cultural context. Ideology is seen as being discursively constituted" (Schäffner, 1996, p. 2). Fairclough (1995) insists that ideologies are positioned "in both structures (discourse conventions) and events. On the one hand, the conventions drawn upon in actual discursive events, which are structured together within 'orders of discourse' associated with institutions, are ideologically invested in particular ways. On the other hand, ideologies are generated and transformed in actual discursive events" (p. 25).

Woolard (1998) uses the term 'language ideologies' to refer to ideas and beliefs regarding the nature and constitution of language, how it functions and should optimally function, as well as which ideas are widely accepted within certain communities and which have consequences for the way in which languages are utilised and evaluated in the social practice of those communities. A key language ideology accepted by western intellectuals is that signs (words) represent ideas, and language becomes the vehicle for conveying such ideas from one mind to another. This process is underwritten by an implicit social contract in which the social actors agree to use the same signs to represent the same ideas (Schäffner, 1996). However, all signs are 'multiaccented' i.e. they are embedded within discursive contexts which may present different and conflicting meanings for the same phenomenon and therefore language users operate from different social positions, interests and experiences. "Capitalists and workers, for instance, might both talk about 'a fair day's work', but each group would inflect these terms with its own meaning and the conflict between them would be partly about what they 'really' meant" (Schäffner, 1996, p. 144). Dominance and control can be achieved through the ability of one group to 'naturalise' the meanings of particular words or expressions in such a way that it privileges their self-interests by imposing a deceptive consensus and avoiding the reality of a continuous struggle over sign. Schäffner (1996) contends that the study of language ideologies is important because the relationship between the language

ideologies and other ideologies employed within a given community is not arbitrary but rather "systematically related to other areas of cultural discourse such as the nature of persons, of power and of a desirable moral order" (Gal, 1991, p. 17); thus various representations of language may reveal other ideological concerns.

4.2. Power

Power is an inevitable component of social relations in which certain individuals or groups willingly or unwittingly submit to the will, influence, domination, authority and control of other individuals or groups (Kocey, 2002). Dugan (2003) maintains that the concept of power is both exceptionally difficult to explicate and yet at the same time vital in enabling one to analyse it. There are numerous definitions of power; however Mumby (2001) provides a rather broad yet all encompassing definition: "The production and reproduction of, resistance to, or transformation of relatively fixed structures of communication and meaning that support the interests (symbolic, political, and economic) of some organisation members or groups over others" (p. 587). Michel Foucault represents a central figure in the conceptualisation of modern forms of power and domination. Unlike numerous critiques of the applied social sciences which typically use repressive models to understand the concept of power, Foucault asserts that power may have positive, productive effects (Hook, 2004).

> We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms: it "excludes", it "represses", it "censors", it "abstracts", it "masks", it "conceals". In fact, power produces; it produces reality; it produces domains of objects and rituals of truth. The individual and the knowledge that may be gained of him belong to this production (Foucault, 1977, p. 194).

> Previous critiques are also largely devoid of historical contextualisation; failing to consider the broader context in which knowledge and power are constructed. "Such critiques have often lacked the finer-grain analyses of an applied attention to the *specific means* of shaping docile (that is, obedient) or subservient subjects" (Hook, 2004, p. 211). Foucault offers a genealogical account of power: a form of radical historical critique that seeks to uncover the origins of a phenomenon (power) generally thought to be ahistorical and natural in order to reflect on and expose current practices that evade examination (Hook, 2004).

4.2.1. Power as a strategy.

Foucault approached the notion of power somewhat differently to Marx; he insisted that power is not a possession but rather a strategy (Townley, 1993). "Power is exercised rather

than possessed; it is not a privilege...of the dominant class, but the overall effect of its strategic position – an effect that is manifested and sometimes extended by the position of those who are dominated" (Foucault, 1977, p. 26-27). Domination through the exercise of power emanates from maneuvers, tactics and techniques rather than exploitation (Smart, 1985). "Domination in Frankfurt terminology is a combination of external exploitation and internal self-disciplining that allows external exploitation to go unchecked…people internalise certain values and norms that induce them to participate effectively in the division of productive and reproductive labour" (Agger, 1991, p. 108). Scott (2001) asserts that domination represents the basis of leadership rather than social stratification; leadership results in certain agents being positioned as principles with powers over subordinates. Additionally, Foucault believed that power was relational, and only becomes visible when it is exercised; as it is a relational concept it cannot be possessed by any particular institution but rather exercised through practice, techniques and strategies. The conception of power that Foucault adopts (relational and strategic) has further consequences for the way in which notions of power are studied and applied: Instead of asking questions such as 'who has power?' and 'where does power reside?', one needs to ask the 'hows' of power i.e. how is power exercised through techniques and strategies (Townley, 1993)?

4.2.2. Power-knowledge.

Foucault's conception of power rests on the belief that there is no power or exercise of power, without the incorporation of knowledge, especially psychological knowledge (Hook, 2007; Isaacs, 2000).

> The exercise of power itself creates and causes to emerge new objects of knowledge and accumulates new bodies of information…the exercise of power perpetually creates knowledge and, conversely, knowledge constantly induces effects of power…It is not possible for power to be exercised without knowledge, it is impossible for knowledge not to engender power (Foucault, 1980, p. 52).

Consequently Foucault does not speak of power in isolation, but rather couples it with knowledge, referring to *power-knowledge*, thereby emphasising their dynamic co-investment (Hook, 2007). Knowledge is not a detached and independent entity but rather a source of illumination which is essential for the exercise of power (Townley, 1993). "The complex reciprocity of these terms, the fact that power and knowledge came to be exercised in mutually reinforcing ways, stands as one of the cardinal features of disciplinary power" (Hook, 2007, p. 12-13). The practical inseparability of power and knowledge results in new

modes of control in which intricate links between the growth of social science knowledge, the innovation of disciplinary technologies, and the construction of the psychological subject are established. Procedures for the construction and accumulation of knowledge, including the scientific method currently employed within industrial psychology, are not neutral instruments for the presentation of truth; rather scientific discourses as well as the institutions that produce them become taken-for-granted and therefore warrant inquiry (Steffy & Grimes, 1992). "Procedures for investigation and research, although operating as a procedure of knowledge, can operate equally as a technique of power. Knowledge is the operation of discipline" (Townley, 1993, p. 521). It defines particular analytical spaces and, as it comprises an area of knowledge, subsequently provides the foundation for action and intervention i.e. the operation of power. Townley (1993) maintains that the concept of power-knowledge has two fundamental implications: Firstly, by demonstrating how mechanisms of disciplinary power are at the same time both instruments for the formation *and* accumulation of knowledge, Foucault challenged positivism's representation of them as separate. Secondly, by regarding power not as something external (something that acts *on* something else) but rather as something integral and productive that creates objects, Foucault creates a positive, creative view of power. As power privileges certain forms of knowledge, this knowledge allows power to be exercised in a way that ensures conformity to a dominant ideology which is presented as truth (Foucault, 1977; Hook, 2004; McNay, 1994). Within an organisational context, leaders may use their power-knowledge as a mode of surveillance, regulation and discipline in order to achieve organisational objectives (Isaacs, 2000).

4.2.3. Disciplinary power and surveillance.

In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1977) provides a detailed, historical analysis of the technologies of power employed during various eras and how the deficiencies of such technologies resulted in a transition toward more subtle and manipulative forms of power exercised in modern organisations and societies; Foucault referred to the latter as *disciplinary power*. Disciplinary power, although displaying certain continuities with the previous human reformist era (humanisation, objectification, individuality and a focus on the soul), diverges significantly from previous forms of power in two central ways (Hook, 2004): Firstly, whereas the aim of punishment was previously public representation and instructive moral regulation, it is now that of behavioural modification exacted on the body and the soul "through the precise administration of techniques of knowledge and power" (Fillingham, 1993, p. 152). Secondly, whereas previous forms of discipline were publicly accessible,

disciplinary power is only effective to the extent that its operations are kept secret and autonomous. With the emergence of new institutions and disciplines such as psychiatry, psychology and criminology, new forms of knowledge are subsequently constructed which operate through 'disciplinary' means i.e. the creation and dictation of norms, standards, guidelines, discourses, warnings and techniques of surveillance which shape individuals' subjectivities in a way that involves self-regulation. Rather than getting people to do things through force or manipulation, such disciplines produce ideas through which individuals voluntarily and spontaneously evaluate themselves (Hook, 2004). Within disciplinary regimes, the entitlement to punish is only entrusted to the most qualified authorities i.e. disciplinary agents. "Although the disciplinary subject became increasingly active in disciplining themselves, this internal functioning of power was matched and supported by the spread of a new kind of professional agent power" (Hook, 2004, p. 217) e.g. managers, supervisors and *leaders*. The power exercised by the disciplinary agent is only efficacious to the extent that he has total power which envelops the subject. Additionally, technologies of control exacted on subjects by disciplinary agents must necessarily operate secretly and autonomously. Disciplinary power must have its own functioning, rules, techniques and knowledge; it must establish its own norms and determine the desired results (Foucault, 1977). Therefore, "disciplinary political technology advanced, by taking what were essentially *political* problems, removing them from the domain of political discourse, recasting them in the neutral language of science and transforming them into *technical* problems for the sole attention of specialists" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 196).

Foucault conceptualises a relationship between visibility and power. This relationship is used as an apparatus to control, coerce and transform the behaviour of individuals so that they function in accordance with the will of the individual/group that is in control; "to act on those it shelters, to provide a hold on their conduct, to carry the effects of power right to them, to make it possible to know them, to alter them" (Foucault, 1977, p. 172). As it would be impossible to continuously monitor the behaviour of all individuals, the disciplinary gaze requires a hierarchy of constant, functional surveillance. Foucault refers to Bentham's invention of the Panopticon as being analogous with modern forms of disciplinary surveillance. The design of the Panopticon consisted of a large watch tower at the fulcrum surrounded by a ring-shaped building consisting of cells housing prisoners, madmen, patients etc. This structure allowed for constant observation of inmates without requiring a large supervisory workforce. As inmates were unable to determine whether the prison guards were

in fact in the watch tower, they would refrain from behaving in ways that ran counter to the established rules i.e. they began to engage in modes of self-surveillance (the subject of surveillance engages in self discipline) – in this way the Panopticon represents an exemplary technique for the exercise of disciplinary power. It relies on the perception of surveillance and the internal disciplining that this engenders to incite states of docility thereby negating the need for displays of physical force or violence (Foucault, 2008; McHoul & Grace, 1993).

> Hence the major effect of the Panopticon: to induce in the inmate a state of conscious and permanent visibility that assures the automatic functioning of power. So to arrange things so that the surveillance is permanent in its effects, even if it is discontinuous in its action; that the perfection of power should tend to render its actual exercise unnecessary; that this architectural apparatus should be a machine for creating and sustaining a power relation independent of the person who exercises it; in short, that the inmates should be caught up in a power situation of which they themselves are the bearers (Foucault, 1977, p. 201).

Foucault identifies self-surveillance as the product of two processes: "**the gaze** of inspection (in which managers employ a number of surveillance techniques to set up the expectation of surveillance) and **interiorisation** (anticipation of the gaze and self-monitoring)" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 276-277). Foucault believed that institutions such as organisations, hospitals, prisons and schools were sites of disciplinary power (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006); similarly Townley (1993) asserts that numerous human resource practices techniques enact the gaze as conceptualised by Foucault. Human resources management (HRM) seeks to hierarchically categorise and classify employees in order to make them visible and subsequently manageable using the following tools and techniques: psychological assessments, performance appraisals, assessment centers etc.; all of which serve to categorise, examine, report and normalise. "Job descriptions control behaviour; performance evaluations reward compliance; training programs alter bodies and minds by specifying what is correct knowledge and what skills and attitudes must be mastered for the job; technology and work processes determine body movements" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 277).

4.2.4. Power and the subject.

From a Foucauldian perspective, the individual subject is historically produced i.e. constructed through correlative elements of power and knowledge. Certain individuals, discourses and desires come to be constructed as subjects, one of powers prime effects. "The focus of analysis becomes the 'knowability' of the individual – the process by which the

individual is rendered knowable, or the process by which the individual is constructed or produced" (Townley, 1993, p. 522). Due to the emergence of new "high end" industries in which empowerment and participation are emphasised (thereby potentially threatening the existing power relations), new, more subtle forms of domination and control have materialised that function to maintain, if not strengthen the status quo (Deetz, 1998). The prevalence of these more subtle forms of domination are highest in "knowledge-intensive" industries or departments in which employees' subjectivities become intricately linked to their work performance and ability to achieve goals set by leaders (Rose, 1990). Foucault posited that there are four major types of technologies of self-understanding, each of which is associated with a particular type of domination (Deetz, 1998). The first is technologies of production, which allow individuals to produce, transform and manipulate things. Secondly, technologies of sign systems allow individuals to use signs and symbols as signifiers for meaning and expression. Technologies of power largely determine individual conduct which is modeled against both explicit and implicit rules and standards set by management. Finally, technologies of the self are those which:

> permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others a certain number of operations on their own bodies and souls, thoughts, conduct and way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality (Deetz, 1998, p. 152).

Although these technologies claim to enable productivity and satisfying personal identities and social relations, in many instances these technologies result in conformity and one-sided power relations that serve to increase profits from which these employees do not benefit from. Therefore the underlying problem regarding processes of control and domination is that arbitrary productions and processes are normalised, resulting in oppressive constraints being perceived as an inevitable fact of life that cannot be resisted. Therefore through the technologies of the self, individuals play a role in strategising their own subordination and are subtly manipulated to monitor their behaviour (self-surveillance), ensuring that it is directed in the interest of organisational goal achievement (Deetz, 1998). Rose (1990) insists that work has become a key element of the social economy and the workplace a conduit for exercising control and power. Control processes are only effective in such contexts if they are either internalised or repeated daily as a form of self-control. According to Foucault this logic comprises a discursive formation: a complex system for giving meaning to the world, organising social institutions and processes, and normalising such structures and meanings.

Dominant arrangements characterised by a dominant ideology, normalise people, events and practices along the lines of certain interests (management) (Deetz, 1998).

In systems in which control is direct and overt, management observes the work effort, and rewards or punishes according to either personal preferences or standards for desired work characteristics. Conversely, in more subtle versions of control, management instrumentalises employees, hiring experts (industrial psychologists/transformational leaders) to construct systems that will get the maximum amount of work from the body and soul of the worker. Individuals that function within particular control processes, uncritically and passively accept the subjectivities of the system as their own as they appear to be natural and unproblematic. More active consent processes can be found in the process of "strategising one's own subordination" in which we become accomplices in our own exploitation. So then, one begs the question: Why is there no effective opposition to this? Employees use themselves for their own strategised employment through self-surveillance and control of their bodies, feelings, dress and behaviour in an effort to attain money, security, meaning and identity. Ironically, this self-management primarily serves the interests of management above those of the organisation or employee. "When employees strategise their own subordination for the sake of private gains, they surrender whatever power they have to change their conditions and have the corporate experience better fulfill their needs" (Deetz, 1998, p. 164). Overt forms of control make use of fear whilst consent makes use of *commitment*. Therefore the degree to which organisations can convince employees to invest their identities within the organisation, enhances the fear of job loss thereby making obedience more likely (Deetz, 1998).

