Gender
and
Language

G&L (PRINT) ISSN 1747–6321
G&L (ONLINE) ISSN 1747–633X

Article

Leadership discourse in a Māori workplace: negotiating gender, ethnicity and leadership at work

Janet Holmes and Meredith Marra

Abstract

Masculinist gender norms and majority group ethnic norms are always covertly relevant as important systemic characteristics of interaction at work, subtly influencing people's unconscious interpretations of what is considered appropriate in the workplace and influencing evaluations of the ways in which individuals do gender, ethnicity and leadership. Drawing on material from the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project, we present a case study exemplifying the construction of a complex and hybridised identity in a challenging sociocultural context. The discourse of a female Māori Managing Director of a commercial organisation is analysed to illustrate how she ably negotiates the complexities of gender, ethnicity and leadership in her everyday talk at work. It is proposed that the analysis of such instances of the effective performance of a hybridised identity may contribute to an increased understanding of the complexities of managing workplace discourse in culturally diverse and gendered institutional contexts.

KEYWORDS: IDENTITY; GENDER; LEADERSHIP; ETHNICITY; WORKPLACE DISCOURSE

Affiliation
Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand
email: Janet.Holmes@vuw.ac.nz; Meredith.Marra@vuw.ac.nz

G&L VOL 5.2 2011 317–342

doi: 10.1558/genl.v5i2.317

equinox
www.equinoxpub.com

equinoxonline

Introduction[1]

In recent papers our analyses of talk in New Zealand workplaces have explored the challenges that women and men in leadership positions must negotiate in order to manage the often conflicting demands of constructing both a convincing professional identity and an acceptable gender identity (Holmes 2005; 2006; Marra, Schnurr and Holmes 2006). In this paper, we focus on the discourse of a specific leader, the female Māori Managing Director of a commercial organisation, analysing the ways in which she negotiates the complexities of power, gender and ethnicity in her everyday talk at work.

The situation of women in positions of authority has been widely recognised as involving a classic 'double bind', namely a conflict between the attributes normatively associated with leadership and those stereotypically associated with femininity. 'By fulfilling people's expectation concerning leadership, women violate conventions concerning appropriate female behaviour' (Grabe and Shibley Hyde 2006: 194). Women in leadership positions often attempt to resolve this conflict by drawing on discourse strategies associated with acceptable feminine leadership roles, such as 'mother', which licence women to behave in authoritative ways.[2] Moreover, in recent years, expectations regarding appropriate ways of enacting leadership have broadened to encompass recognition of the value of the relational skills, normatively associated with a more feminine stance (Cameron 2000; Baxter 2008). Nonetheless, stereotypical expectations regarding appropriate behaviour for women in the workplace have proved remarkably persistent, with cooperative, supportive, facilitative and relationally oriented discourse strongly associated with femininity (Baxter 2003; Sunderland 2004; Holmes 2006; Litosseliti 2006; Swann 2009), and more specifically expected of women leaders, as evidenced in the results from many attitude studies undertaken by leadership researchers (Karsten 2006; Eagly and Carli 2007).

The conflict faced by New Zealand men has been less widely recognised, but it is nonetheless problematic for many men in leadership positions in New Zealand organisations (Holmes 2008; 2009). Its roots lie in the 'tall poppy' syndrome, an Australasian concept referring to an aggressive commitment to equality and the tendency to try to 'cut down to size' those who excel in any way – whether intellectually, in status or wealth.[3] In response to this conflict between enacting power in a stereotypically authoritative manner and adopting a more egalitarian style, leaders often seek ways of reducing status differences and emphasising equality with their colleagues. For women the stances involved are generally consistent with 'doing femininity'. For men, one option for resolving the conflict is

to integrate discourse strategies which construct normatively authoritative leadership alongside others which indicate they are 'just one of the boys', doing masculinity in the form of mateship (Phillips 1996; Holmes 2008).[4]

Yet another challenge facing some New Zealand leaders involves enacting ethnic identity in an appropriate manner. For those from the majority group, namely Pākehā New Zealanders (people of European origin), this is generally not a problematic issue. Behaving in culturally appropriate ways is consistent with normative ways of doing leadership and gender in Pākehā-dominated New Zealand society. For Māori leaders, however, the cultural requirements of leadership are more complex, and different leaders resolve them in different ways. We have described elsewhere (Holmes, Vine and Marra 2011) how two Māori male leaders responded to this challenge, enacting the transactional and relational aspects of leadership differently, yet in ways consistent with their fundamental commitment to Māori values. Here, we examine how a Māori female leader negotiates the dimensions of power, gender and ethnicity in her workplace interactions.

For our focus leader, pseudonymed Yvonne, the challenge is to behave discursively in ways which satisfactorily construct her diverse identities, which include her identity as a Māori woman, a Māori leader, and a female leader in a hegemonic sociocultural context where masculinist (Baxter 2003; 2008) and majority ethnic group norms prevail. Some facets of these different identities are reconcilable and mutually compatible, allowing the construction of a cohesive social identity. So, for instance, normatively feminine behaviour is consistent with the positive value assigned in Māori culture to a collaborative and consultative approach in interaction; similarly, a modest demeanour is considered stereotypically feminine behaviour (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003), while also being expected of Māori individuals in many sociocultural contexts. There are also, however, dimensions of being Māori which are distinctive in the wider New Zealand context where a predominantly western set of values obtain, e.g. the importance of privileging the group above the individual, the high value placed on modesty and humility (*whakaiti*), and complementary distaste for boasting (*whakahīhī*), a preference for indirect discourse conveying meaning implicitly rather than explicitly in some contexts, and the strong cultural proscription against shaming people through specific targeted criticism (Metge and Kinloch 1978; Metge 1986; 1995; Patterson 1992).

Māori leaders are expected to explicitly respect such Māori values, enacting leadership in ways compatible with their ethnicity. We explore in this paper how one Māori woman leader negotiates the highly constrained route between different sets of sociocultural expectations. Clearly, this exploration entails a performative approach (Butler 1990; Cameron 1997a), demonstrating how different facets of social identity are 'repeatedly and

publicly displayed and constructed in accordance with certain cultural norms' (McElhinny 2003: 275). It also requires a conceptualization of identity as dynamic, fluid, and flexible enough to account for the ways in which different facets of a complex social identity are instantiated through interaction. We begin with a discussion of the concept of identity and ways of analysing it through workplace discourse.