4.3. Hegemony

"Hegemony refers to how the practices and values of a culture or institution align with and maintain existing systems of wealth and power" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 267). Italian Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci used the concept of hegemony to suggest that numerous employees actively and spontaneously consent to the will of their dominators because ideological and institutional forms of domination have become an inherent part of daily activities. Gramsci uses the concept of hegemony to describe a particular relationship between a leading group and subordinate group or social class of individuals; this relationship is structured around consent rather than domination or coercion (Smart, 1986). Such systems never appear to overtly coerce employees but rather subtly and incessantly influence them to participate in ways of thinking that have been normalised and serve to privilege the elite.

Hegemonic practices within the workplace claim to promote involvement, empowerment and autonomy, however it appears that this is more a rhetoric than reality as they are ideologically engineered to exclusively benefit the interests of managers and owners (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006). Often societies, and more specifically organisations, take the form of hegemonic orders: "various social structures by virtue of which various kinds of division and hierarchy become taken-for-granted, assumed, unproblematic and accorded some degree of legitimacy" (Hook, 2004, p. 563). The degree of manifest conflict present within a given social hierarchy will vary depending on the degree of legitimacy and hegemony afforded to its members (Hook, 2004). Therefore organisations' owners and managers will seek to increase the degree of legitimacy afforded to them in order to reduce conflict in the form of counter managerialist ideologies that seek to threaten the existing power balance.

Ewick and Silbey (1995) provide a comprehensive exploration into to how narratives serve to create and perpetuate hegemonic practices as well as render attempts to critique such practices void. By virtue of the conventionalised nature of narrative, "the structure, the content, and the performance of stories as they are defined and regulated within social settings often articulate and reproduce existing ideologies and hegemonic relations of power and inequality" (Ewick & Silbey, 1995, p. 212). Narratives extend beyond a descriptive capacity reflecting existing ideologies, into the active constitution of hegemonic situations which in turn inform social interaction and conduct. Hegemony is not a fixed collection of ideas but rather has a protean nature in which dominant discourses are preserved whilst their manifestations are subject to constant fluctuation (Silberstein, 1988). Therefore hegemony is created and evolved within distinct personal narratives. "The resilience of ideologies and hegemony may derive from their articulation within personal stories. Finding expression and being refashioned within the stories of countless individuals may lead to a polyvocality that inoculates and protects the master narrative from critique" (Ewick & Silbey, 1995, p. 212). In other words, ideologies that are embedded within particular narratives are protected from sustained critique by virtue of the fact that they are constituted through diversity and contradiction. Research emanating from a broad social context has demonstrated the hegemonic potential of narratives in perpetuating existing structures of meaning and power. Firstly, narratives function as instruments of social control (Mumby, 1993). At various strata of social organisation, narratives inform individuals of appropriate social conduct and the cost of non-conformity. Bureaucratic organisations demand compliance from their employees through the communication of managerial rights and expectations as well as the

consequences of defiance or challenge (Witten, 1993). Secondly, a narrative's ability to colonise consciousness enhances its hegemonic potential; well-plotted narratives come together by relating certain events into a coherent, temporarily-organised whole, which prevents alternative stories from emerging. Narratives as a form of social control, ideological infiltration and homogenisation derive their efficacy from the ability to put "forth powerful and persuasive truth claims - claims about appropriate behaviour and values - that are shielded from testing and debate" (Witten, 1993, p. 105). Finally, narratives contribute to the production of hegemony to the extent that they are able to conceal the social organisation of their creation and plausibility. Narratives depict individuals' general understandings of their physical, social and historically located world which are often not acknowledged. Narratives exploit unexamined assumptions without exposing them to investigation. "Thus as narratives depict understandings of particular persons and events, they reproduce, without exposing, the connections of the specific story and persons to the structure of relations and institutions that made the story plausible" (Ewick & Silbey, 1995, p. 214).

Gramsci has been critiqued for his inconsistent use of various interrelated concepts such as: state, civil society, political society, hegemony and domination in such a way that a given subject may experience both consent and coercion from the same source. Smart (1986) therefore proposes that a clarification and reformulation of the concept of hegemony is required. The work of Foucault provides a comprehensive analysis of various complex social techniques and methods essential for the achievement of a relationship of direction, guidance, leadership or hegemony to be realised. Foucault conceptualises hegemony as follows:

> Hegemony contributes to or constitutes a form of social cohesion not through force or coercion, nor necessarily through consent, but most effectively by way of practices, techniques, and methods which infiltrate minds and bodies, cultural practices which cultivate behaviours and beliefs, tastes, desires, and needs as seemingly naturally occurring qualities or properties embodied in the psychic and physical reality (or 'truth') of the human subject (Smart, 1986, p. 160).

4.4. Discourse

By virtue of the fact that discourse is an abstract concept, it is often difficult to define it in a way that is incontestable. Parker (1992) warily provides a working definition of discourse as "a system of statements which constructs an object" (p. 5). Similarly, Burr (1995) acknowledges that no definition of discourse is sufficient however asserts that "A

discourse refers to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements and so on that in some way together produce a particular version of events" (p. 48). In accordance with the social constructionist perspective, since numerous versions of an event are potentially accessible through language, surrounding any given object or event a variety of different discourses may exist, each representing a different conceptualisation of the world. Each competing discourse focuses on different aspects, raises different issues and prescribes different courses of action. Therefore discourses, through what is represented, serve to construct our daily existences in various ways, each portraying the object as having an essentially different nature from the next and claiming that it's representation of that object is true. Claims to truth and knowledge are at the fulcrum of discussions of power and ideology (Burr, 1995). Discourse "governs the way that a topic can be meaningfully talked about and reasoned about. It also influences how ideas are put into practice and used to regulate the conduct of others" (Hall, 2001, p. 72).

From a poststructural social constructionist standpoint, the things that are represented do not have their origin in individuals' subjective experiences but rather in the discursive culture that individuals are embedded in. "The things that people say or write, then, can be thought of as instances of discourses, as occasions where particular discourses are given the opportunity to construct an event in this way rather than that" (Burr, 1995, p. 50). Therefore a duality exists between discourses and what is represented; discourses become manifest in the things individuals say, write or represent and the things that are represented derive their meaning from the discursive context in which they emerge. Anything that can be interpreted for meaning can be thought of as a manifestation of discourse and therefore be referred to as 'text' (Burr, 1995).

Given the above account of the meaning of the concept *discourse*, it is critical to enquire as to why certain discourses or representations become accepted as truth and others as fiction. Parker (1992) asserts that discourses allow us to view reality not as it really is but rather, once an object has be elaborated in a particular discourse, it is futile to think of it in any other way but real. The reason is that discourses are fundamentally connected to the way societies are organised and managed; certain institutions within society (government, education, capitalism) govern the thoughts and behaviours of individuals by offering social positioning and status e.g. capitalism positions individuals as employers, workers or unemployed. "The discourses that form our identity are intimately tied to the structures and

practices that are lived out in society…it is in the interest of relatively powerful groups that some discourses and not others receive the stamp of 'truth'" (Burr, 1995, p. 55).

4.4.1. Discourse and power.

The analysis of the relationship between discourse and power should involve a description and explanation as to how power abuse is enacted, perpetuated and legitimised by dominant groups of people or institutions through systems of text and talk (Van Dijk, 2008). Van Dijk (2008) makes the following presuppositions regarding power and discourse: Power is inherent in the relationships between social groups, institutions or organisations; such social power is characterised by the control one group of social actors exerts over the behaviours and *minds* of another group thereby limiting the freedom by which the dominated group is able to act as well as influencing their attitudes, knowledge and ideologies. Dominance, as a form of social power abuse, is the illegitimate exercise of control over others which is organised and institutionalised to ensure more effective control and power reproduction, consistent with the interests of powerful groups. Through access to, and control of the means of communication and public discourse "dominant groups…may influence the structures of text and talk in such a way that, as a result, the knowledge, attitudes, norms, values and ideologies of recipients are – more or less indirectly affected – in the interest of the dominant group" (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 66). Within democratic societies, 'modern' power is frequently subtle and persuasive, targeting the minds and subjectivities of employees rather than employing overt, coercive strategies of control. This involves the manipulation of mental models of social situations through the exploitation of particular discursive structures such as: headlines, rhetorical figures, style, semantic strategies and thematic structures. Unless the receivers of such text have access to alternative discourses, or mental resources to contest these persuasive messages, they may develop preferred models of specific events which can potentially become generalised to universal, preferred knowledge, attitudes and ideologies (Van Dijk, 2008). "Actors may act more or less purposefully to produce texts, but to do so, they can only draw on existing discourses. Therefore the texts they can construct and how they can construct them are…shaped by the nature of prevailing discourses" (Hardy & Phillips, 2004, p. 301).

Identities and subjectivities of individuals are largely defined by the dynamics of power and resistance which is continuously constructed and reconstructed by discourses; individuals construct their identities either in relation or opposition to dominant social discourse

(Townley, 1993). Foucault used the term discourse to describe an area of technical knowledge, requiring specialist interpretation and technical vocabulary. Technical discourses hold substantial power over individuals as they have the ability to shape contemporary social reality (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006; Isaacs, 2000). Thus, according to Foucault, those who produce the discourse also have the power to make it true, that is, to enforce its validity and scientific status" (Jenkins, 1998, p. 51).

Hardy and Phillips (2004) assert that at any given time, discourse and power are mutually constitutive: "discourses…shape the system of power that exists in a particular context by holding in place the categories and identities upon which it rests" (p. 299). Discourse creates a system of power relations which organises and structures the context in which action is executed. Discourses consist of three essential practices (production, transmission and consumption of texts) which cumulatively give rise to groups of related texts which invoke, consult and challenge each other. Additionally discourse constitutes power relations by maintaining meanings associated with concepts, objects and subject positions, which disseminate power and status among actors. Over extended periods of time, discourses evolve as the system of power serves to privilege different social actors thereby enabling them to create and disseminate texts. Despite the fact that discourse is evolutionary, at any given instant the discourse-power relationship is essentially fixed (Hardy & Phillips, 2004).
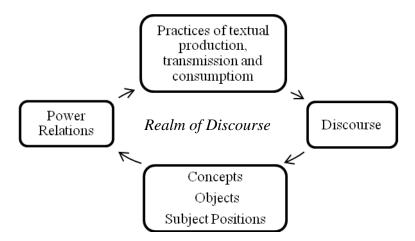

Figure 1. The relationship between discourse and power. From *Handbook of organisational discourse* (p. 300), by C. Hardy and N. Philips, 2004, London: Sage.

In order to investigate why it is that certain texts receive a privileged status whilst others are marginalised, Hardy and Phillips (2004) identify various sources of power that actors might exercise within a particular discourse. Firstly actors may possess *formal power*, authority or decision-making power within a given discursive field and therefore are more likely to produce enduring texts i.e. texts that 'stick' (Astley & Sachdeva, 1984). Secondly, certain subject positions are associated with access to *critical resources* which will vary in importance depending on the discursive context e.g. rewards, money, sanctions, credibility and information (e.g. Pfeffer, 1981). Text generation requires a physical support system which permits it to be inscribed, regardless of the simplicity of the system i.e. a pen or a global publishing network. Third, a subject position may be powerful by virtue of its *network links* and social relationships with other actors, which allows for the mobilisation of economic, social and cultural capital through pre-established relationships (Bourdieu, 1993). Finally, a subject position may be accorded *discursive legitimacy* in which the social actor is believed to be speaking the legitimate truth regarding certain issues and be speaking on the behalf of others.

> To be recognised as the voice of an organisation, and its legitimate agent, the aspirant must produce a text and have it authenticated by a sufficient number of people (or at least the right people) to have one's own right to speak become consensually validated (Taylor, Cooren, Giroux, & Robichaud, 1996, p. 26-27).

Besides the characteristics of the author that grants certain texts greater endurance, Hardy and Phillips (2004) also identify particular characteristics that texts may possess that grant them greater power within a discursive setting. Firstly, an essential characteristic of any given text concerns the way that it links to other texts and discourses i.e. *intertextuality* and *interdiscursivity* respectively (Fairclough, 1992). There is a greater likelihood of a particular text influencing discourse if it implicitly or explicitly evokes other texts and discourses as it draws on meanings which are more broadly grounded (Hardy & Phillips, 2004). Secondly, the *genre* of the text is important; within a given context, certain genres may be more effective and genre rules may be manipulated to privilege the text (Gephart, Frayne, Boje, White & Lawless, 2000). Third, texts construct *narratives* which in turn shape the way individuals experience their worlds; such narratives are used to increase legitimacy through the use of metaphor, the construction of plots or rhetoric to conceal reality (Hardy & Phillips, 2004). Finally, the *distance* that separates a text from its initial production aids in creating lasting meaning. The objectifying character of the distanced text creates a reified depiction of "what is no longer a situated set of conversations" but rather a "template so abstract that it

can be taken to represent not just some but all of the conversations it refers to" (Taylor et al., 1996, p. 26). The notion of reification demonstrates the confusion in which ideas and beliefs are treated as objects of truth; however the problem is not so much the objectification of ideas, but rather the discourses in their use of such objects to create 'sets of statements' (Potter & Wetherell, 1990) in such a way that the origins of text are essentially disconnected from their current meaning. Therefore, processes become reified through discourse; critical discourse analysis seeks to uncover such strategies thereby exposing manipulative interests.

Chapter 5: Human Resources Management (HRM)

The term 'human resources management' was scarcely used prior to the 1980s. Dominant discourses during this era were pluralist and radical perspectives on the employment relationship that believed that an inherent conflict existed between employers and employees and thus specialists were required to manage that function. In accordance with the various social, political and economic contextual changes associated with Margaret Thatcher's governance in the UK and Ronald Reagan's presidency in the US, HRM emerged as the dominant discourse deployed in organisations, usurping pluralist employee relations. Such historical vicissitudes are closely aligned with the emergence of the political project of neoliberalism which is regarded as the ideological 'commonsense' of the contemporary political economy (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 2001), paralleling globalisation in its attempt to downsize the influence of nation-states in the market thereby enlarging the space for private accumulation and market forces. Neoliberalisation is defined as "the mobilisation of state power in the expansion and reproduction of market rule" (Tickell & Peck, 2003, p. 5) and is characterised by: trade liberalisation, privatisation of production, deregulation, foreign capital liberalisation and flexible labour markets (Fairclough, 2010). Critics of neoliberal policies and opponents of free-market globalisation insist that phenomena such as privatisation, financial and labour market deregulation, trade liberalisation etc. are evidence of an emerging neoliberal hegemony (Tickell & Peck, 2003). HRM has been recognised as having a shifting nature; however three central characteristics can be identified: Firstly, the primary goal of HRM is to ensure greater organisational performance. It adopts a unitarist approach i.e. attempts to deny the existence of conflict within organisations as it is perceived to be unnatural and dysfunctional. Management holds unitary control over all decision-making processes which is deemed to be legitimate and unquestioned by employees. Conflict is said to result from a communication failure or from trouble-makers within the organisation rather than from structural inequalities inherent in the organisational context (Finnemore, 2002). Finally, a belief is espoused that employees and employers can benefit from 'good' or 'soft' HRM if employees' abilities are cultivated to ensure the attainment of organisational objectives (Harley & Hardy, 2004).