Analysing identity through talk at work

Managing different facets of identity has been widely recognised as a complex accomplishment (e.g. Allen 2007; Caldas-Coulthard and Iedema 2008; De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg 2006). Before examining how our focus leader responds to this challenge, it is useful to consider the theoretical framework within which the analysis is positioned. Two basic aspects need to be discussed: first, the broader sociocultural context within which identities are constructed; second, the dimensions which are relevant in analysing the precise ways in which an individual's social identity is constructed and negotiated in any specific social interaction.

In developing a model for analysing workplace interaction (Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011), we have been concerned to take account of the fact that participants do not operate in a social vacuum. Talk is always deeply embedded in its sociocultural context. We bring to any interaction our knowledge of the broader societal constraints on appropriate and expected ways of behaving, our familiarity with societal norms, as well as our accumulated experience from previous interactions. As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 87) point out, we orient to norms 'as a kind of organizing device in society, an ideological map, setting out the range of the possible within which we place ourselves and assess others'. Cameron (2009) makes the same point. The construction of social identity:

> takes place within parameters which those engaged in it did not set, and to which in most cases they offer no radical challenge. To make sense of what they are doing as creative, agentive language-users, we also have to consider the inherited structures (of belief, of opportunity or lack of it, of desire and of power) which both enable and constrain their performance (2009: 15).

In order to interpret the significance of what people say in the workplace, then, we need to have a thorough understanding of every level of relevant contextual influence from the broadest societal or institutional norms, through the norms of the workplace culture of the participants' organisation, as well as those of the specific community of practice or workplace team to which they belong. So, for example, taken-for-granted societal assumptions about the appropriate roles and behaviours for women in

business or within an organisation legitimise the status quo and existing gender relations. Overall in New Zealand, as in other societies (Mullany 2007; Baxter 2003), masculinist norms prevail, especially in the workplace (Holmes 2006). Similarly, institutionalised norms about the appropriate language of business, or appropriate discursive ways of running business meetings, provide contextual constraints which minority group members with different norms must negotiate. Within different communities of practice, for example, the amount and type of humour varies (Schnurr 2009), and the relative formality with which meetings are conducted also differs in different workplace teams (Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011). These are constraints within which any individual constantly operates in constructing an appropriate professional, gender and ethnic identity. Furthermore, for all New Zealanders, but especially salient for a Māori woman leader, Māori norms for appropriate interaction cross-cut and underpin these other discursive constraints.

As the language of the majority group, English is the unmarked code at the institutional level as well as the organisational level in most New Zealand companies.[5] However, at Kiwi Productions, the organisation from which our dataset is drawn, Māori is an additional appropriate linguistic resource for those who have the linguistic competence to make use of it.[6] At the level of the community of practice, or workplace team, some teams within the company make use of a considerable amount of Māori in their team meetings, as well as in one-to-one interactions. And throughout the organisation, the Māori language is heard much more often than in most New Zealand organisations.

Māori values form a background to many interactions in New Zealand society, and are especially salient in interactions which involve Māori participants. Māori beliefs, interactional norms and values are fundamental in workplaces such as Kiwi Productions which we have described as an 'ethnicised' community of practice (Schnurr, Marra and Holmes 2007: 716), a workplace where ethnicity acts as a backdrop for people's everyday communication; ethnic values underpin the norms which influence the way people interact, and the ways in which they construct different aspects of their identity, and especially their ethnicity. As indicated above, a number of fundamental Māori values are relevant in interpreting the material discussed in this paper, including the importance of privileging the group over the individual, the high value placed on appropriate humility, and a strong propensity to avoid shaming an individual, especially in front of others, together with a stylistic preference for indirect implicit discourse (Patterson 1992; Metge 1995; 2001; Metge and Kinloch 1978).

At a more detailed level, our analytical framework provides a means to examine how various facets of identity are instantiated and negotiated

in any specific interaction. Lemke (2008: 17) notes that 'the concept of identity functions in contemporary discourses as a mediating term between social-structural approaches and views of lived, interactional experience'. In pursuing how this actually works, the notion of discursive indexing is useful. As Ochs (1992) insightfully articulated, ways of talking are associated with particular roles, stances (e.g. authoritative, consultative, deferential, polite), activities, or behaviours. To the extent that these are 'culturally coded as gendered …the ways of speaking associated with them become indices of gender' (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 57). Equally, of course, ways of speaking may develop associations which mean they are interpreted as indices of ethnicity or leadership. We bring this sociocultural knowledge to our interactions, and we use it to assess and interpret the linguistic behaviour of participants. Gender, ethnicity and leadership are components of social meaning, aspects of social identity conveyed indirectly, through a range of stances indexed by the choice of particular linguistic and discursive features, which may of course be multifunctional (Holmes 1997; 2006).

Through repetition over time particular stances come to regularly invoke particular social roles (Blommaert 2007); certain stances become normatively associated with particular social categories (Eckert 2008). In elaborating how the concept of indexical field may contribute to an understanding of how people use linguistic features in interaction, Eckert (2008: 469–470) proposes that speakers convey through their linguistic choices both 'permanent qualities' (e.g. educated, articulate, elegant), and momentary and situated stances (e.g. polite, angry, emphatic, careful). She emphasises the fluidity of these categories: people who are habitually angry, she suggests, 'may become angry… people through *stance accretion*', anger becomes a permanent component of their identity or habitual persona. Or, as Lemke says, '[w]hat links the long term to the short is precisely recurrence' (2008: 25).

Eckert's approach provides, then, a dynamic way of characterising the different components or facets of social identity (professional, gender, ethnic, etc) that people are constantly indexing in workplace interaction. Through activating different stances, participants dynamically construct complex workplace identities appropriate to the specific discourse context in which they are interacting, and the specific interactional goals they wish to achieve from moment to moment. In some cases, this entails the complex integration of components from diverse identities, the construction of multiple and hybridised social identities across a range of social categories such as gender, ethnicity, culture, class, religion, and so on. Relevantly, in the context of this analysis, Lemke (2008: 33) suggests, 'hybridity represents

a compromise by the individual among the pressures and forces of multiple cultures and institutions which are seeking to control our identities'.

In order to examine how these abstract and complex concepts are instantiated in social interaction, it seems crucial to focus on authentic workplace discourse. Our methodology was designed to permit analysis of the ordinary, everyday workplace talk of workplace participants, including our case study leader.

Methodology

The data used as the basis of the analyses in this article was collected by the Language in the Workplace (LWP) Project team, based at Victoria University of Wellington in New Zealand.[7] Our database currently comprises over 3000 interactions recorded in more than 30 New Zealand workplaces, including government departments, factories, small businesses, semi-public or non-government organisations (NGOs), and private, commercial organisations. The interactions include both business talk and social talk, informal talk and meetings of many different sizes and kinds, with participants from a wide range of different levels in the workplace hierarchy. The total corpus includes interactions from some workplaces with a relatively high proportion of women, some with a relatively high proportion of Māori workers, and a number with an ethnic balance more closely reflecting the distribution of Māori in the total population (about 14%).[8]

As mentioned above, the analysis in this paper draws on a subset of this larger corpus, namely recordings made in one specific Māori organisation, pseudonymed Kiwi Productions, a company oriented to creative media-type outputs. Kiwi Productions is a white-collar, professional organisation with primarily commercial objectives, employing about 20 people, most of whom identify as Māori. There is a clear hierarchy of responsibility, comprising a number of managers, each of whom reports to the Managing Director. The company's *kaupapa* (objectives, priorities, core business) is Māori-oriented, and those who work there are committed to promoting Māori values and furthering Māori goals. Māori cultural values, attitudes and beliefs are regarded as fundamental to the work being undertaken, Māori ways of doing things prevail, and the objectives of the workplace teams encompass achieving good outcomes for Māori people in general. In sum, ethnicity is an important and omni-relevant aspect of workplace interaction. This company, then, provides an invaluable site for examining the ways in which Māori ethnicity plays out in the wider Pākehā societal context, and in particular for investigating the ways in which the female Māori Managing Director manages the conflicting sociocultural demands of leadership, gender and ethnicity in her daily workplace discourse.

The LWP methodology involves a participatory approach which gives participants direct control over the data collection; volunteers from the workplaces carry a voice recorder throughout their workday and record samples of their everyday interactions.[9] Where possible, meetings are also video-recorded, again without any of the researchers being present. The cameras are set up before the participants enter the meeting room and removed after everyone has left, thus minimising the effects of the researchers on the data collected. This approach has proved very successful in collecting authentic workplace data, and the project's methodology has been adopted by many others researching spoken interaction (e.g. Koester 2006; Richards 2006; Angouri 2007; Mullany 2007; Ladegaard 2008).

This paper makes use of audio-taped small, relatively informal work-related meetings and discussions involving two or three people, as well as data from larger, and generally longer, meetings which were both audio- and video-recorded. In addition, in the well-established tradition of interactional sociolinguistic analysis, a rich fund of ethnographic information was gathered by means of interviews and observations to assist with interpreting the data.

Analysis

In this section we discuss selected extracts which typify the way in which Yvonne, our focus leader, balances and integrates the complex and competing demands of just three facets of her social identity – leadership, ethnicity, and gender. Our warrant for the selection derives from our confidence that the excerpts are typical and representative, based on our extensive familiarity with the data, as well as the reassurance on this issue provided by our participants with whom we have discussed our interpretation of recorded material.[10] In order to represent the range of interactions in which Yvonne is engaged on a regular basis, the examples have been drawn from two interaction types. The first set illustrates Yvonne's discourse in regular one-to-one meetings with employees in the organisation; the second set of examples has been selected from the monthly update meeting which involves most of the staff members in the organisation.

Example 1 is a brief excerpt from one of the regular meetings between Yvonne and Gretel, a senior Pākehā manager in the organisation, and head of one of the four main divisions. Yvonne and Gretel treat each other with respect and overall their discourse instantiates a very equal relationship. As well as discussing a range of transactional problems, they frankly evaluate the strengths and weaknesses of different staff members, and share personal information. However, as illustrated in Example 1, at certain points Yvonne's leadership role becomes apparent; most obviously it is she

who issues the directives, albeit in an appropriately attenuated form, given the context and their mutually respectful relationship.

Example 1
Context: One-to-one meeting of Māori Managing Director, Yvonne, with Pākehā senior manager, Gretel.

```
1.  Y: see it's probably more appropriate for whoever's
2.     the project manager to be managing …
3.     because it's all the staff and everything else
4.     and then if we organise (sort if you're) managing
5.     with the active project coordinator
6.     and then if we could actually just have a
7.     I mean it might only be quarterly or even twice a year
8.  G: yeah
9.  Y: meeting with um … (anyway)
10.    you and I could go to or just I you know sort of depending
11.    I think it would be good if you and I could //+ [drawls]: um:\
12. G: /yeah I agree\\
13. Y: but (it just) we probably need to check that out with [name]
14. G: yeah
15. Y: because I I don't want him to think we're going over his head
16.    or anything it's more for us just to get a bigger //pic\ture
17. G: /(mm)\\
18. Y: of how other people see it
```

The discourse draws extensively on the participants' shared knowledge, and includes a number of incomplete clauses (eg. line 11: *it would be good if you and I could*). This inexplicitness makes it difficult for outsiders to follow, but Gretel has no trouble in understanding Yvonne's point. At the heart of the example is a complex directive for Gretel regarding the organisation of the various projects for which her team is responsible: each should have an internal *active* project coordinator (line 5), and together Gretel and Yvonne should represent the face of the organisation to the client (line 10).

Rather than issuing the directive as a *fait accompli*, however, Yvonne hedges and presents her request as a negotiable idea (line 7 in particular), and appears to give Gretel the opportunity to agree or disagree with the suggestions (with Gretel agreeing in lines 8 and 14). The high proportion of attenuating devices (e.g. modals *might, could*, and pragmatic particles, *I think, you know, sort of, probably, just, I mean*) in this short excerpt, together with the use of the inclusive pronouns *we* and *you and I*, clearly index a consultative and collaborative stance. Furthermore, once the course of action has been decided upon, Yvonne explicitly takes account of the face needs of the particular project manager involved who, she notes, should be consulted so that he doesn't *think we're going over his head* (line 15). This short excerpt thus exemplifies the hybridity of Yvonne's discourse: through the directive she enacts her leadership role, but it is expressed in an implicit

style, a widely recognised feature of Māori interaction (Metge 1995), and it is appropriately attenuated in the light of her respect for Gretel.

Overall, then, Yvonne's approach can be characterised as collaborative, consultative and supportive, stances which index both her gender and her ethnic identity (cf. Mullany 2007). However, she also maintains her role as leader with overall control over the business needs of the organisation. In other words, Yvonne subtly asserts her authority when guidance is needed or a decision is required about how an agreed action is to be implemented. And this is achieved smoothly and fluidly as the interaction unfolds.

On other occasions, Yvonne adopts a much more direct approach. When talking to one of her senior managers, David, for example, with whom she has a close relationship, she is direct and explicit when reprimanding him. David has described instances where his team have disagreed over a decision he has made.