5.1. Hard and Soft Models of HRM

Human resource management (HRM) has frequently been depicted as a discipline comprising two entirely opposed forms: hard and soft. These forms fundamentally differ along numerous dimensions, most notably, views of human nature and managerial control

strategies. Despite the popularity of these terms, theoretically there has been insufficient exploration of the underlying conflicts contained in the models, and practically, empirical evidence suggests that neither model is an accurate representation of current HRM practice in organisations. The hard-soft dichotomy exists primarily in normative models of HRM. "The opposing nature of the models' underlying assumptions leads us to question the validity of constructing models of HRM on the basis of both soft and hard elements" (Truss, Gratton, Hope-Hailey, McGovern & Stiles, 1997, p. 56). Therefore it is essential that the value of these dimensions for defining normative forms of HRM is investigated. *Soft HRM* is associated with the human relations movement in which individuals are thought to be self-regulatory, using their talents and abilities to achieve both self-fulfillment and consequently organisational objectives. Organisations employing soft HRM are heavily reliant on individual commitment and intrinsic motivation rather than extrinsic pressures and sanctions to ensure high levels of performance; manager-worker dynamics are based on high levels of trust (Wood, 1995). Soft HRM also strives to promote both adaptability and flexibility, rendering communication a central role of management. Conversely *hard HRM* stresses the calculative, quantitative and business-strategic aspects of managing human resources in a rational manner, just as one would for any other factor of production (Truss et al., 1997). "Hard versions of HRM focus on ensuring that HRM policies are aligned with the broader strategic initiatives of the organisation and tend to lead to less 'people friendly' policies" (Legge, 1995, p. 67). Additionally, it emphasises the importance of 'strategic fit' between HRM policies and practices and the strategic objectives of the organisation (external fit) as well as internal coherence between the HRM policies and practices (internal fit); the ultimate goal being to increase the organisation's competitive advantage (Baird & Meshoulam, 1988).

5.2. McGregor's Theory X and Theory Y

The distinction between hard and soft HRM can be traced back to the writings of McGregor (1960) who asserted that two distinct views of human beings exist: inherently negative (Theory X) and inherently positive (Theory Y). McGregor insisted that managers' views of human beings are based on certain groups of assumptions which consequently influence managerial control strategies. According to Theory X, managers assume that: all employees inherently dislike work and therefore will attempt to avoid it wherever possible; in order to ensure that organisational objectives are achieved employees must be coerced, controlled and punished; employees will avoid responsibility and seek formal direction if available; and finally the majority of workers have little ambition, placing job security above

all other work-related factors (Robbins et al., 2003). McGregor (1960) maintained that the majority of managerial control strategies utilised within organisations view human nature in terms of Theory X resulting in tight managerial control through close strategic direction. This view is contingent with hard HRM which is concerned with performance systems, performance management and stringent control over individual behaviour with the ultimate goal being to ensure the competitive advantage of the organisation. Therefore individuals are managed on a more instrumental basis under hard HRM than soft HRM (Truss et al., 1997). Theory Y, on the other hand, assumes that: employees are able to view work as a natural phenomenon; employees will employ self-control and self-direction if they are committed to the objectives; most individuals are able to accept and even seek responsibility and finally, the ability to make innovative decisions does not rest solely with management but rather is dispersed throughout the organisation (Robbins et al., 2003). "If people are assumed to be in the pursuit of self-fulfillment through work, then management's aim should be to foster individual growth and development in order to realise the potential of its 'human resources'" (Truss et al., 1997, p. 55). Congruent with the contemporary version of soft HRM, Theory Y rests on the notion of commitment and self-direction i.e. employees will achieve optimal productivity if they are committed to the organisation and its objectives. The soft model emphasises that commitment will be generated if employees are trusted, trained and allowed to work autonomously and have responsibility for their own work. Therefore, in contrast to the strategic dimension of the hard model, managerial control is accomplished through the fostering of organisational commitment.

It is evident that the above two forms of HRM are in stark contrast with one another however, certain authors (Guest, 1987; Storey, 1992) incorporate both of them into a single model of HRM despite their acknowledgement of the inherent dichotomy. "The incorporation of both soft and hard elements within one theory or model is highly problematic because each rests on a different set of assumptions in the two key areas of human nature and managerial control strategies" (Truss et al., 1997, p. 55). Due to the underlying assumptions of the hard and soft forms of HRM being so divergent, it is argued that a single model of HRM that attempts to incorporate both (e.g. Guest, 1987; Storey, 1992) will be both theoretically and empirically unsound. Truss et al. (1997) conclude that the "rhetoric adopted by companies frequently embraces the tenets of the soft, commitment model, while the reality experienced by employees is more concerned with strategic control, similar to the hard model" (p. 53).

Therefore it is imperative that the distinction between rhetoric and reality is acknowledged and accounted for in conceptualisations of HRM.

5.3. Human Resources Management (HRM) Discourse

Numerous authors have addressed the discipline of human resources management (HRM) from a discourse perspective (Barley & Kunda, 1992; Francis, 2006; Harley & Hardy, 2004; Keenoy, 1999). They assert that discourse involves language; however language is not neutral, it possesses power. Therefore HRM knowledge products extend beyond the use of words into the realm of action. Proponents of this view concern themselves with the 'rhetoric and reality' dichotomy. Poole (1999) suggests that:

> A discursive analysis would involve an analysis of the situations that provoked the discourse of HRM, the consequences to which it gives rise, the practical field in which it is deployed, who is accorded the right to speak, the institutional sites from which discourse derives its legitimation, the position in which it places its subjects, what is recognised as valid, and who has access to the discourse (p. 302).

Harley and Hardy (2004) highlight the fact that despite the ongoing struggle of critical theorists against mainstream theorists within the field, the discourse of HRM is becoming increasingly dominant at the expense of alternative discourses such as collective bargaining and personnel management. Specifically, they show how modernist and positivist texts have achieved significant success in constructing an identity for HRM and "embedding it in a broader academic discourse concerning the employment relationship" (p. 377) whilst critical researchers face innumerable challenges in producing counter-texts. However, although HRM represents the dominant discourse, it is certainly not a totalising discourse monopolising academic literature pertaining to employment relations. Rather it represents a site of dialogical struggle in which different groups battle to ensure that their version of the truth becomes privileged and alternative discourses become marginalised. "Texts are weapons that agents in struggle use in their discursive strategies" (Chalaby, 1996, p. 694). Harley and Hardy (2004) specifically focus on the texts produced through the interaction between Karen Legge and David Guest in order to demonstrate how two fundamentally different perspectives can be embedded within the same discursive setting, whereas one is in a better position to leverage and exercise power through it. Legge (2001) critiques the modernist/positivist methodology currently employed in HRM, arguing that research findings and so-called facts are created through the process of social construction, regardless of the authors' claims of validity, reliability, methodological rigour and generalisability. Therefore

she maintains that regardless of how methodologically sound this approach to HRM research is, it is ultimately unable to reveal the truth about HRM but rather *constructs* what is classified as knowledge within the discipline (Harley & Hardy, 2004). As such, a particular version of HRM has been accepted as truth and therefore suggestions to the contrary are considered suspect. The HRM discourse is consistent with the interests of powerful members of society. "It legitimises managerial prerogative, reinforces the view that the rational calculation of 'bottom line impacts' is the only way to measure the value of organisational practices, and undermines alternative ways of managing the employment relationship" (Harley & Hardy, 2004, p. 393). The convergent identity of HRM (hard and soft) conceals a significantly fragmented reality by presenting a person-centered, humanitarian rhetoric thereby justifying and legitimising managerial decisions. Management may enforce 'hard' HRM practices whilst using the language of 'soft' HRM such as the use of participative management, empowerment and transformational leadership, which are alleged to benefit employees but in reality serve to advance management interests and increase organisational profits. "This combination of convergent meaning and ambiguous practice makes HRM a powerful tool for managers" (Harley & Hardy, 2004, p. 393).

Chapter 6: Research Methodology

6.1. Research Aim

      The aim of this research study was to determine the extent to which a textual analysis of electronic journal articles pertaining to transformational leadership accurately reflect the presence of discursive effects, i.e. do articles explicitly acknowledge that texts pertaining to transformational leadership favour certain discourses above others? In order to determine this, the following research questions were constructed and used to guide data analysis.

6.2. Research Questions

- What discursive context is transformational leadership embedded in?
- How do articles (knowledge) on transformational leadership engender hegemonic effects in the leader-follower relationship?
- What subject positions are established within discourses present in transformational leadership texts?

6.3. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) Background

      The theoretical framework adopted by this research study is critical organisational theory, specifically that emanating from the Frankfurt School (Herbert Marcuse), Jürgen Habermas and Michel Foucault; therefore as the research design is qualitative in nature, the most appropriate methodology is critical discourse analysis. "Critical discourse analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytic research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 85). Critical research analysts assert that science, as well as scientific knowledge (such as that produced by industrial psychology) is not value-free but inherently enmeshed in and influenced by social structure and produced in social interaction. More specifically, the relationship between language and meaning is never arbitrary as the choice of specific rhetorical strategies, vocabulary and genres result in certain (often covert) presuppositions, meanings and intentions (Kress, 1991). Critical discourse analysts therefore seek to understand, expose and resist social inequality (Van Dijk, 2008). Fairclough (2010) proposes three central properties of CDA: it is relational, dialectical and transdisciplinary. CDA can be regarded as *relational* as its primary focus is not individuals or entities but rather on complex, layered, social relations; in this way it also focuses on

'relations between relations'. These relations are proposed to be *dialectical* in that they are both different from one another however not mutually exclusive in the sense that one completely excludes the other e.g. "power is not…reducible to discourse; 'power' and 'discourse' are different elements in the social process. Yet power is partly discourse, and discourse is partly power – they are different but not discrete…discourse can be 'internalised' in power and vice versa" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 4). Finally, CDA is interdisciplinary or rather *transdisciplinary*, as Fairclough refers to it. The term transdisciplinary suggests that dialogues between theories, frameworks and disciplines which occur during the process of analysis, are a source of theoretical and methodological developments within the specific theories, frameworks and disciplines in dialogue.

Discourse analysis is generally directed at either micro-level or macro-level analysis. The focus of micro-level analysis includes language use, discourse, semiosis, verbal interaction and communication. Macro-level analysis alternatively, focuses on issues of power, dominance, hegemony and inequality between social groups (Van Dijk, 2008). CDA seeks to theoretically unite these two levels of analysis as well as intermediary "mesolevels" as represented by Fairclough (1992) in the diagram below:

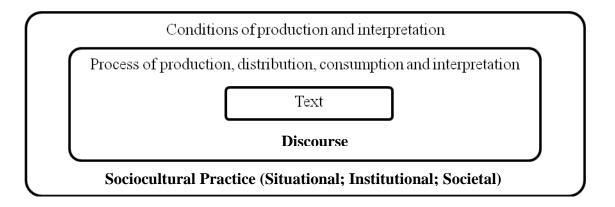Figure 2. The relationship between texts, discursive practices and social practices. From *Discourse and social change* (p. 73), by N. Fairclough, 1992, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Due to the presenting time and space constraints of a mini dissertation, a predominant focus was placed on the macro-level concepts (power, dominance, hegemony etc.) and the meso and micro-level concepts to a lesser extent.

6.4. CDA's Agenda

Fairclough (2010) proposes the following broad agenda of CDA:

6.4.1. Emergence of discourses.

CDA seeks to identify the range of discourses that emerge and subsequently link them to emerging strategies. It aims to demonstrate how the range of discourses evolve over time as crises develop. Differences and similarities between discourses are identified concerning how events, actions, social agents and institutions are represented within the discourse; how they narrate both past and present events and are linked to imaginaries for future systems and practices; and how such practices are explained, justified and legitimised. It aims to show how discourses emerge through the articulation of existing discourses and in particular social circumstances. Analysis of the above should essentially involve an integration of transdisciplinary critical analysis oriented to a research object.

6.4.2. Relations of dialogue, contestation and dominance between discourses.

CDA aims to show how different discourses are spoken about and disputed within strategic struggles for dominance. It should demonstrate how certain discourses become dominant or hegemonic and are subsequently marginalised over time. "CDA can provide particular insights into the struggle between different strategies for transforming society in different directions through rhetorically oriented analysis of how strategic differences are fought out in a dialogue, debate, polemic etc" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 20). This analysis must necessarily be informed by transdisciplinary critique which: 1. Aims to explicate why certain discourses rather than others achieve success in the strategies they employ and 2. Provides a positive critique, identifying realistic and desirable strategies to advance human well-being.

6.4.3. Recontextualisation of discourse.

Critical discourse analysts need to demonstrate how dominant or hegemonic discourses are disseminated across both structural (between different social fields) and scalar (between local and national scales) boundaries i.e. how they become recontextualised.

6.4.4. Operationalisation of discourses.

It should demonstrate in which ways and under what circumstances, discourses become operationalised and implemented as strategies: "enacted in changed ways (practices) of acting and interacting; inculcated in changed ways of being (identities); materialised in changes in

material reality" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 20). However, although there is a discourse-analytical dimension inherent in the investigation of the ways in which discourse contributes toward social transformation, the primary concern is the relationship between discourse and other social elements and therefore falls within the domain of transdisciplinary analysis.

6.5. Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis

Fairclough and Wodak (1997) describe CDA as being fundamentally based on eight central principles which illustrate a broad social analysis. Certain principles represent a commonality which permeates all approaches within CDA whilst others are more controversial. The principles are as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems through its examination of the linguistic and semiotic aspects of social and cultural processes and structures. Therefore social and political processes have a partially linguistic or discursive nature which is reflected in various linguistic and discourse strategies and decisions.

2. Power relations are discursive, operating and being negotiated through language.

3. Discourse constitutes society and culture as well as being constituted by them; a dialectical relationship exists. Therefore language is not only a reflection of social relations but reproduces them.

4. Discourse does ideological work. "Ideologies are particular ways of representing and constructing society which reproduce unequal relations of power, relations of domination and exploitation" (Janks, 1997, p. 3). In order to determine the extent to which discourses produce ideologies, it is important to go beyond an analysis of the text and consider how they are interpreted and the resultant social effects.

5. Discourse is historical; it is not produced and cannot be understood separately from context i.e. discourses that preceded it and those which are produced synchronically and subsequently.

6. The link between text and society is mediated. CDA aims to make connections between elements of text and social and cultural structures and processes, which are often extremely complex and indirect.

7. Discourse analysis is interpretive and explanatory, going far beyond mere description of text. Such interpretation and explanations are dynamic, open and subject to change based on new audiences, new contexts and new information. Underlying this principle is the social constructionist view of discourse.

8. Discourse is a form of social action. CDA is a socially committed scientific paradigm that aims to reveal unequal power relations and subsequently intervene to bring about change in communicative and socio-political practices.

As CDA is a relatively new form of discourse analysis, with most references dating from the 1990s, there are few, if any, clearly established guidelines or prescriptions as to how to apply such a methodology (Titscher, Meyer, Wodak & Vetter, 2000). However, as one of the leading authorities on CDA, Norman Fairclough provides a contemporary model of CDA which was subsequently used as a methodological framework to inform this research study.

6.6. Fairclough's (2010) Methodology

The research methodology that was used to analyse the textual data is Fairclough's (2010) dialectical-relational version of CDA as it provided a set of distinct, clearly-defined stages, which were easy to follow and apply. Fairclough provides a general method to guide analysis, yet asserts that the specific methods applied to a given piece of research need to emanate from the theoretical process of constructing its object. "We can identify 'stages' or 'steps' in the methodology only on condition that these are not interpreted in a mechanical way" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 234); thus his proposed stages can be conceptualised as having an iterative nature. Each of the stages are necessary parts of the methodology (a matter of its 'theoretical order'). Although it does seem logical to proceed through the stages in sequential order (a matter of the 'procedural order'), this is not practical or desirable within CDA as it serves to marginalise certain avenues of analysis. The stages are as follows (p. 234-239):

Stage 1	• Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect
Stage 2	• Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong
Stage 3	• Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong
Stage 4	• Identify possible ways past the obstacles

6.6.1. Stage 1: Focus upon a social wrong, in its semiotic aspect.

As CDA is embedded within the critical social sciences, it seeks to understand the nature and origins of social wrongs, the barriers that hinder the resolution of such wrongs, as well as possible means of removing these barriers. Social wrongs can be broadly conceptualised as "aspects of social systems, forms or orders which are detrimental to human well-being, and which could in principle be ameliorated if not eliminated, though perhaps only through major changes in these systems, forms or orders" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 235). The first stage is further divided into two steps:

Step 1. Select a research topic which relates to or points up a social wrong and which can productively be approached in a trans-disciplinary way with a particular focus on dialectical relations between semiotic and other 'moments'.

Step 2. Once the research topic has been selected, objects of research need to be constructed by theorising them in a transdisciplinary manner. It is the task of the researcher to determine which theoretical perspectives will provide a rich theorisation as a foundation upon which coherent objects of critical research can be defined; those which will subsequently enable a deeper understanding of the problematic processes, implications of such processes for human well-being and ways of improving well-being.

> Constructing an object of research…involves drawing upon relevant bodies of theory
> in various disciplines to go beyond and beneath the obviousness of the topic, and
> since the focus is on a specifically semiotic 'point of entry' into researching it, these
> should include theories of semiosis and discourse (Fairclough, 2010, p. 236).

6.6.2. Stage 2: Identify obstacles to addressing the social wrong.

The second stage questions what it is that renders the structure and organisation of social life exempt from confrontation and redress. In order to address such a question, an analysis of the social order is required; an appropriate 'point of entry' into this analysis may be semiotic i.e. the selection and analysis of pertinent texts as well as the confrontation of dialectical relations between discourse and other social elements. The second stage is further divided into three steps:

Step 1. Analyse dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements: between orders of discourse and other elements of social practices, between texts and other elements of events.

Step 2. Select texts, and focuses and categories for their analysis, in light of and appropriate to the constitution of the object of research.

Step 3. Carry out analyses of texts, both interdiscursive analysis and linguistic/semiotic analysis.

The above mentioned steps, together, signal an essential feature of this version of CDA: Textual analysis is not the sole constituent of CDA but rather it is a vital component of semiotic analysis which needs to be framed therein. "The aim is to develop a specifically semiotic 'point of entry' into objects of research which are constituted in a transdisciplinary way, through dialogue between different themes and disciplines" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 237). A textual analysis can only contribute to the achievement of this aim to the extent that it is situated within a broader analysis of the object of research.

6.6.3. Stage 3: Consider whether the social order 'needs' the social wrong.

Stage 3 leads us to consider whether the social order is dependant on the social wrong to ensure that certain powerful groups maintain their privileged positions i.e. can it be addressed within the social order, leaving it essentially unchanged or can the social wrong only be quelled through the restructuring of the social order? "It is a way of linking 'is' to 'ought': if a social order can be shown to inherently give rise to major social wrongs, than that is a reason for thinking that perhaps it should be changed" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 238). In addition to questions of whether the social order *needs* to change, we also need to consider whether it is *possible* to change it i.e. do incongruities in the social order as well as the forces and resources organised against it render change possible and desirable? Finally, this stage is connected to questions of ideology: discourse is ideological to the extent that it contributes to the sustenance of specific relations of power and domination.

6.6.4. Stage 4: Identify possible ways past the obstacles.

The final stage is marked by a transition from a negative to a positive critique. Whilst focussing on dialectical relations between semiosis and other elements, means of conquering barriers to addressing social wrongs within the current social order are identified. The researcher must develop a semiotic 'point of entry' into research regarding the ways in which these barriers are reacted to, tested, challenged and opposed (Fairclough, 2010).

In an analysis of the relationship between discourse and power, it is asserted that access to specific forms of discourses (e.g. media, politics and science) is a power resource; therefore if it is believed that social action is influenced by knowledge and opinion then

powerful groups may indirectly persuade and manipulate the actions of less powerful groups. Given this assertation, it is hypothesised that the results of this research study will reveal that the social actions of transformational leaders, given their access to scientific knowledge products, will serve to create, maintain and reinforce hegemonic practices in the interest of organisational profits. CDA is "helpful in revealing the way in which discursive activities help to construct institutions in which power is embedded through the way in which taken for granted understandings serve to privilege some actors and disadvantage others" (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 27). Additionally it provides insight into discursive practices undertaken by specific actors in influencing this process. As the fundamental aim of this research study is to determine the extent to which a textual analysis reveals the presence of hegemonic effects and practices in transformational leadership, CDA is the most appropriate methodology.

6.7. Data Selection and Textual Sample

As the selected methodology was CDA, an appropriate subject of analysis within this research study was written academic texts. The inclusion criteria for these texts were as follows: they had to be of an empirical, conceptual or theoretical nature; they had to have been published between 2007 and 2009; they had to contain the words *transformational leadership* in their titles; all reviews, conference proceedings, unpublished theses, book chapters and reports were excluded. The first forty articles meeting the inclusion criteria were obtained using a Google Scholar Advanced Search. The articles were then numbered from 1 – 40 in accordance with the order in which they were accessed. The following procedure was used to obtain texts for critical discourse analysis. From these forty articles, eight (20% of the population) (See Appendix 1 for a list of 8 selected articles) were randomly selected for analysis and interpretation using a number-generating programme; the programme was designed to randomly select numbers between 1 and 40 (See Appendix 2 for a list of all 40 articles). As the nature of this study is qualitative eight electronic journal articles will be sufficient to detect meaningful similarities, trends and inconsistencies; selecting more than this would not be feasible due to time constraints.

Chapter 7: Data Analysis

The four stages proposed in Fairclough's (2010) method outlined above were applied to the topic of transformational leadership. Each of the stages and steps are systematically elaborated in detail below. It should be noted that certain areas may have already been explained within previous chapters; therefore they will only briefly be discussed in this section for purposes of revision and application.

7.1. Stage 1: Focus upon a Social Wrong, in its Semiotic Aspect

As mentioned above, Fairclough (2010) maintains that a social wrong is an aspect of the social system which serves to diminish human well-being and stifle the attainment of individual satisfaction and goal achievement in order to privilege a particular group or institution – this social wrong may possibly only be righted through the restructuring of social systems, forms or orders that function to maintain and perpetuate it.

Step 1: Select a research topic which relates to or points up a social wrong and which can productively be approached in a transdisciplinary way with a particular focus on dialectical relations between semiotic and other 'moments'.

The selected research topic associated with a social wrong is *transformational leadership*. Research will focus exclusively on transformational leadership within the organisational context and how it serves to maintain unequal power relations between employers and employees (organisational interests and employee interests). Transformational leadership may be regarded as a social wrong as it functions to coerce employees into transcending their own self-interests and subsequently adopting the values espoused by their leaders which correspond with the values of the organisation (Bass & Riggio, 2006). These values become internalised by employees, resulting in greater organisational commitment, higher levels of performance and the achievement of organisational objectives (Atwarter & Spangler, 2004; Bass & Avolio, 2000) with no corresponding increase in rewards. Unlike other forms of leadership e.g. transactional leadership that guides followers in the direction of organisational goal achievement through appealing to their rational exchange motives or *self-interests* (Ivancevich, Lorenzi, Skinner, & Crosby, 1994) by providing rewards for performance; transformational leaders cloak their intentions in a humanistic, employee-oriented rhetoric whilst demanding the self-same outcomes as the aforementioned. Transformational leaders are proposed to motivate and inspire employees through four fundamental components:

idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration – which in turn is proposed to result in increased psychological empowerment, job satisfaction, meaningful work and creative opportunities (Dumdum, Lowe & Avolio, 2002; McCann, Langford & Rawlings, 2006). However, the current argument is that these outcomes (psychological empowerment etc.) are not the sole purpose for organisations employing transformational leaders; rather they act as mediators between transformational leadership and organisational performance thereby disguising transformational leadership as an approach to empower, inspire and motivate employees; whereas in reality it acts as an instrument of control and domination aimed at extracting the maximum amount of effort from the bodies and souls of workers accompanied by no corresponding increase in rewards, and ensuring them that it is to their advantage. In this way leaders do not safeguard human well-being, but rather seek to exploit it in order to achieve organisational objectives. Fairclough (2010) asserts that objects of research within CDA should ideally be topics that have been largely excluded from critical analysis within social research. Additionally, research should focus on contemporary issues that are relevant within modern society. The topic of *transformational leadership* is particularly relevant within contemporary society and organisations as it is generally regarded to be the most accepted of the leadership theories and is currently used by many organisations worldwide (Muchinsky, 2003).

> Changes in the marketplace and workforce…have resulted in the need for leaders to become more transformational and less transactional if they were to remain effective. Leaders (are) encouraged to empower their followers by developing them into high involvement individuals and teams focused on quality, service, cost-effectiveness, and quantity of output of production (Bass, 1999, p. 9).

Within recent years, leadership development has received elevated importance within modern organisations (McCauley & Van Velsor, 2004; Pearce, Waldman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2006). It is asserted that one of the primary reasons for this, as predicted by Druker (1968), is that we have entered the era of knowledge work. "Knowledge work relies on the, necessarily, voluntary contributions of skilled professionals: After all, knowledge workers can withhold their intellectual capital *and* they can take it with them if and when they chose to leave" (Pearce, 2007, p. 355). Therefore, transformational leaders are required to build personal and social identification among employees with the vision and goals of the organisation in order to engender a commitment to the organisation (Rafferty & Griffin, 2004) and the values it espouses, thereby retaining invaluable employees and the knowledge they posses. Therefore, if leaders can effectively instill a sense of commitment to the organisation in its employees,

then they essentially control the knowledge employees possess, affording them power over employees according to Foucault's (1980) conception of power-knowledge (see chapter 4).

Step 2: Construct objects of research for initially identified research topics by theorising them in a transdisciplinary way.

Specific research questions were constructed and broader issues pertaining to CDA were identified in order to provide a guiding framework for analysis (see chapter 6). It was decided that critical theory emanating from the Frankfurt School, Herbert Marcuse in particular, and Jürgen Habermas, provided a rich theorisation as a basis upon which coherent objects of research could be defined. Critical theory meets Fairclough's requirement of transdisciplinary theorisation of the object of research as it incorporates critical perspectives from philosophy, sociology, economics, law, history and psychoanalysis amongst other disciplines. A brief discussion will be provided of how critical theory in general and Marcuse and Habermas in particular: 1. Provide a deeper understanding of the problematic process and 2. Define the implications of the processes for human well-being.

Critical theory provides a deeper understanding of the problematic process by focusing on how networks of power relations intersect with knowledge and ideology. It "addresses the assumptions beneath practice and seeks to illustrate the consequences of those assumptions and invites actors to emancipate themselves from unacceptable consequences" (Berry & Cartwright, 2000, p. 346). It provides a critique of ideology by analysing the assumptions that underlie social practices and relations and well as identifying the implications of such assumptions for human well-being. Ideological critique involves the critique of scientism – an institutionalised form of reasoning which asserts that the meaning of knowledge is defined by science and scientific procedure (Habermas, 1971). Critical theory questions the validity of the interpretation and application of social scientific findings (Agger, 1991). It is argued that positivism encourages individuals to accept social, political and economic conditions as they are, and therefore unwittingly perpetuate them. Critical theory aims to develop a mode of consciousness that encourages individuals to view taken-for-granted fact as products of historical circumstance that can be changed. "Critical organisational theory focuses on the structural, economic and social system determinants of the distribution of power in organisations, and is concerned with the emancipation of workers and with establishing more democratic structures and forms of corporate governance" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 29). The fundamental importance of critical theory is that it aims to emancipate individuals and

dominated groups from dependency, subordination and exploitation i.e. hegemonic practice, in order to improve human well-being.

Members of the Frankfurt School studied ideology as the distortion of social reality through new forms of control and domination unique to contemporary technological society that served to privilege particular groups (Richardson & Fowers, 1997). Marcuse believed that capitalism and its numerous manifestations in the workplace represented a form of social oppression. He viewed happiness as the ability of individuals to fulfill their potentialities, however added that happiness and labour seldom coincide in the workplace (Rush, 2004). Marcuse made the distinction between one-dimensional and bi-dimensional thought. One-dimensional thought was proposed to conform to the dictates and modes of thought presented as truth by the dominant ideology thereby systematically suffocating the necessity for critique or resistance. A one-dimensional society could be created through new forms of control such as industrial management (transformational leadership). The alternative is bi-dimensional thought which appraises ideas in terms of possibilities to transcend the current state of affairs thereby allowing opportunity for freedom (Kellner, 1984). Marcuse acknowledged that the relationship between appearance and reality is shifting toward a predominant focus on appearance; events and statements of events are no longer afforded opportunities for critique but are presented as facts. The current research proposes that, as transformational leaders are purported to empower employees and create conditions for job satisfaction, increased participation and meaningful work, the fact that employees are expected to invest increased effort in the pursuit of organisational goals, remains unquestioned.

Habermas' central aim was to create a theory of society in which the practical objective was the self-emancipation of dominated individuals and groups (Held, 1980). He maintained that society was dominated by instrumental rationality i.e. developing the most technically efficient means of executing tasks, which systematically distorts communicative rationality i.e. open, honest discussion and debate without limitation or ideological pressure from the external sources in which only the strength of the better argument holds sway; decisions are reached through mutual consensus (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006; How, 2003). Powerful individuals in the organisation, such as transformational leaders, may intentionally set the institutional agenda so that the rhetoric of a democratic process is presented however in reality only suggestions that are aligned with the organisations objectives are accepted. Systematically distorted communication represents a form of control and manipulation as it

privileges a particular ideology (managerialist) over another, involves deception and prevents sincere and ethically informed conversation (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006).

In addition to the critical theoretical framework provided (see chapter 3), a conceptual framework (see chapter 4) was also included consisting of concepts such as: ideology, power, hegemony and discourse, as these are central to analysis in CDA.