Example 2
Context: One-to-one meeting of Māori Managing Director, Yvonne, with Pākehā senior manager, David.

```
1. Y: you have to try and not get this chitter chatter
2.    sort of decisions made in the passageway…
3.    so I think I think a way around it is
4.    to actually make it much more formal
5.    have proper formal meetings
6. D: mm
7. Y: um yeah rather than her just coming to your office
8.    you know with things.
```

In the first two lines of this example, Yvonne engages in a very different style of interaction, one which highlights the professional stance notable in her approach to leadership. In this turn she makes a direct criticism of the appearance of haphazard decision-making which is causing problems in David's team. In the lead up to her reprimand, there has been an element of 'he said-she said' in David's account of the ongoing difficulties with a particular member of his team who is overriding the decisions made in formal meetings. Yvonne draws a firm line between involvement in the evaluation necessary to further the organisation's goals and gratuitous gossip about the company's employees. In all her interactions with her senior managers, she steadily resists being drawn into gossip about others. When she judges things have gone too far, she is very capable of bringing things back on track, as illustrated by her explicit reproving comment.

In lines 3-8 Yvonne skilfully moves David away from criticising others, and instead encourages him to focus on processes and formal procedures described later as *where things are discussed and agreed and recorded*. There are two important elements of their relationship which influence the

way in which Yvonne negotiates with David. One is their close personal relationship which allows Yvonne to be extremely direct as in lines 1–2. Another concerns ethnicity. The advice Yvonne gives David to avoid criticising individuals aligns with the Māori cultural norm which promotes attention to the group over the individual. As mentioned above, the priority of the group over the individual is a fundamental Māori value; 'face' is shared rather than pertaining to an individual, and honour and dishonour, prestige and shame, accrue to one's group rather than to individuals (Metge 1995). Hence harsh critical comments directed to individuals are typically avoided in Māori contexts; instead, the message is conveyed by means of a metaphor, or a narrative or a traditional proverb (Patterson 1992: 51–60). In Example 2, then, while both participants are clearly focused on Māori objectives and committed to this Māori organisation, Yvonne takes the opportunity to remind her Pākehā colleague of the relevance of the Māori rather than the Pākehā norm for managing criticism in this community of practice.

In another one-to-one meeting there is evidence of the supportive mentoring role that Yvonne fulfils as a leader in the organisation. In her regular meetings with a more junior colleague, she spends time asking about his career progression and future plans, enacting a very up-front leadership role by helping him to set appropriate objectives and guiding him to focus on how to achieve them. In the extract below from an interaction with this colleague, Curtis, Yvonne pays close attention to various facets of his day-to-day work. She displays a caring and supportive stance, integrating indices of gender and ethnicity as she constructs her identity as a considerate and responsible mentor. The following key turns have been extracted from the interaction.

Example 3
Context: One-to-one meeting of Māori Managing Director, Yvonne, with Māori staff member Curtis.

```
1. Y: how's the [program] working is that program working
2.    [...]
3.    um are you alright with the [client] logo
4.    [...]
5.    you're actually gonna draw it and everything are you
6.    [...]
7.    have you thought what you're going to have on that
8.    [...]
9.    I think it's better sending a hard copy than an h- you know
10.   than a email card isn't it
```

Rather than explicitly telling Curtis what to do, Yvonnne asks questions about his progress (lines 1, 3), and the steps he will be taking (lines 5, 7).

And when she does want him to act in a certain way she presents her instruction as a hedged opinion (lines 9–10), respecting the expertise that Curtis holds. Again mitigating devices (*I think, you know,* and the tag *isn't it*) express a facilitative and consultative stance, consistent both with feminine and Māori identity. Hence Yvonne's discourse again exhibits features which instantiate a complex and hybrid identity, indexing not only leadership but also femininity and ethnicity.

In these three examples from one-to-one interactions there is evidence at different points of a strong direct leader, a collaborative, consultative colleague, and a supportive mentor. In each case Yvonne has a particular task to achieve and she skilfully negotiates her way through the interactions, drawing simultaneously on different facets of her complex social identity. She judiciously manages the challenge of maintaining the integrity of her ethnic and gender identity, while also enacting an effective leadership identity. In other words, she convincingly maintains consistency between the various stances which she activates in the interactions.

In larger meetings, Yvonne's leadership identity is always apparent, and there is also clear evidence of her co-construction by others as the most senior member of the organisation (Marra and Holmes 2005; Holmes 2006; Marra, Schnurr and Holmes 2006). In Example 4, Yvonne opens one of the large staff meetings which are held each month. She uses an ironically humorous statement to indicate that it is time to start the reporting process which is a regular feature of the full staff meetings.

Example 4
Context: Monthly meeting of all staff in the organisation. Yvonne, the Managing Director, is chairing the meeting.

```
1. Y: I'm sure each division has organised who's going
2.    to speak and what they're going to speak about
```

As the most senior person in the organisation, Yvonne is the obvious person to chair these full staff meetings, a role which highlights her leadership position. However, her relaxed and humorous opening indexes her collaborative leadership style. By using a gently ironic tone to set the agenda, as in Example 4, she downplays her status as the meeting facilitator, and emphasises the collaborative nature of this Māori organisation in which any member of the various divisions within the organisation may be ratified to report on behalf of their team (cf. Schnurr 2009). Nevertheless, Yvonne is incontestably the person who controls the agenda and the direction of the meeting, identifying each speaker by a brief *next,* or sometimes by the direction of her gaze alone.

In another of these large meetings, Yvonne adopts a more overtly authoritative and decisive stance, explicitly indexing her leadership role,

by reminding the staff about the priorities in the organisation. This is illustrated in Example 5 where Yvonne sets out the overall mission for the group.

Example 5
Context: Monthly meeting of all staff in the organisation. Yvonne, the Managing Director, is chairing.

```
1. Y: ... what we've what we've done is made a commitment
2.    (just) to clients or to director
3.    or whoever (you're) doing the work for
4.    that this is what we're going to provide
5.    we're going to provide a quality product
6.    and we're going to provide it on time and within budget
```

The significance of this statement of the explicit goals of the organisation could easily be overlooked given that the mission as articulated seems to be one to which all organisations would aspire, i.e. quality work on time and within budget. Its importance lies in its positioning: it serves as a timely reminder of these goals at this particular point when the media has been promoting negative public stereotypes about Māori organisations in New Zealand: i.e. claims that Māori are more likely to be late and overbudget.[11] In Example 5, Yvonne is orienting to the 'big picture' and the macro-level goals of the organisation. In this context it is her leadership identity which is most relevant in providing vision and inspiration for the group (Jackson, Pfeifer and Vine 2006). Notably, her statement includes not a single hedge or mitigating device, while the repetition of the phrase *we're going to provide* (lines 4–6) emphasises and intensifies her message. These linguistic features instantiate a decisive and authoritative stance, while the repeated use of the inclusive pronoun *we* emphasises the collaborative nature of the organisation, indexing ethnicity and shared values.

In similar vein, commenting on how the company has dealt with a difficulty, Yvonne adopts a positive and optimistic stance, enacting a motivating leadership identity.

Example 6
Context: Monthly meeting of all staff in the organisation. Yvonne, the Managing Director, is chairing.

```
1. Y: ... I think for the company we've been able
2.    to totally turn the losing [a big job]
3.    into realise that actually it's an opportunity for us ...
```

Yvonne here addresses the entire group, and (as in Example 5) again using the inclusive *we* and *us,* she emphasises the joint commitment of all its members to the organisation. Thus, while highlighting her leadership identity, through her detailed discussion of what they have all learned,

she also acknowledges the collective nature of the organisation, a strategy particularly compatible with Māori collective values which orient to the group rather than the individual. Losing a big client is an *opportunity for us*, the people who make up the organisation.

In the larger meetings, then, while Yvonne's leadership identity is to the fore, she also behaves discursively in ways which are consistent with her ethnic and gender identity. The indexing of ethnicity and gender is particularly evident in Examples 7 and 8.

Example 7[12]
Context: Monthly meeting of all staff in the organisation. Yvonne, the Managing Director, is chairing and providing her monthly report.

```
1.  Y: first of all I have to read you out in fact my first
2.     and only ever fan letter…
3.     [others laugh at her and throughout the recitation]
4.     [she reads]: kia ora Yvonne happy new year + first up
5.     may I thank you for giving me an invitation to [an event]…
6.     [she reads in a mocking tone] I was very impressed
7.     with the kaupapa that is driving you to succeed +
8.     for more Māori to hear their story… the Māori experience…
9.     good luck Yvonne with what you're doing +
10.    I believe in what you're about…
11.    and you know the unlimited potential we can achieve
12.    as Māori as people + anyway… [on to the next topic]
```

The writer of the letter describes the positive impact Yvonne has as a charismatic leader, and her important leadership role in the organization. The content of this 'fan letter' thus casts Yvonne as the company hero, a well-recognised leadership identity (Jackson and Parry 2001; Ford, Harding and Learmouth 2008). Reading the letter with an ironic, self-disparaging tone allows Yvonne to integrate two apparently inconsistent stances, each associated with a different aspect of her social identity. The content of what she chooses to read, for example, the references to the *kaupapa* (mission) of the organisation and its Māori values, and the focus for which she is being commended, are important to the ethos of this Māori organization, and to her position as a Māori leader within that organisation. By reading the letter, she allows the words of another to depict her as an influential leader in a Māori context.

But, culturally well-recognised Māori norms, as well as stereotypical gender norms require that Yvonne adopt a modest and self-deprecating stance. She achieves this through the ironic, mocking tone of voice which she uses to distance herself from the content of the letter, adopting a linguistic strategy which allows her to behave in ways which are acceptable in the light of cultural, ethnic and gender norms. Reading out self-praise or self-promoting is behaviour incompatible with the Māori cultural

norm of *whakaiti* (modesty, humility). Moreover, as noted above, Māori culture promotes the group over the individual, and boasting is considered especially unacceptable when it focuses on the individual rather than the group. Distancing devices, namely the use of the words of another, combined with an ironic tone of voice while quoting those words, permit Yvonne to enact her ethnic identity appropriately. Furthermore, instead of elaborating on the content of the letter or making her evaluation of the letter lexically explicit, Yvonne downplays its contents, and moves on to the next item on the agenda with the discourse marker *anyway* (line 12), thus reinforcing the modest stance she has adopted and appropriately indexing both her ethnicity and gender.

Our final example illustrates Yvonne again skilfully integrating different facets of her social and professional identity.

Example 8[13]
Context: Monthly meeting of all staff in the organisation. Yvonne, the Managing Director, is chairing and providing her monthly report.

```
1.  Y:    yesterday I talked I had to give a presentation
2.        at the [name] conference I was invited by the Minister
3.        I felt the presentation wasn't that good
4.        because my briefing was about a two second phone
5.        [laughs]: call: [laughter] and so I had no idea who was
6.        going to be at the conference and ( ) what's it about
7.        I had no programme beforehand so I was a bit um /( )\\
8.  S:    //is this the one\ you had yesterday
9.  Y:    yeah
10. S:    I loved it
11. Y:    //oh did you\
12. All:  /[general laughter]\\
13. S:    I actually came home raving
14. Y:    oh that's only because I had a photo of you
15. All:  [loud burst of laughter]
16. Y:    so mm but it's just… anyway so that's me +++ next
```

Yvonne here reports on the fact that, at short notice, she made a brief contribution to a conference in the area of the company's interests. She also comments that she felt the presentation *wasn't that good* (line 3), explaining that she had very little time to prepare *my briefing was about a two second phone call* (line 4), and that she was not provided with a programme in advance (line 7). Yvonne thus constructs herself as acting in an appropriate way as the company Managing Director, by responding positively to an opportunity to promote the company's interests, but, consistent with Māori values, she also modestly denigrates her performance, commenting that she felt she had not done as well as she would have wished. This behaviour contrasts sharply with data from our Pākehā workplaces

where we have no examples of a leader negatively evaluating their own performance in a formal, public context. Thus Yvonne's self-deprecation is a culturally appropriate expression of *whakaiti*, as well as compatible with the widespread gendered expectation that women, including women leaders, should behave in modest ways (Eagly and Carli 2007).

What follows demonstrates how other staff members co-construct Yvonne as an effective leader, while again illustrating Yvonne's skilled negotiation of the competing facets of her identity. Sheree had also attended the presentation and she suddenly realises this is what Yvonne is referring to: *is this the one you had yesterday* (line 8), and when Yvonne provides confirmation she is fulsome in praise of Yvonne's contribution *I loved it…I actually came home raving* (lines 10, 13). Yvonne's first reaction is surprise *oh did you* (line 11), a reaction which our analysis of the intonation and tone of voice suggests is a very genuine one. When this elicits an upgraded compliment, Yvonne skilfully refutes it by suggesting Sheree's positive response can be explained because a photograph of Sheree was a component of the presentation (line 14). This occasions general laughter and the humour effectively deflects attention from Yvonne and the compliment Sheree has paid her.[14] As in the previous example, rather than elaborating or basking in the praise, Yvonne then passes the baton to the next contributor, *so that's me… next* (line 16), indicating that her report is complete and the next speaker should begin their contribution.