7.2. Stage 2: Identify Obstacles to Addressing the Social Wrong

Step 1: Analyse dialectical relations between semiosis and other social elements. This section analyses the relationship between orders of discourse and social practices, texts and elements of events. In doing so, a link is established between dominant discourses embedded within the broader academic context and the current research topic i.e. transformational leadership. Additionally, the impact of such discourses on shaping academic knowledge, text and social practices is explicated. As mentioned previously (see chapter 5), modernist and positivist notions of human resource management (HRM) have achieved significant success in constructing an identity for HRM, entrenching it within the broader academic discourse regarding the employment relationship, and more specifically (within the ambit of the current research) the leader-follower relationship. As the three central characteristics of HRM have been identified as: ensuring greater organisational performance, adopting a unitarist approach, and espousing a belief that both employees and employers can benefit from soft HRM if employees' abilities are cultivated to ensure the attainment of organisational objectives (Harley & Hardy, 2004); transformational leaders may be regarded as agents responsible for ensuring that the above is realised by *motivating* and *inspiring* employees (soft HRM) to transcend their own self interests and align their values with the organisation's values in order to achieve greater organisational performance. HRM has frequently been depicted as a discipline consisting of two entirely opposed forms: hard and soft. The hard-soft dichotomy is typically found within normative models of HRM. The incorporation of both soft and hard elements within one model is highly problematic as each rests on a different set of assumptions regarding human nature and managerial control strategies (Truss et al., 1997). Organisations frequently portray a rhetoric that embraces the tenets of the soft, commitment model, while the reality experienced by employees is more reflective of strategic control consistent with the hard model. The current research proposes that transformational leaders claim to adopt an employee-oriented (soft HRM) approach, using language such as empowerment, job satisfaction and meaningful work to engender

organisational commitment, whereas in reality the primary role of such leaders is to direct behaviour towards the achievement of organisational goals (hard HRM). It is argued that as the dominant view of HRM reflects a positivist epistemology, it is unable to reveal the truth about HRM as research findings and so-called facts are created through the process of social construction and therefore HRM *constructs* what is classified as knowledge and truth within the discipline (Legge, 2001). The HRM discourse is consistent with the interests of powerful members of society. "It legitimises managerial prerogative, reinforces the view that the rational calculation of 'bottom line impacts' is the only way to measure the value of organisational practices, and undermines alternative ways of managing the employment relationship" (Harley & Hardy, 2004, p. 393).

Step 2: Select texts, and focuses and categories for their analysis, in the light of and appropriate to the constitution of the object of research.

Chapter 6 provides a detailed explanation of the text selection process. Concisely, a total of 40 electronic journal articles pertaining to transformational leadership were selected. From this population, 8 articles (20% of the population) were randomly selected using a number-generating program. In order to ensure that the results of the current study were reflective of the contemporary state of academic knowledge on transformational leadership and that the dominant discourses operating within contemporary organisations and texts were accurately represented; selected articles had to have been published between 2007 and 2009. All eight of the selected articles employed a quantitative methodology. Finally, categories that will inform analysis include: power, discourse, ideology, hegemony, managerial bias, the status quo and similar concepts relating to and emanating from the aforementioned.

Step 3: Carry out analyses of texts, both interdiscursive analysis and linguistic/semiotic analysis.

Article 1. The first article entitled *Embracing transformational leadership: Team values and the impact of leader behaviour on team performance* by Schaubroeck, Lam and Cha (2007) aimed to determine the extent to which two team values (power distance and collectivism) moderated the relationship between transformational leadership and team performance. The central focus of the article revolves around determining "the conditions under which transformational leadership is more or less effective" (p. 1020) i.e. the conditions that result in increased team *performance*. A direct relationship is identified

between transformational leadership and team potency – "generalised beliefs about the capabilities of the team across tasks and contexts" (p. 1021). Additionally, transformational leadership positively influences team performance through the mediating effect of team potency. "Transformational leadership influenced team potency and, consequently, team performance to a greater extent among teams that were higher in power distance and, separately, high in collectivism" (p. 1027). Therefore the authors insist that if managers wish to enhance the performance of their followers through transformational leadership they need to establish conditions that support such leadership, that is, actively promote high power distance and collectivism. However, in doing so, numerous opportunities for employee exploitation and subjugation arise. Within the entire article no mention is made of how employees' well-being may be safeguarded or promoted within the organisational context – the primary focus of transformational leadership is to determine ways in which employees can be managed and manipulated to ensure that optimum team performance is achieved. Firstly, the authors suggest that teams that have high power distance – "the extent to which people regard unequal status differences as legitimate" (p. 1021) – respond more positively to transformational leaders and subsequently perform better. This proposition illuminates the inherently exploitative nature of transformational leadership in which effectiveness is only achieved through maintaining an unequal balance of power; essentially creating a hegemonic situation in which one social actor is afforded the right to decision-making whilst the other is subjected to the effects of such decisions. Secondly, as high collectivism within teams is also responsible for increasing transformational leaders' ability to effect increased team performance, "supportive leader behaviours should help meet these interpersonal needs of collectivistic team members" (p. 1022). The article defines collectivism as the extent to which the group's needs are superordinate to individual needs and self-interests and, to which the group wishes to maintain strong, harmonious intragroup relations. Although at surface level this may appear to be a noble objective for transformational leaders to strive for, upon deeper investigation it becomes evident that the promotion of a highly collectivist workforce further serves to maintain the status quo and impede social change. If individuals are consistently encouraged to suppress their own interests in favour of group interests (which are consistent with organisational interests), exploitative practices will remain unquestioned whilst the status quo is justified through *discursive legitimacy* (see chapter 4). The authors suggest that in order to promote collectivism, leaders may foster the development of shared values through "recruiting individuals who are high in collectivism, by instituting socialisation practices that promote a team-oriented mindset, and by rewarding team

members formally and informally for collectivistic behaviour" (p. 1027) – essentially employees are rewarded for compliance and docility. Within the article it is even blatantly stated that leadership assists organisations to manage two essential needs: "the need for inequality – the differential allocation of resources such as status and compensation among members – in the service of efficiency and the need for group cohesiveness and solidarity, some level of which is required for the group's continued existence" (p. 1022).

From the above account, it becomes explicitly clear that the article is operating within a HRM discourse in which the ideal subject/audience is managers, as predominant emphasis is placed on techniques for ensuring increased team *performance*, findings which they will exclusively benefit from. A HRM discourse is privileged through the article's central focus on organisational goals and outcomes to the complete exclusion of employee interests and well-being. Employee interests are not only neglected, they are intentionally stifled whilst the maintenance of unequal power relations between the leader and his followers is promoted. Additionally, it is evident that the authors, in their representation of transformational leadership as a technology of control and manipulation, serve to maintain and perpetuate a managerialist ideology in which the privileged position of managers and the organisation in relation to the employee is reinforced. The article, in accordance with the managerialist ideology, positions employees as docile, passive recipients of transformational leaders' will, who are largely incapable of resisting the dictates of the status quo. Leaders on the other hand, are presented as inspirational role-models who show concern for their followers needs whilst simultaneously having the ability to control and direct the behaviours of their followers in the direction of increased performance and organisational success. Therefore the authors' overall intention within this article is to convey the message that transformational leaders need to instil in their workforce values (high power distance and collectivism) that will increase their ability to effectively lead their followers toward increased *performance*. Although the article blatantly states that one of the fundamental roles of a leader is to manage inequitable relations within the workplace i.e. maintain them, what is largely left unspecified is how such practices impact the well-being of employees and their experience of work.

Article 2. The second article entitled *The effects of transformational leadership on followers' perceived work characteristics and psychological well-being: A longitudinal study* by Nielsen, Randall, Yarker and Brenner (2008) reported that "followers' experience of a meaningful work environment, role clarity, and opportunities for development partially

mediated the relationship between transformational leadership and followers' well-being" (p. 27). The manner in which the research aims and findings are presented give the impression that the authors' sincere intention is determine the conditions under which transformational leadership results in increased employee well-being in order to make "managers aware of the degree to which they influence their subordinates' perceptions of work characteristics and self-reported well-being" (p. 28). The authors suggest that if managers can exert behaviours associated with transformational leadership, they may alter the way in which followers perceive work and subsequently increase well-being. However, it is argued that what is essentially left unsaid is that the techniques and strategies transformational leaders use to alter followers' perceived work characteristics (role clarity, meaningfulness and opportunities for development), are in fact not directed at increasing employee well-being but rather at increasing employee *performance*. Increasing role clarity is proposed to be achieved through setting and communicating a clear and attractive vision, formulating goals and facilitating the achievement of them. Therefore the leader clarifies what the follower is required to do to achieve *organisational goals*. Secondly, the transformational leader may assist the employee to realise the meaningful interrelationship between their work and the organisations vision. "Inspirational motivation may be used to formulate a clear vision that allows employees to see where their work fits in with organisational objectives" (p. 19). Therefore meaningfulness is imposed on followers by leaders; their work may not be inherently meaningful to them at all – however it is meaningful to the organisation. By providing increased opportunities for development, leaders supposedly allow employees to define and enact "their own visions independently of the leader's immediate control and supervision" (p. 19). However, through the provision of coaches and mentors – employees' behaviours may be constantly surveyed to ensure that it is congruent with organisational objectives. Within their review of the literature, the authors briefly mention that "research on the relationship between transformational leadership and performance related outcomes tends to find that followers' perceptions of work characteristics mediate transformational leadership - performance relationships" (p. 17). Psychological empowerment was also found to mediate the relationship between transformational leadership and performance. The fact that one of the additional outcomes of such strategies is a self-reported increase in employee well-being is particularly convenient for managers who seek to impose them. Findings such as those presented in this article allow managers and leaders alike to behave in a manner that is "proven" to bring about increased psychological well-being therefore significantly decreasing the likelihood of ideological resistance. Finally, the authors propose that instead of implementing organisational-level

changes in job design and work organisation in order to improve employee health and psychological well-being, transformational leaders may be trained to exert behaviours possible of changing work characteristics which "may prove to be both more-cost effective and easy to control than implementing wide-ranging organisational changes to improve work environment" (p. 29).

Although this article is not as obvious as the first in its adherence to a managerialist ideology, it nevertheless is directed at leaders and managers who wish to ensure increased employee performance. At a superficial level it may appear as though a humanitarian discourse is operating within the text as it appears to be promoting the interests and well-being of employees within the work context, positioning them as informed, active agents capable of volition, creative decision-making and exercising their own visions. However, the multiple links established above between psychological well-being and organisational performance warrant further attention. A managerialist voice is present throughout the text, instructing managers to adopt transformational leadership tendencies in order to increase employee well-being through the alteration of employees perceived work characteristics and ultimately increase *organisational performance* and *reduce costs*. From this perspective, it may be more appropriate to conclude that an HRM discourse is dominant within the text. As mentioned previously (chapter 5) human resources practices such as those executed by transformational leaders often present a humanitarian, employee-centered rhetoric in order to engender commitment and obedience from employees who are made to be believe that their increased efforts are for their own psychological benefit, whilst in actuality they serve to benefit the organisation. Therefore, subtle power relations between leaders and employees emerge; leaders assume the role of disciplinary agent, using their specialised training and knowledge to disguise their intensions to increase organisational performance.

Article 3. The third article entitled *Using positivity, transformational leadership, and empowerment to combat employee negativity* by Avey, Hughes, Norman and Luthans (2008) confirmed that transformational leadership was negatively related to employee negativity (intentions to quit and cynicism) and this relationship was fully mediated by empowerment. The message that the authors intend us to draw from the text is that if managers wish to retain valuable employees, especially during times of organisational change and restructuring, they need to either train or hire transformational leaders who are able to empower employees thereby reducing their cynicism and intentions to quit. The practical implications of these

findings serve to directly benefit managers, who are provided with the knowledge and skills required to retain employees, thereby reducing negativity and turnover, ensuring organisational survival. "Given that those higher in cynicism are less likely to embrace and engage in organisational change…transformational leaders can help decrease the level of employee cynicism and increase the rate of positive organisational change" (p. 122). Therefore it is evident that the intended audience of this article would be managers and consultants; employees would receive little if any practical guidance on how to ensure their own interests are privileged or even represented within the work context from this text – the primary emphasis is on how to ensure *organisational performance* is not stifled through employee negativity as opposed to how employees' concerns can be appeased. Empowerment is used as a tool for effecting positive organisational outcomes i.e. the reduction of employee negativity, rather than a means by which employees positively experience their work. Additionally, both transformational leadership and empowerment were found to engender a sense of effectiveness, commitment and organisational attachment. The authors suggest that in order to increase empowerment (and subsequently commitment) transformational leaders should increase "follower self-efficacy, by facilitating followers' social identification with their group or organisation, and by linking the organisations work values to follower values" (p. 114) i.e. followers should transcend their own self-interests for the good of the group and the organisation. As discussed earlier, by expecting and to a large degree obliging employees to put the interests of the group and organisation above self-interests, employees essentially become complicit agents in their own self-subordination as they consistently monitor their own behaviour (in tandem with the disciplinary agent) to ensure that it is consistent with the values and requirements of the organisation – which they have internalised. Transformational leadership is proposed to reduce followers' intentions to quit through two basic mechanisms: (1) by demonstrating how the values and goals of the group, leader, organisation and the individual are in basic alignment (2) the leader's idealised influence - charisma – results in followers seeking to emulate the leader and therefore become "compelled to stay with the leader to maintain this part of their identity" (p. 116). The first point directly corresponds with one of the fundamental characteristics of HRM and therefore (along with the other evidence indicative of HRM practices), it can be gathered that this texts operates within as well as contributes to the HRM discourse in which it is purported that employees and employers can benefit from soft HRM if employees' abilities are cultivated to ensure the attainment of organisational objectives. Secondly, by creating an emotional commitment to both the leader and the organisation, transformational leaders engage in powerful strategies of

control and domination. Rose (1990) asserts that control processes are only effective to the extent that they are internalised. Employees become citizens not only within broader society, but also within the organisational context, a subject position which is willingly enacted and largely unquestioned. Employees' subjectivities become defined by the dynamics of power operating within the HRM discourse i.e. managerial power over the bodies and minds of workers. Their identities become constructed in relation to the dominant discourse; employees actively adopt the values of the organisation consistent with the HRM discourse.