By adopting a humble stance, and deflecting a compliment which draws attention to her oratorical skills, Yvonne again behaves in a way that is totally consistent with the Māori value of *whakaiti,* while simultaneously indexing femininity. At the same time, Yvonne conveys the message that she is doing her job as leader of the organisation, by responding to opportunities and performing as well as possible in difficult circumstances. This short exchange thus neatly illustrates how Yvonne constructs herself both as a conscientious leader, and as an appropriately modest Māori woman.

Discussion

The examples discussed in the previous section have illustrated how a particular person in a specific organisation constructs a complex, hybridised social identity, simultaneously indexing leadership, gender identity and ethnic identity. Yvonne's performance clearly instantiates Lemke's proposal that 'we construct our own identities out of the options afforded to us by our general positionality and our particular trajectory of experiences, encounters, options for action, and so forth' (2008: 21).

In Example 1, interacting with Gretel, a senior manager of the same sex, Yvonne conveys what she, as company leader, wants to happen, using a collaborative and negotiative stance most obviously indexing normative femininity, though such stances are also associated with Māori ethnicity, instantiating deeply rooted Māori values. In interaction with David in Example 2 and Curtis in Example 3, we see different facets of Yvonne's leadership identity: an authoritative and decisive stance, expressed in a clear and direct statement in Example 2; and a less direct, mentoring, and even stereotypically maternal stance leading Curtis in an appropriate direction in Example 3.

Ethnicity constitutes a taken-for-granted background in every interaction at Kiwi Productions, evident, for instance, in the way Yvonne dissuades people from criticism of individuals, and rather encourages them to focus on processes and formal procedures. Where a Pākehā leader might use linguistic mitigation (a strategy indexed as feminine), in making a criticism or complaint to an individual, Māori managers more often generalise the criticism, focussing on the group rather than the individual (Metge 1995; Schnurr, Marra and Holmes 2007), or on processes rather than specific behaviours (Holmes, Marra and Vine 2011).

In the large group meetings, Yvonne's leadership role is constantly manifest, as illustrated in Examples 4, 5, and 6 where the ways in which she takes responsibility for the organisation are very evident. She takes the role of chair in full staff meetings, she reminds people of the company's objectives, and she motivates and energises them in the wake of a dispiriting disappointment. The authoritative and decisive stances she adopts at different points throughout these large meetings unmistakeably index leadership, and contribute to the convincing construction of Yvonne as an effective leader. At the same time, the mitigating humour in Example 4 and the affiliative encouragement in example 6 are consistent with a more normative feminine identity, and also with Māori values which orient to the group. Stances indexing ethnic identity, gender identity and leadership identity are also apparent in the account of the complimentary 'fan letter' in Example 7, as well as in Yvonne's modest recounting of her unanticipated contribution to the conference in Example 8. Thus the large meeting context also provides very explicit evidence of the ways in which Yvonne constructs a more complex social identity, hybridising all three components which are the focus of this paper.

In sum, Yvonne's largely seamless integration of different facets of her social identity in her day-to-day workplace interactions, as illustrated briefly in this paper, may account at least in part for the fact that she is so widely regarded, not only within her organisation but in the wider business community, as a very effective and successful leader. In her performance

as the leader of an organisation with a commitment to benefiting Māori, she demonstrates the kind of agency referred to by Lemke (2008), taking advantage of her position and experience to achieve her goals within the sociocultural constraints of the wider society, while sensitive to the values of her own culture. In interview she commented on the challenge of dealing with some influential clients who found it difficult to deal with a Māori woman in a leadership position: 'there have been a few individuals like that, but you see it doesn't hold me back'. She goes on to describe how she manages such problems strategically, in a way that means her organisation does not suffer from such sexist prejudices: 'I can't make headway with him that's why I send Quentin over. Quentin will come back with a whole lot of information… you know it's just boys like to share'. On the other hand, she points out, 'a lot of women I work with, they just prefer to work with women'. It appears that Yvonne strategically exploits the 'old boy's network', while concurrently nurturing her relationships with women in influential positions.

Yvonne provides a case study of a person who in her daily interactions is constantly negotiating the often contradictory demands of different sociocultural expectations. While the expectation of her as a woman and as a Māori sometimes coincide (e.g. the positive value associated with a collaborative and consultative approach, and a modest demeanour), there are also dimensions of being Māori which are distinctive (e.g. the importance of privileging the group above the individual, and the tendency to focus on examining processes rather than criticising individual behaviour). Hence, in addition to the classic 'double bind' – the so-called contradiction between acting in ways that are considered stereotypically feminine and ways considered authoritative – there is the additional challenge for a Māori woman leader in that she must also be seen to be explicitly respecting Māori values and enacting her leadership identity in ways which are compatible with Māori culture. Enacting leadership as a Māori woman entails behaving rather differently than enacting leadership as a Pākehā woman (Diamond 2003; Jackson and Parry 2001). As we have indicated in this paper, a Māori woman leader must negotiate a highly constrained and complex route between many different sets of sociocultural expectations.

As noted above, Lemke (2008: 33) suggests, 'hybridity represents a compromise by the individual among the pressures and forces of multiple cultures and institutions which are seeking to control our identities'. But an alternative perspective could conceptualise hybridity as a creative and constructive force rather than as a negative compromise.

Hybridised identities can be seen as innovative and positive responses to the tendency for individuals to view society as comprising hard-edged social categories, and to discriminate against those from other groups

(Brewer 1997). Individuals in positions such as Yvonne's have the potential to forge affirming hybridised identities, contesting traditional roles, undermining perceptions of social categories as hard-edged and mutually exclusive, and promoting tolerance of diversity (Brewer 2009; Brewer and Pierce 2005).[15] From this perspective, Yvonne's day-to-day discursive behaviour which skilfully enacts complex and diverse social identities can be seen as a challenge to established social categories and stereotypes, and a positive contribution to the development of tolerance, and even appreciation of diversity.

Conclusion

Gender is an omni-relevant social category, constantly used as a means of managing our social world. Gendered norms and expectations may constrain behaviour, including talk. For good reason, because the constraints tend to impinge more restrictively on them, women are often more aware of the force of gendered societal norms and expectations than are men (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). In the nineteenth-century New Zealand context, Phillips commented that 'the sheer ideological hegemony of the male mythology served to disguise conflicts and obscure diversity within society itself' (1996: 284). The question posed by the media when the New Zealand government changed in late 2008, 'who will be invited to the big boys' table?' (i.e. the new Prime Minister, John Key's, cabinet table), suggests little has changed. In the USA, Grabe and Shibley Hyde note that, despite some gains, 'women continue to be sparsely represented at higher levels of organizations and are extraordinarily rare in top managerial positions of businesses and corporations' (2006: 183). The double bind is still a reality for women leaders in many contexts, especially business contexts, despite the progress made by women like Helen Clark (now working in a top level position for the United Nations).

As Cameron (1997b: 33) has pointed out, '[b]eing a woman or a man … is about living one's other social identities (such as racial, ethnic, regional, subcultural) in a particular and gendered way'. Yvonne provides an illuminating case study here. Doing ethnicity, like doing gender, is a performance enacted in relation to significant sociocultural constraints, constraints which generally go unnoticed by the majority group. Minority group members, of course, have a very different perspective. Unlike Pākehā New Zealanders, Māori are required to be bicultural. The way Pākehā do things is considered 'normal' from the point of view of the majority of New Zealanders, and interactional norms in the majority of New Zealand workplaces are typically those of the majority group. This hegemony provides obvious challenges for Māori working in culturally Pākehā

organisations. For those relatively few Māori who work in Māori organisations, such as Kiwi Productions, the challenges are equally complex. As suggested in the opening section, broader societal constraints operate in all New Zealand organisations, but Māori organisations attempt to infuse all their activities with Māori values, and to use Māori norms of interaction and Māori ways of doing things. This is not easy within a context where these behaviours are always perceived as marked.

In other words, masculinist gender norms and majority group ethnic norms are always covertly relevant as important systemic characteristics of interaction at work, subtly influencing people's unconscious interpretations of what is considered appropriate in the workplace and influencing evaluations of the ways in which individuals do gender and ethnicity. In this context, we have suggested, the challenge of enacting a convincing leadership identity is far from straightforward. We have explored some of this complexity by examining the ways in which one successful Māori woman leader negotiates this fissure-ridden, challenging territory on a daily basis. As Kendall (2008: 546) notes, '[e]ach case study occurs at the intersection of social and historical processes which make that case possible in a particular time and place'. Hopefully, our analysis of aspects of Yvonne's effective performance of a hybridised identity in New Zealand in the early decades of twenty-first century may contribute to an increased understanding of the complexities of managing workplace discourse in culturally diverse contexts, and provide indications of constructive ways forward in countering negative societal perspectives and eroding hard-edged unhelpful social categories.

Transcription conventions

yes	Underlining indicates emphatic stress
[laughs] : :	Paralinguistic features and other information in square brackets, colons indicate start/finish
+	Pause of up to one second
... //.....\ ...	Simultaneous speech
.../.....\\ ...	
(hello)	Transcriber's best guess at an unclear utterance
-	Incomplete or cut-off utterance
… …	Section of transcript omitted

All names are pseudonyms

About the authors

Janet Holmes is Professor of Linguistics at Victoria University of Wellington where she directs the Language in the Workplace Project and teaches

sociolinguistics at every level. She has published on a wide range of topics including New Zealand English, language and gender, sexist language, pragmatic particles, compliments and apologies, and most recently on aspects of workplace discourse. Her most recent books are the third edition of the *Introduction to Sociolinguistics* (Pearson, 2008), *Gendered Talk at Work* (Blackwell, 2006) and *Leadership, Discourse, and Ethnicity* (Oxford University Press, 2011).

Meredith Marra is a core member of the Wellington Language in the Workplace Project and a Senior Lecturer at Victoria University of Wellington where she teaches a range of courses in sociolinguistics. Meredith's primary research interest is the language of business meetings, and she has published in the areas of humour and gender in workplace interactions in *Language in Society*, the *Journal of Politeness Research* and *Text & Talk*. She is co-author of *Leadership, Discourse, and Ethnicity* (Oxford University Press, 2011) and co-editor of *Femininity, Feminism and Gendered Discourse* (Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2010) and *Constructing Identities at Work* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

Notes

1 We would like to acknowledge the contributions of other members of the Language in the Workplace team to the data collection and transcription on which this paper draws. We would also like to thank the two anonymous reviewers who provided extremely useful comments and suggestions which have improved this paper.

2 See Holmes and Marra (2004), Holmes (2005; 2006), Holmes and Schnurr (2006) for further discussion and exemplification. See also Kanter (1977), Mullany (2007) and Kendall (2009) on the attribution of terms such as 'mother' to effective women leaders.

3 Jackson and Parry (2001: 27) comment that 'it would be difficult to find a nation that has institutionalized and ritualized…wealth and envy status' or 'lack of reverence for big business' to the extent that Australasians have.

4 P.A. Vogt studying Ohakune, a small New Zealand town, wrote: 'Employers, managers, foremen and supervisors are expected to be equally sociable, are often addressed by their forenames and are generally regarded as being workmates along with the others. Respect for seniority is, in fact, more forthcoming if the senior man overtly plays down his vocational position by being 'one of the boys' on an everyday, causal social level'. Cited in Phillips (1996: 285).

5 Māori people are a minority in New Zealand (14.7%: www.stats.govt.nz, 2006).

6 The name Kiwi Productions is a pseudonym.

7 See http://www.victoria.ac.nz/lals/lwp for further information.

8 This rich corpus thus includes material from Māori workplaces, from workplaces with a strong sympathy for Māori concerns, as well as from bicultural workplaces, all of which has provided valuable verification of the analyses in this paper which draw on material from two particular Māori workplaces.
9 For more information on the project, and especially details of data collection and methodology, see Holmes and Stubbe (2003) and Marra (2008).
10 The interesting issue of 'warranting' is well discussed in Cameron (2009); McRae (2009); Swann (2009).
11 See Marra (2005) for a discussion of Yvonne's overt reaction to the media where she pointed out the need for Māori organisations to be 'whiter than white'.
12 This example also occurs in Marra and Holmes (2005) where it is used to illustrate narratives in business contexts.
13 This example is also discussed in Holmes (2007).
14 See Schnurr (2009) on the functions of humour in the construction of leadership identity.
15 Brewer and Pierce (2005: 9) conclude: a cross-cutting category structure and multiple social identities with awareness of ingroup diversity provide an effective formula for reducing intergroup prejudice.