Article 4. The fourth article entitled *Transformational leadership and followers' attitudes: The mediating role of psychological empowerment* by Castro, Periñan and Bueno (2008) reported that psychological empowerment mediated the relationship between transformational leadership and the attitudes of followers (general job satisfaction and affective commitment to the organisation). As with the previous articles, the practical implications of the research findings serve as a valuable resource for mangers (rather than employees) in their quest to ensure that organisational goals are met. Therefore management may be regarded as the ideal audience for the reception of this text. "Leaders who wish to enhance employee satisfaction and organisational commitment should be capable of communicating enthusiasm about organisational objectives, fostering the internalisation of goals, creating a sense of choice and impact, and making employees feel that they are participants in the transformation of the organisation" (p. 1857). Although, as was the case in previous articles, it may appear that the aim of the article was attempting to establish means by which job satisfaction - something that would benefit employees – could be fostered within the organisation; it is argued that again, job satisfaction is merely one of the possible organisational outcomes of empowerment through transformational leadership rather than the intended goal. As mangers and owners seek to present a humanistic, employee-centered façade, increasing emphasis is placed on outcomes such as job satisfaction both within academic texts such as this article as well as language within the workplace. As mentioned previously, hegemonic practices within the organisation seek to promote involvement, empowerment and meaning, however it appears that this is more rhetoric than reality as they are ideologically engineered to exclusively benefit the interests of leaders and manager i.e. *organisational performance, efficiency and effectiveness*. The strategies and techniques suggested to bring about empowerment, job satisfaction and organisational commitment are argued to be at best, deceptive and manipulative. Castro et al. (2008) assert that transformational leadership involves "the creation of an emotional attachment between

leaders and their followers, and this emotional attachment helps to shape the values, aspirations, and priorities of followers" (p. 1842). Mores specifically, this emotional attachment involves: "i) acceptance of the organisation's objectives and values; ii) willingness to make an extraordinary effort for the organisation; and iii) a desire to remain with the company" (p. 1845). It is evident that this article recommends the same strategies as the previous article for engendering a sense of commitment to the organisation i.e. linking followers' identities both to the leader's and the organisation's values so that behaviour contrary to these values would serve to fragment the individuals' identity. The likelihood of individuals compromising their sense of identity in order to impose their own will within the organisation is unlikely, therefore through the establishment of an association between employees' identities and the goals and values of the organisation, leaders may systematically suffocate any potential resistance against the dominant managerialist ideology. Finally, "transformational leaders who emphasise a shared vision of organisational values and ideals will 'prime' the collective self-identity of their followers" (p. 1845). By creating a collective of employees who have all internalised the self-same values and aspirations of the organisation – a situation of surveillance is established in which employees actively monitor the behaviour of their colleagues as well as their own behaviour to ensure that it is in accordance with the dictates of the organisation's objectives, thus negating the need for constant supervision by the leader. This represents a prime example of disciplinary power exerted by the transformational leader over his followers. Upon closer investigation of the wording of certain sentences within the article, the humanist vs. managerialist ideology may be illuminated. In their review of the literature, Castro et al. (2008) identify that "transformational leaders can use empowerment to *create a perception* among followers that they are being taken seriously, listened to and valued as members of the organisation" (p. 1843). Additionally they select the following definition of empowerment: "a cognitive state characterised by a sense of *perceived control, competence, and goal internalisation*" (p. 1846). Although this is open to interpretation, the current argument interprets the aforementioned phrases as meaning that as long as transformational leaders can make their followers *believe* that they are genuinely satisfied and contented with their work, and that individual and organisational goals are highly congruent, empowerment will ensue subsequently resulting in job satisfaction and affective organisational commitment. "Transformational leaders emphasise the independence and proactivity of followers, and favour empowerment strategies rather than control" (p. 1847). What is left unsaid is that leaders use empowerment *as* a strategy of control – analogous of the phrase *a wolf in sheep's*

clothing. This deception unearths the inherent power dynamics within the leader-follower relationship; leaders seek to instill within their followers a belief that they (the employees) are in control of work processes and outcomes, and that their creative and innovative contributions are of value to the organisation; whilst in actuality leaders systematically distort the communicative agenda in such a way that only contributions favouring organisational efficiency, effectiveness and profitability are considered. "The study emphasises the importance of psychological empowerment and its relevance in shaping the cognitive states of employees with whom power is shared" (p. 1857). Employees, by virtue of the fact that their knowledge and labour are required to meet organisational goals, hold a degree of power within the organisation. The tendency toward an equal distribution of power within the workplace places managerial control under serious threat; therefore in order to ensure that an unequal balance of power is maintained and legitimised in the direction of management, transformational leaders need to "shape the cognitive states of employees" aligning their values with those of the organisation thereby maintaining power and control over the attitudes and behaviours of their followers.

Much like the previous article, the influence of the HRM discourse is apparent throughout the article; managers seek to create the impression through empowerment techniques that employees and the organisation have essentially the same values and interests. To the extent that transformational leaders can make employees believe that this assertion is true and that management genuinely has the employees' best interests at heart, they can legitimise their behaviours to maintain an unequal balance of power in pursuit of organisational goals. Employees are positioned as naïve, complicit agents in their own subordination – they blindly and uncritically adopt the values of the leader which in actuality do not serve their own interests but rather bind them to the organisation and its requirements.

Article 5. The fifth article entitled *The relationship between transformational leadership, product innovation and performance in SMEs* by Matzler, Schwartz, Deutinger and Harms (2008) confirmed its hypothesis that "transformational leadership has a positive direct impact on innovation, growth and profitability" (p. 139) within small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs). The gist of what the authors are trying to communicate through this text is that transformational leadership is particularly important if management seeks to foster innovation and subsequently increase firm performance and growth. Unlike the two previous articles which sought to disguise managerial intentions in order to present a humanistic

façade, the article by Matzler et al. (2008) is more direct and explicit in its intentions – clearly operating through a HRM discourse. "In our research we identified a substantial positive relationship between transformational leadership and performance" (p. 148). The intention of the authors was to determine whether transformational leadership could cultivate innovation within the context of SMEs. The importance of innovations for organisations is that they "constitute the basis for acquirement and retention of a sustainable competitive advantage and are crucial for the economic survival of SMEs" (p. 140). Additionally "if the firm fails to deliver product innovations on a continuous basis, revenue may decrease" (p. 143). Therefore, innovations may be understood as one of the crucial success factors for firm profitability and growth. The authors identify that transformational leadership may be particularly useful within the context of SMEs as it appeals to employees' intrinsic motivation. Extrinsic motivation requires leaders to align the actions of employees with rewards and incentives – once employees adapt to a certain level of reward, its efficacy may decrease necessitating a continuous increase in the level of reward in order to maintain extraordinary performance. In this way, transformational leaders, through their provision of intrinsic motivation, may drastically reduce the financial costs of maintaining high levels of performance. Additionally, transformational leadership may enable followers to "identify and exploit business opportunities for the firm" and become "sensitised to develop more efficient work routines, lower costs and in turn increase profitability" (p. 144).

Therefore the sole utility of transformational leadership according to this article is to cultivate innovation in order to increase performance, growth and ultimately profitability. The role of employees in the process of increasing innovation is alluded to regardless of the fact that they will be the ones impacted by such decisions. Employees would not gain any relevant knowledge from this article that would serve to benefit them; exclusive emphasis is placed on outcomes that benefit the organisation. A predominant HRM perspective can be identified due to the consistent emphasis on *performance outcomes* throughout the text. A unidirectional focus of this magnitude largely serves to marginalise the interests and well-beings of employees. The article states that as CEOs have an ownership stake in their ventures, top-management play a dominant role within SMEs, "which gives them extensive decision-making power" (p. 141). Such centralised power, especially by individuals who have a direct investment in the organisations success, has the potential to create vast interest disparities i.e. the interests of management and the organisation as a whole are likely to be consistently privileged at the expense of employee well-being. Employees are positioned as

passive recipients of the transformational leaders will; they are afforded no agency in matters that directly affect their work experience.

Article 6. The sixth article entitled *Transformational leadership as a mediator of the relationship between behaviour-based control and salespeople's key outcomes* by Panagopoulos and Dimitriadis (2009) suggests that "employing a BBC (behaviour-based control) system in the sales organisation facilitates the adoption of TL (transformational leadership) behaviours, which, in turn, enhance the salespeople's performance, satisfaction, and commitment" (p. 1024). The practical implications of the findings are particularly useful to chief sales executives, mangers and OD (organisational development) consultants who seek to improve the outcomes produced by their sales staff – therefore the abovementioned individuals would comprise the prime audience to which this study is directed. The conceptualisation of transformational leadership represented within this article reveals explicit similarities to previously discussed articles: "Transformational leaders fundamentally change the values, goals, and aspirations of followers, so that they perform their work because it is consistent with their values" (p. 1010); consequently followers are "motivated, energised and encouraged to surpass their own personal objectives for the sake of the organisation" (p. 1011). As mentioned previously, control mechanisms (of the leader over the follower) are only efficacious to the extent that they become normalised and internalised. Therefore if leaders are able to genuinely convince employees that HRM practices serve the mutual interests of employees and the organisation, then virtually any control mechanism enforced in the direction of organisational goal achievement is legitimised as it is purported to simultaneously benefit the individual. According to Panagopoulos and Dimitriadis (2009), transformational leaders motivate employees to perform at a level beyond their transactional agreements; "it typically involves inspiring followers to do more than originally expected by recognising and satisfying their higher order needs" (p. 1010). What this says to employees is that their needs for recognition and self-actualisation (higher order needs) will only be accomplished through increased efforts within the workplace – work becomes a conduit for the fulfillment of psychological needs. Therefore, within the workplace individuals are reduced to workers and their value measured by what they can contribute to the organisation. This notion becomes extended beyond the workplace whereby individuals come to know themselves as a "doctor", "engineer" or "sales consultant" – it becomes an integral part of an employee's identity and thus they engage in behaviours that will ensure this identity is safeguarded i.e. compliance, docility and self-subordination. This appeal to employees'

higher order needs parallels the previous article's assertion that transformational leaders may provide *intrinsic motivation* as opposed to extrinsic motivation which is costly and results in only temporal satisfaction. Therefore by appealing to higher order needs as opposed to infinite material needs, transformational leaders may simultaneously reduce financial costs as well as instill a sense of commitment to the organisation. The findings presented in the article resonate with previous findings that "managing and leadership are complimentary, supervisory behaviours and that governance modes are important antecedents for the effective exercise of TL behaviours" (p. 1023). The governance mode discussed within this article is BBC – "under a BBC system, management places increased emphasis in directing sales people's activities and developing sales capabilities that will enhance *the welfare of the organisation*" (p. 1013). Therefore it is logical to deduce that transformational leadership facilitated by BBC serves to benefit the welfare of the organisation rather than the well-being or needs of its followers. The sales force is viewed as a "major investment" – therefore employees become reduced to a factor of production, one of the numerous inputs required to obtain financial profits. Therefore the knowledge and resources that employees draw on to construct their identities and self-concepts largely becomes prescribed by transformational leaders who operate within a HRM discourse. They provide the knowledge through which employees come to know themselves – as workers, factors of production and necessary inputs in order to achieve desired outcomes. Subject positions created for employees by transformational leaders essentially deprive them of knowing themselves as anything but a worker. Of the three salesperson outcomes proposed to result from transformational leadership (job performance, satisfaction with the supervisor and organisational commitment), two of the three serve to benefit the organisation. Regarding job performance, it is reiterated that transformational leaders "convince followers to exhibit extra effort, encourage them to think creatively about problems, and encourage followers to forgo personal interests for the sake of the organisation" (p. 1013). Due to the constant repetition of this point both within both this text and throughout the previously analysed texts, it can be inferred that the fundamental utility of transformational leadership is its ability to make employees willingly transfer their power (in the form of self-interests and counter-organisation values) to the leader and subsequently engage in increased efforts in the direction of organisational goal attainment. Organisational commitment was also found to be positively related to transformational leadership within sales organisations: "One of the most important variables in organisational research is organisational commitment, mainly due to its impact on company effectiveness" (p. 1014). Therefore, the overall intention of the authors

was to provide management with the necessary knowledge to effect improvement in its organisational outcomes through transformational leadership. In this regard, employees themselves may be regarded as knowledge objects as they are "objects" of knowledge – employees, their behaviours, personalities and motivations become studied as a factor of production. If transformational leaders are able to know employees in a particular way, they will be better equipped to manipulate and control their behaviours, emotions and subjectivities in a way that engenders commitment, compliance and docility. Consequently, in being manipulated and controlled in this manner, employees come to know themselves as transformational leaders will have them know themselves i.e. employees come to believe that their self-worth is dependant on their ability to achieve organisational goals and objectives. What is essentially eluded to however, is the hidden power relations inherent in the ways in which leaders seek to effect these improvements. By requiring their followers to renounce their self-interests and exert additional effort in exchange for intrinsic rewards that actually serve to benefit the organisation (commitment, satisfaction and empowerment), leaders reinforce the hegemonic situation within the workplace. The text privileges a managerial voice and subsequently operates within a HRM discourse as the sole focus of the article revolves around *organisational outcomes*. Managers heavily rely on the production and dissemination of texts such as this, which present a version of reality that seeks to privilege themselves and the organisation in which they have a direct investment. Management may only maintain their privileged position to the extent that such texts and the managerialist ideology espoused therein are presented as truth.

Article 7. The seventh article entitled *The impact of transformational leadership on organisational and leadership effectiveness: The Turkish case* by Erkutlu (2008) discovered that all the components of transformational leadership - idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, and individualised consideration were positively related to leadership and organisational effectiveness. Consistent with the abovementioned articles, this article asserts that "transformational leadership refers to the leader moving the follower beyond immediate self-interests through idealised influence (charisma), inspiration, intellectual stimulation, or individualised consideration" (p. 709). This definition is contrasted with transactional leadership which is based on a relationship of exchange between the leader and follower in order to satisfy self-interests. Transformational leadership is proposed to have produced greater effects than transactional leadership: "transformational leadership results in performance that goes well beyond what is expected"; "transformational

leaders were perceived to be more effective leaders with better outcomes than were individuals who exhibited only transactional leadership" (p. 711). The same critique applied to the previous articles' definition of transformational leadership may be applied to this article. The overall effect is to maximise the value extracted from the productive hours of the worker in order to maximise absolute and relative surplus. It is undeniable that a managerialist discourse, which privileges the interests of the organisation, is permeating the production and dissemination of knowledge regarding the employment relationship. Additionally, through consistently presenting the advantages of transformational over transactional leadership, articles such as this one serve to legitimise the control techniques inherent in linking individuals' identities to the values of the organisation, characteristic of transformational leadership. The current research argues that although transactional leaders appeal to employees rational exchange motive and therefore engage them on a rather superficial level, potentially excluding opportunities for employee empowerment; transformational leaders appeal to employees emotions – a powerful tool for control and manipulation, requiring them to increase their investment within in the organisation through increased effort and commitment. Additionally, the study found that transformational leadership (individual consideration in particular) has a high positive correlation with "satisfaction with supervision, satisfaction with job, and organisational commitment" (p. 719). In order to elaborate this finding, Erkutlu (2008) asserts that transformational leadership results in followers experiencing increased feelings of competence and *perceptions* of personal agency and responsibility, resulting in a boost in intrinsic motivation, satisfaction and commitment. Additionally, if employees perceive their managers as: capable of articulating a clear vision, empowering employees to reach higher levels of performance and worthy of trust – it may increase their own feelings of satisfaction and commitment. "This in return may lead to higher managerial and organisational effectiveness" (p. 719). Firstly, from this explanation of how transformational leadership produces satisfaction and commitment, a previous concern resurfaces regarding wording: the continuous use of the words *perceived* and *perceptions* gives one the impression that as long as employees can be manipulated to believe that their interests are being privileged and that their increased efforts actually serve to benefit them, power will remain with management and there will be no threats of ideological resistance. This phrasing implies that in actuality the well-being of employees is not being advanced; rather employees are made to believe that it is. Secondly, although the findings of the article clearly establish a positive association between transformational leadership and satisfaction and commitment, the intent of transformational leadership is not

directed toward how these outcomes can benefit employees but how they may "lead to higher managerial and organisational effectiveness" (p. 719). The message that the author intends the audience to gauge is that "if an organisation wants to succeed in a rapidly changing business environment, it is better for managers to use transformational leaders…Managers who demonstrate these behaviours efficiently will increase the success of their organisation" (p. 720).

It should be evident at this point, that transformational leadership within the organisational context is firmly entrenched within the HRM discourse that seeks to advance the interests of the organisation whilst simultaneously adopting the language of soft HRM – satisfaction, commitment and empowerment – and presenting an employee-centered rhetoric. Employees' well-being and interests are only advanced to the extent that they can simultaneously bring about an increase in effectiveness, performance or profitability. Power is afforded to management through the perpetuation of a managerialist ideology which seeks to normalise the status quo. When employees actively relinquish their self-interests in order to pursue organisational goals, they forfeit the power to resist this management ideology. The HRM discourse normalises and legitimises the domination of the worker by the leader in such a way that the social wrong goes largely unnoticed and therefore employees continue to operate in a mode of self-subjugation. The reason for this behaviour is that the discursive effects mentioned above have resulted in employees binding their subjectivities to the ability to achieve organisational objectives and therefore behaviour to the contrary would render them invaluable and inadequate in a society that equates self-worth with career success.

Article 8. The final article entitled *Relations and effects of transformational leadership: A comparative analysis with traditional leadership styles* by Molero, Cuadrado, Nava and Morales (2007) found that "transformational leadership, at least at high levels, produces different effects, and more positive ones, than the rest of the leadership styles analysed" (p. 366). The intention of the authors was to determine the extent to which transformational leadership differed from traditional leadership styles with regards to their ability to increase organisational outcome variables such as leader and unit efficacy, subordinates level of effort and employee satisfaction within the work context - thereby identifying which leadership style would be most instrumental in improving *organisational outcomes*. Upon inspection of the organisational outcomes deemed important for leaders to influence, it is interesting to note that only one of four outcomes considered, relates to how

transformational leadership may impact employees' experience of work (satisfaction) whilst predominant focus is placed on how transformational leadership may service the interests of the organisation (efficiency and performance). Employee satisfaction is only regarded as an important outcome within the organisational context due to its influence on performance – employees who are satisfied with "work in general", "belonging to this organisation" and "the leadership methods employed by your supervisor" (p. 362) tend to perform at a higher level than those who are dissatisfied. Therefore employee well-being is only fostered to the extent that it can either directly or indirectly benefit the organisation's objectives. An interesting finding that was briefly mentioned but not focused on was that, depending on the transformational leader's situation or personal characteristics, a more transactional relationship with employees may be necessary to ensure their effectiveness. A correlation co-efficient of .77 was reported between transformational leadership and task-oriented leadership. Therefore it appears that this element of transformational leadership may have been drastically understated both within this article and similar texts. Overemphasis is placed on the relationship-oriented aspect of transformational leadership – "idealised influence", "inspirational motivation", "intellectual stimulation" and "individualised consideration" (p. 359) in order to present an employee-centered rhetoric to followers and subsequently engender commitment to the leader, whilst in reality a task-centered approach is critical for effective transformational leadership. "Through transformational leadership, the leader achieves important changes in the values and attitudes of the followers, as well as a notable improvement in their performance" (p. 359).

As this article seeks to determine the most effective leadership style – with effectiveness defined as the ability to elicit positive *organisational* outcomes – it can be inferred that this article is written from a managerial perspective and is targeting mangers and organisational agents who have a direct investment in the success of the organisation rather than the well-being of its employees. It seeks to promote leadership styles through which increased efficacy and performance can be enhanced i.e. transformational leadership. Therefore due to the fervent emphasis on organisational outcomes such as efficacy, performance and effort level, it may be inferred, once again, that transformational leadership both within this article and the previously analysed articles, is operating within a HRM discourse which seeks to advance the goals and values of the organisation, regardless of the exploitative practices employed to reach this desired state.

7.3. Stage 3: Consider whether the Social Order 'needs' the Social Wrong

This stage of Fairclough's (2010) methodology serves to determine whether the social wrong can be addressed within the social order or whether it depends on the social wrong for its continued existence. From a broader, societal perspective, the social order is largely dictated by a capitalist discourse. According to Marx, a capitalist economy establishes a fundamental antagonism between employees and business owners or managers (capitalists). The basic principle of capitalism is the creation of profit (surplus extraction) which is subsequently unevenly distributed between employees and capitalists. In exchange for their labour and time, employees are paid a fixed salary and the excess generated is appropriated by the capitalist. "For a surplus or profit to be created workers need to be paid less than they are worth or, to put this another way, workers create *more* than the value of their wages" (Hayes, 2004, p. 168), thus establishing the basis upon which the economic exploitation of employees rests. However, employees do not always accept such exploitative treatment and may actively resist; therefore capitalists are forced to continually renew the techniques and strategies of control, domination and exploitation – which they do. At this stage, it may be necessary to reiterate a previous point made: Hegemony is not a fixed collection of ideas but rather has a protean nature in which dominant discourses are preserved whilst their manifestations are subject to constant fluctuation (Silberstein, 1988). Therefore, a major obstacle in addressing the social wrong is actually identifying the ways in which it becomes manifest. From the above analysis of the text, it is evident that an HRM discourse operating within a capitalist society largely dictates the social order within contemporary organisations. Therefore, transformational leadership may be regarded as a manifestation of both capitalist and HRM discourses as it seeks to ensure that organisational objectives are achieved through the maintenance of unequal power relations. Discourse is ideological to the extent that it contributes to the sustenance of specific relations of power and domination.Within the workplace, transformational leaders employ various strategies and techniques to ensure that unequal power relations are maintained and that followers' attitudes and behaviours are consistent with the organisation's objectives. As leaders posses more power within the workplace, they subsequently have the ability to impose on their followers ideologies that directly benefit management i.e. managerial ideologies. The dominance and endurance of discourses largely rests on their ability to achieve organisational goals through the maintenance of unequal power relations. Management heavily depend on the production, dissemination and consumption of texts advancing a managerialist ideology as: (1) they provide valuable empirical evidence that may assist leaders to effect the necessary changes

within their followers to bring about increased performance, (2) the results of such research studies are deemed to be objective, professional and managerially unbiased, thus legitimising management practices within the workplace.

As the current social order maintains and legitimises a managerialist ideology within the workforce, managers' interests are being consistently privileged to the detriment of employee well-being. Employees are expected to transcend their own self-interest and adopt the values that the leader and the organisation espouse; their self-identities become enmeshed in the organisation. Therefore as the social wrong which serves to exploit millions of employees is embedded within the social order, it is necessary that it is transformed. In addition to questions of whether the social order *needs* to change, we also need to consider whether it is *possible* to change it i.e. do incongruities in the social order as well as the forces and resources organised against it render change possible?

7.4. Stage 4: Identify Possible Ways past the Obstacles

Fairclough (2010) asserts that CDA is a form of critical research that "seeks to understand how contemporary capitalism in some respects enables but in other respects prevents or limits human well-being and flourishing, with a view to overcoming or mitigating these obstacles and limits" (p. 11). In line with this assertion, the final stage is marked by a transition from a negative to a positive critique in which means of overcoming the barriers to addressing the social wrong within the current social order are identified. This essentially involves investigating the ways in which dominant discourses (HRM and capitalist discourses) and their explanations of the world and social identities have been responded to, disputed, condemned and resisted. In order to challenge the social order in which the social wrong is embedded, numerous authors have attempted to provide an alternative, critical explanation of social and organisational reality (*See* Abel, 2005; Alvesson & Willmott, 2002; Berry & Cartwright, 2000; Braynion, 2004; Clegg & Hardy, 1999; Deetz, 1992, 1994, 1998; Ewick & Silbey, 1995; Fairclough, 1992, 1995, 2010; Foucault, 1977, 1980; Gramsci, 1971; Hook, 2004, 2007; Islam & Zyphur, 2006; Legge, 1995, 2001; Marcuse, 1991; Parker, 1992; Prilleltensky, 1994; Smart, 1986; Steffy & Grimes, 1986, 1992; Van Dijk, 1996, 2008).

Critical theory (see chapter 3) aims to develop a mode of consciousness that encourages individuals to view taken-for-granted fact as products of historical vicissitudes that can be changed. One of the fundamental aims of critical theory is to provide a critique of ideology – this includes a critique of positivism. Positivist social science represents a

dominant paradigm through which knowledge regarding the employment relationship (transformational leader-follower relationship) and similar organisational issues are constructed. A positivist ontology views reality as extant and objective and therefore knowledge products created within a positivistic paradigm (such as HRM) (Legge, 2001) encourage individuals to accept social, political and economic conditions as given, and therefore unwittingly perpetuate them. Critical theory serves as an effective critique of positivism as it seeks to interrogate and question assumptions about the way in which social scientific findings are interpreted and applied within the dominant social order (Agger, 1991). Therefore critical theorists assert that if any success in righting the social wrong is to be achieved, researchers and academics responsible for the creation of leadership texts need to be more reflexive i.e. they need to be cognisant of the fact that knowledge creation is not neutral and objective, rather, versions of reality are socially constructed within particular discursive contexts, serving to privilege certain social actors (managers/leaders) at the expense of others (employees/followers). Additionally, by representing knowledge as objective "truth" rather than historical and contextually contingent, dominant discourses and ideologies as well as the practices emanating from them become normalised and represented as 'the way things are'. Critical organisational theory is concerned with the emancipation of employees and with the establishment of more democratic structures and forms of organisational governance. The fundamental importance of critical organisational theory is that it seeks to emancipate dominated groups from hegemonic practice (Abel, 2005).

Herbert Marcuse (see chapter 3) asserts that individuals will only experience happiness and a sense of well-being to the extent that they are able to fulfill their individual potentialities; and in being fulfilled freedom will be acquired. However, within a social order dominated by a capitalist discourse, freedom and labour seldom coincide. Marcuse maintains that if society is rearranged in a way that allows for the free production and distribution of products based on need, labour will no longer be taxing; happiness becomes detached from capitalist consumption, and the opposition of labour to happiness disappears (Rush, 2004). Although Marcuse's attempts to address social wrongs are duly noted, the above proposition appears to be rather naïve and idealistic. Capitalist discourses are firmly embedded within the order of society; therefore seeking to transform the structural foundation upon which it is based without a corresponding change in ideological thought processes, is doomed to fail. As long as employees' subjectivities are dictated by the dominant ideology (managerialism), freedom and happiness of workers will not ensue. Therefore Marcuse's notion of *bi-*

dimensional thought may be more valuable in surmounting obstacles to social change. One-dimensional society is achieved through 'new forms of social control' such as industrial management (transformational leadership) and contemporary modes of thought which generate subjectivities that conform to the system (managerialist ideology); the resultant effect being that the need for resistance is systematically suffocated. 'Bi-dimensional' thought assumes that an inherent antagonism exists between subject and object, and therefore the subject is open to explore imagined possibilities which may not exist but can be realised through practical engagement (Kellner, 1984).

Habermas' (see chapter 3) project represents an endeavor to develop a theory of society which had a practical intention i.e. the self-emancipation of people from domination (Held, 1980). In order to promote a society in which collaboration, democratic participation and justice are valued and conflicting interests may be resolved peacefully; Habermas proposed a method called the *ideal speech situation*. Habermas suggested that when current values or practices come into question, individuals will draw on an explicit type of discourse in order to test alternative claims to truth that run counter their *praxis*. Instead of relying solely on standards of technical effectiveness or established authority/viewpoint, it is necessary to engage in a process of argument and discussion until the most appropriate, rational consensus is reached. "We do this through discourse involving such things as full accountability to one another for the quality of our reasoning, arguing as many different points of view as possible in the search for a valid consensus" (Richardson & Fowers, 1997, p. 274); this excludes all motives except the collaborative search for truth. The *ideal speech situation* refers to the notion that "the reciprocal quality of linguistic communication, in principle, presupposes that all parties have equal opportunity to engage in the dialogue, without restriction or ideological pressure from the outside and that only the force of the better argument should hold sway" (How, 2003, p. 49-50). Habermas insisted that such argumentation, although never perfectly realised, can lead to a consensus that is devoid of ideological influence and deception inherent in one-sided instrumental reason, rendering it more valid (Held, 1980; Richardson & Fowers, 1997).

In order to overcome obstacles to social change, researchers and academics need to place less emphasis on trying to describe social and organisational realities because, as it has been established, a value-free, objective reality does not exist; truth and meaning are created through the process of social construction and is therefore contextually contingent. More

effort should be directed toward understanding the underlying power dynamics that operate and are perpetuated through HRM practices within the workplace. As it stands, predominant emphasis is placed on how to ensure increased performance and profitability within the workplace whilst attention to employee well-being is typically marginalised. Therefore the introduction of concepts such as power, ideology, hegemony and discourse into mainstream literature on transformational leadership may assist in the deconstruction of the status quo.

Chapter 8: Discussion

One of the primary aims of CDA is to explicate why certain discourses rather than others achieve success in the strategies they employ. Discourse creates a system of power relations which organises and structures the context in which action is executed. It consists of three essential practices (production, transmission and consumption of texts) which cumulatively yield groups of related texts which invoke and consult each other. Additionally, discourse constitutes power relations by maintaining meanings associated with concepts, objects and subject positions, which disseminate power and status among organisational actors (Hardy & Phillips, 2004). An essential characteristic of any given text concerns the way that it links to other tests and discourses i.e. *intertextuality* and *interdiscursivity* respectively (Fairclough, 1992). There is a greater likelihood of a particular text influencing discourse and remaining relevant if it implicitly or explicitly evokes other texts and discourses, drawing on meanings which are more broadly grounded (Hardy & Phillips, 2004). From the above analysis of data, it is evident that particular themes, ideologies and discourses relating to transformational leadership are consistently afforded privileged representation within academic texts – resulting in the maintenance of the current organisational status quo. These themes were only briefly mentioned within the analysis, and therefore will be elaborated within this section in order to answer the research questions. The recurrent themes that will be discussed are as follows: the accepted definition of transformational leadership; organisational efficiency, performance and profitability; affective organisational commitment, psychological empowerment and job satisfaction.

8.1.   What discursive context is transformational leadership embedded in?

Firstly, and arguably most importantly, all eight of the selected articles related transformational leadership to *organisational outcomes* such as performance, efficiency, effectiveness or profitability. Certain articles placed greater emphasis on the above outcomes whilst others attempted to conceal their intentions with a humanistic, employee-centered guise – however inevitably all articles' practical recommendations were directed at increasing organisational success. The relevance of this consistent reversion back to organisational outcomes for this study, is that it provides an indication of which discourses are operating within the construction of knowledge relating to transformational leadership, which ideologies serve to maintain the status quo and finally which social actors within the organisational context possess power to inflict their wills on other social actors. A

predominant focus on outcomes points to the operation of both capitalist (in the broader sense) and HRM discourses within the conceptualisation and practice of transformational leadership within the workplace. The primary goal of HRM is to ensure greater organisational performance as well as a belief that employees and employers can benefit from soft HRM if employees' values are align with those of the organisation, ensuring the attainment of organisational objectives (Harley & Hardy, 2004). The central tenets of the articles are all predicated upon the taken-for-granted idea that the interests of capital are of primary importance. This is a definitive outcome of the discursive effects of capitalist discourses.

All 8 of the selected articles embraced a quantitative research methodology. Although quantitative research and positivism are not mutually exclusive, Neuman (2006) has suggested that they often coincide within social scientific research. This finding is consistent with Harley and Hardy's (2004) assertion that modernist and positivist texts have constructed an identity for HRM and "embedding it in a broader academic discourse concerning the employment relationship" (p. 377). As mentioned previously, positivism professes that reality is external to the individual, it is neutral and objective, subsequently reflecting 'the way things are'. This approach to research fails to acknowledge that reality is created through a process of social construction; reality is contingent on the meanings attributed to experiences and events within given historical vicissitudes. Therefore, as discourses are not directly observable and measurable but rather woven into the fabric of social and organisational reality, positivism and the knowledge products (texts) it produces advocate a particular version of reality as truth and thus practices that emanate from this truth are legitimised. Legge (2001) critiques the modernist/positivist methodology currently employed in HRM, arguing that research findings and so-called facts are created through the process of social construction, regardless of the authors' claims of validity, reliability, methodological rigour and generalisability. Therefore she maintains that positivism is ultimately unable to reveal the truth about HRM but rather *constructs* what is classified as knowledge within the discipline (Harley & Hardy, 2004). As such, a particular version of HRM has been accepted as truth and therefore suggestions to the contrary are considered suspect. The HRM discourse is consistent with the interests of powerful members of society. "It legitimises managerial prerogative, reinforces the view that the rational calculation of 'bottom line impacts' is the only way to measure the value of organisational practices, and undermines alternative ways of managing the employment relationship" (Harley & Hardy, 2004, p. 393). It also denudes

the labour relationship of its pluralist potential, positing conflict as something that does not reside within the structure of the employment relationship but rather within the individual.

A commonality that permeated the selected texts was that transformational leaders were tasked with inspiring employees through intrinsic motivation to exert increased effort in the direction of organisational goal achievement. Therefore the impact of the HRM discourse on the theory and practice of transformational leadership is that, instead of motivating, inspiring and empowering employees to develop the potentialities, be creative and work toward greater self-actualisation within the workplace, transformational leaders primarily seek to inspire employees in order to engender increased effort, greater organisational commitment and ultimately performance that results in organisational profitability. Organisational outcomes that are regarded as positive to employees such as job satisfaction and psychological well-being are viewed as peripheral to the central focus on increased organisational performance. As transformational leadership has been identified as operating within a HRM discourse, a managerialist ideology becomes accepted as the norm. According to critical theorists, ideology serves to legitimate the domination of one group over another. Managerialist ideology assumes that managers and owners have the right to dominate employees which results in exploitation to achieve organisational objectives. By employees accepting and internalising the managerialist ideology, workers ultimately participate in their own exploitation "by legitimising their oppressor's right to dominate them (and therefore) exist in a state of false consciousness" (Hatch & Cunliffe, 2006, p. 266).

Within the analysis of the selected articles on transformational leadership, certain articles made reference to organisational outcomes considered favourable to employees (empowerment, well-being, job satisfaction and organisational commitment). The authors of these articles emphasised how transformational leaders may engender such effects in their followers resulting in a fulfilled and contented workforce. Such portrayals of transformational leadership present a favourable impression of leaders to followers, who are persuaded to believe that their leaders have their best interests at heart – and subsequently comply with their demands. However, upon closer inspection of the author's intentions, a link is *always* established between organisational outcomes favoured by employees and organisational outcomes such as effectiveness, performance, and profitability. Transformational leadership is cloaked in a humanist guise in order to conceal intentions that run counter to its professed mandate. This discrepancy between the transformational leader's intentions and mandate

largely echoes the current controversy regarding the integration of both hard and soft HRM into a single model. The convergent identity of HRM (hard and soft) conceals a significantly fragmented reality by presenting a person-centered rhetoric thereby legitimising and justifying managerial decisions. Management may enforce 'hard' HRM practices whilst using the language of 'soft' HRM such as the use of participative management and empowerment, which are alleged to benefit employees but in reality serve to advance management interests and increase organisational profits. "This combination of convergent meaning and ambiguous practice makes HRM a powerful tool for managers" (Harley & Hardy, 2004, p. 393).

8.2.   How do articles (knowledge) on transformational leadership engender hegemonic effects in the leader-follower relationship?

A critical discourse analysis of texts should demonstrate the ways in which and under what circumstances, discourses become operationalised and implemented as strategies: "enacted in changed ways (practices) of acting and interacting; inculcated in changed ways of being (identities); materialised in changes in material reality" (Fairclough, 2010, p. 20). Gramsci used the concept of hegemony to suggest that numerous employees actively and spontaneously consent to the will of their dominators because ideological and institutional forms of domination have become an inherent part of daily activities. Hardy and Phillips (2004) provide a concise diagrammatic representation of the relationship between power and discourse and how power relations are perpetuated through textual production and reproduction (see page 36). Basically, they assert that the production, transmission and consumption of text is enacted within the realm of discourse. Therefore within the current study, the production, transmission and consumption of literature pertaining to transformational leadership is situated, or rather embedded, within the HRM discourse. That is to say, when interpreting the meaning of events and creating texts, individuals may only draw on the discourses that are available to them – the ways in which individuals think is bound to specific versions of reality which they believe to be true. Therefore, in constructing knowledge in the form of academic articles, authors employ HRM discourses to make sense of transformational leadership. As the articles produce knowledge products consistent with the HRM discourse, they have practical utility within organisations and thus are consumed by managers who use the findings to reinforce HRM practices. These knowledge products construct objects and subjects and create subject positions which are legitimised as they are the products of "neutral and objective social scientific research" - this further entrenches

established power relations. Thus, a cycle of hegemony is created in which the interests of employees, by virtue of the social order, are systematically subjugated.

A notable consistency that arose within the analysis of the text was the accepted definition of transformational leadership. Each article defined transformational leadership as: the ability to motivate and inspire employees to transcend their own self-interests and align their values with those of the leader and the organisation in order to achieve *organisational goals*. This definition illuminates the inherent hegemony within the leader-follower relationship. Dominance and control can be achieved through the ability of one group to 'naturalise' the meanings of particular words or expressions in such a way that it privileges their self-interests by imposing a deceptive consensus and avoiding the reality of a continuous struggle over sign (Schäffner, 1996). Employees are encouraged to actively renounce their claims to freedom and happiness within the workplace in order to pursue organisational goals which do not directly benefit them. Two of the selected articles suggested that employees internalise the values of their leader in such a way that displaying attitudes and behaviours counter to these values would compromise and potentially fragment their sense of identity. As the leader espouses the same values as the organisation, employees essentially bind their souls to the success of the organisation, thereby condoning the unequal distribution of power in the workplace. Power enables, limits and marginalises for "it is not just rules and routine which becomes internalised, but a complex set of practices which provide common sense, self-evident experience and personal identity" (Deetz, 1992, p. 37).

Many of the texts analysed focused on how organisational outcomes favoured by employees mediated the relationship between transformational leadership and effectiveness, efficiency, performance or profitability (outcomes that benefit the organisation). The authors stated that their intentions were to determine whether a relationship existed between transformational leadership and variables such as job satisfaction, well-being, empowerment, affective commitment etc. However, links were also established between the aforementioned variables and either individual or organisational performance. It is argued that by *portraying* an interest in employees' well-beings, transformational leaders may engender a sense of trust from their employees thereby affording them greater power to exert their will over their followers. Variables such as empowerment, satisfaction and well-being are only advocated by the transformational leader to the extent that they are able to facilitate increased performance. The critique of empowerment within capitalist organisations is that "it is still embedded in the

power relations of the masters and workers, it only empowers contributions in that context and that it uses empowerment to extract more effort from the workers for the same rewards" (Berry & Cartwright, 2000, p. 345). Critical approaches highlight the inconsistencies of employee empowerment; while the language of empowerment assures the acquisition of power in exchange for increased effort and responsibilities that such programs engender, practice limits the transference of power to subordinates (Appelbaum et al., 1999). Therefore within this study, the findings revealed that one of the ways in which knowledge products created within the HRM discourse engender hegemony within the leader-follower relationship is through the manipulation of intentions. Transformational leaders profess to safeguard employees' interests through empowerment and intrinsic motivation, however in reality these function as strategies of control and domination as they bind employees' subjectivities to the values of the organisation thus reducing potential resistance against managerialist ideologies.

> Hegemony contributes to or constitutes a form of social cohesion not through force or coercion, nor necessarily through consent, but most effectively by way of practices, techniques, and methods which infiltrate minds and bodies, cultural practices which cultivate behaviours and beliefs, tastes, desires, and needs as seemingly naturally occurring qualities or properties embodied in the psychic and physical reality…of the human subject (Smart, 1986, p. 160).

8.3. What subject positions are established within discourses present in transformational leadership texts?

Certain individuals, discourses and desires come to be constructed as subjects, one of powers prime effects. "The focus of analysis becomes the 'knowability' of the individual – the process by which the individual is rendered knowable, or the process by which the individual is constructed or produced" (Townley, 1993, p. 522). Within a particular discursive context (HRM within the present study), the knowledge constructed creates subject positions which determine a given social actor's power relative to other social actors. The domination and control of individuals within the organisational context does not end with the external imposition of the leader's will on the employee; the employee internalises the subject position imposed on him which plays a crucial role in identity construction. Domination refers to a "combination of external exploitation and internal self-disciplining that allows external exploitation to go unchecked…people internalise certain values and norms that induce them to participate effectively in the division of productive and

reproductive labour" (Agger, 1991, p. 108). As mentioned earlier, the popular definition of transformational leadership requires individuals to forgo their own self-interests and align their values with their leader; therefore essentially using the HRM discourse as a frame of reference against which they construct and model their identities. That is, transformational leaders are at the service of managerialist ideologies and operate within the HRM discourse therefore the values that employees seek to emulate are in fact aligned with the organisation. According to Rose (1990), work itself is conceived of as central to our identity, aspirations and subjectivities. This is largely due to industrial psychologists' teachings of work and the achievement of work-related goals being a modality for achieving success, self-actualisation and the realisation of one's true identity. Employees become productive subjects, and work becomes a modality for achieving distinction and discovering one's identity. Therefore the message communicated within texts on transformational leadership in many ways serves to dominate and control the subjectivity of employees in an effort to achieve managerial and profit-driven goals. (Also see *power and the subject* – page 33).

Within the textual analysis, employees are attributed particular subject positions by virtue of their response to leaders' strategies of control and domination. As (according to the analysed articles) transformational leadership is positively related to affective organisational commitment and has the ability to link employees emotions to their work, the leader and the organisation; it has they power to dictate and subjugate the subjectivities of employees. As employees are emotionally invested in the success of the organisation, all control mechanisms and exploitation directed at them is justified as being "for the greater good" of the organisation. Thus, employees are positioned as docile, obedient and self-disciplined subjects that not only consent to their domination within the workplace but also play an active role in it. As such, transformational leaders strive to institutionalise submissiveness, docility and compliance in order to fulfill one of its basic functions (according to article 1): to maintain unequal power relations within the employment relationship. Control processes are only effective to the extent that they are internalised (Rose, 1990).

Within the HRM discourse, transformational leaders are positioned as *disciplinary agents* (see page 27) possessing the skills and knowledge to induce compliance or *consent* in their followers. Hook (2004) asserts that despite the fact that employees (the disciplinary subject) actively engage in self-discipline, this internal functioning of power is complimented by the pervasiveness of professional agent power i.e. that of the leader. The power exercised

by the disciplinary agent is only efficacious to the extent that he has total power which envelops the subject. Additionally, technologies of control exacted on subjects by disciplinary agents must necessarily operate secretly and autonomously. From the analysis of the texts, it was explicated that leaders purposely concealed their intentions in order to make employees believe that they had their best interests in mind. Additionally, as a managerialist ideology that privileges organisational interests is dominant within the texts, domination and control of employees by leaders is taken for granted and perceived as the norm i.e. it is not seen as emanating from the leader but rather from objective reality. Disciplinary power must have its own functioning, rules, techniques and knowledge; it must establish its own norms and determine the desired results (Foucault, 1977).

The overarching research aim was to determine the extent to which a textual analysis of electronic journal articles pertaining to transformational leadership accurately reflected the presence of discursive practices. The above discussion clearly indicates that discursive practices are omnipresent within contemporary articles pertaining to transformational leadership. Transformational leadership becomes operationalised within a HRM discourse and thus primarily functions to effect increased organisational performance and success. However the strategies of control employed are not direct and overt such as those characteristic of hard HRM, rather they are subtle and insidious, seeking to link employees' identities and subjectivities to the values of the organisation resulting in self-subordination.

Chapter 9: Conclusion

Transformational leadership has been advocated as an invaluable resource within contemporary organisations and is subsequently one of the most accepted theories of leadership within both theory and practice. Literature pertaining to transformational leadership is vast and abundant covering aspects such as inspiration, motivation, increased performance, organisational commitment, job satisfaction and psychological empowerment. "Suffice it to say that this literature has a strong, uncritical managerialist focus, and is slanted towards: (1) developing theories of leadership; and (2) using those theories to develop ways of improving leadership, and thus performance, within organisations" (Ford & Harding, 2007, p. 477). The aim of the current research was to determine to what extent a textual analysis of electronic journal articles pertaining to transformational leadership accurately reflected the presence of discursive practices. The findings revealed that transformational leadership places organisational objectives (efficiency, performance and profitability) above employee-centered objectives (well-being, satisfaction and empowerment) and can therefore be affirmed to operate within a HRM discourse. Additionally, transformational leadership endorses a managerialist ideology by seeking to maintain unequal power relations within the employment relationship. These unequal relations are created by tying employees' emotions and subjectivities to the values and objectives of the organisation in such a way that they engage in active self-subordination. Within the HRM discourse, employees are positioned as docile, compliant, self-disciplined subjects at the mercy of disciplinary power enacted by the disciplinary agent (transformational leader). Therefore, it is imperative that the inspirational guise of transformational leaders be exposed to reveal the dark shadow of domination.

Future research should be directed toward creating a more critical conceptualisation of transformational leadership rather than one that endorses a positivist paradigm. Moreover, authors of academic texts such as the ones analysed, need to be more reflexive and cognisant of the fact that reality, meaning and truth are created through a process of social construction and therefore viewing social and political relations within the organisation as emanating from an objective reality is not only inaccurate but further serves to marginalise and exploit certain social actors (employees). Ford and Hardy (2007) emphasise that a more critical approach to leadership is required, that aims to challenge the legitimacy and efficacy of conventional patterns of thinking and behaving by utilising a broader range of theories from the social sciences as opposed to seeking knowledge of how to improve organisational profitability.

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