References

Allen, L. (2007) 'Sensitive and real macho all at the same time': Young (hetero) sexual men and romance. *Men and Masculinities* 10: 137–152. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1097184X05284221

Angouri, J. (2007) *Language in the Workplace: A Multimethod Study of the Communicative Activity in Seven Multinational Companies Situated in Europe*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Essex.

Baxter, J. (2003) *Positioning Gender in Discourse: A Feminist Methodology*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9780230501263

Baxter, J. (2008) Is it all tough talking at the top? *Gender and Language* 2: 197–222.

Blommaert, J. (2007) Sociolinguistics and discourse analysis: Orders of indexicality and polycentricity. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses* 2: 115–130. http://dx.doi.org/10.2167/md089.0

Brewer, M.B. (1997) The social psychology of intergroup relations. Can research inform practice? *Journal of Social Issues* 53: 197–211. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4560.1997.tb02440.x

Brewer, M. B. (2009) *Identity and diversity: Must it be 'us' vs 'them'*? Public Lecture presented at Victoria University of Wellington, Centre for Applied Cross-Cultural Research. April 2009.

Brewer, M.B. and Pierce, K.P. (2005) Social identity complexity and outgroup tolerance. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 31: 1–10. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/0146167204271710

Butler, J. (1990) *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York: Routledge.
Caldas-Coulthard, C.R. and Iedema, R. (eds) (2008) *Identity Trouble: Critical Discourse and Contested Identities*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Cameron, D. (1997a) Performing gender identity: Young men's talk and the construction of heterosexual masculinity. In S. Johnson and U.H. Meinhof (eds) *Language and Masculinity* 47–64. Oxford: Blackwell.
Cameron, D. (1997b) Theoretical debates in feminist linguistics: Questions of sex and gender. In R. Wodak (ed.) *Gender and Discourse* 21–36. London: Sage.
Cameron, D. (2000) *Good to Talk? Living and Working in a Communication Culture*. London: Sage.
Cameron, D. (2009) Theoretical issues for the study of gender and spoken interaction. In P. Pichler and E.M. Eppler (eds) *Gender and Spoken Interaction* 1–17. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Cameron, D. and Kulick, D. (2003) *Language and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791178
De Fina, A., Schiffrin, D. and Bamberg, M. (eds) (2006) *Discourse and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Diamond, P. (2003) *A Fire in Your Belly: Māori Leaders Speak.* Huia Publishers: Wellington.
Eagly, A.H. and Carli, L.L. (2007) *Through the Labyrinth: The Truth about How Women Become Leaders.* Boston: Harvard Business School Press.
Eckert, P. (2008) Variation and the indexical field. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 12: 477–503. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9841.2008.00374.x
Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (2003) *Language and Gender.* New York: Cambridge University Press. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511791147
Ford, J., Harding, N. and Learmouth, M. (2008) *Leadership as Identity: Construction and Deconstruction*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Grabe, S. and Shibley Hyde, J. (2006) Impact of gender on leadership. In M. Foegen Karsten (ed.) *Gender, Race and Ethnicity in the Workplace: Issues and Challenges for Today's Organizations*. Volume 2: *Legal, Psychological, and Power Issues Affecting Women and Minorities in Business* 183–198. London: Prager.
Holmes, J. (1997) Women, language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2: 195–223. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00012
Holmes, J. (2005) The glass ceiling – does talk contribute? Gendered discourse in the New Zealand workplace. In C. Mills and D. Matheson (eds) *Communication at Work: Showcasing Communication Scholarship*. Publication of the Annual Meeting of the Australia New Zealand Communication Association 2005. Retrieved on 15 October 2009 from http://www.mang.canterbury.ac.nz/ANZCA/FullPapers.shtml
Holmes, J. (2006) *Gendered Talk at Work: Constructing Gender Identity through Workplace Discourse.* Oxford: Blackwell.
Holmes, J. (2007) Humour and the construction of Māori leadership at work. *Leadership* 3: 5–27. http://dx.doi.org/10.1177/1742715007073061

Holmes, J. (2008) Gender, leadership and discourse in New Zealand workplaces. *Studies in Pragmatics* 10: 83–101.
Holmes, J. (2009) Men, masculinities and leadership: Different discourse styles at work. In P. Pichler and E.M. Eppler (eds) *Gender and Spoken Interaction* 186–210. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
Holmes, J. and Marra, M. (2004). Relational practice in the workplace: Women's talk or gendered discourse? *Language in Society* 33: 377–398. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0047404504043039
Holmes, J. Marra, M. and Vine, B. (forthcoming) *Leadership, Discourse and Ethnicity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Holmes, J. and Schnurr, S. (2006) Doing femininity at work: More than just relational practice. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10: 31–51. http://dx.doi.org/10.1111/j.1360-6441.2006.00316.x
Holmes, J. and Stubbe, M. (2003) *Power and Politeness in the Workplace. A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Talk at Work*. London: Pearson Education.
Holmes, J., Vine, B. and Marra, M. (2011) Māori men at work: Leadership, discourse and ethnic identity. *Intercultural Pragmatics* 6: 345–366.
Jackson, B. and Parry, K. (2001) *The Hero Manager: Learning from New Zealand's Top Chief Executives*. Auckland: Penguin.
Jackson, B., Pfeifer, D. and Vine, B. (2006) The co-leadership of transformational leadership. *Australia and New Zealand Academy of Management Conference Proceedings* 2006 22pp.
Kanter R. M. (1977) *Men and Women of the Organization*. New York: Basic Books.
Karsten, M. F. (2006) *Gender, Race, and Ethnicity in the Workplace: Issues and Challenges for Today's Organizations*. New York: Praeger.
Kendall, S. (2008) The balancing act: framing gendered parental identities at dinnertime. *Language in Society* 37: 539–568. http://dx.doi.org/10.1017/S0047404508080767
Kendall, S. (2009) *Mother and Manager: Discourse and Identity at Work and at Home*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Koester, A. (2006) *Investigating Workplace Discourse*. London: Routledge.
Ladegaard, H.J. (2008) 'Doing power' at work: An analysis of male and female management styles in a global business corporation. Paper presented at the Inaugural Conference of the Asia-Pacific Rim LSP and Professional Communication Association. The Hong Kong Polytechnic University & City University of Hong Kong, 8–10 December 2008.
Lemke, J.L. (2008) Identity, development and desire: Critical questions. In C.R. Caldas-Coulthard and R. Iedema (eds) *Identity Trouble: Critical Discourse and Contested Identities* 17–43. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Litosseliti, L. (2006) *Gender and Language: Theory and Practice*. London: Hodder Arnold.
Marra, M. (2008) Recording and analyzing talk across cultures. In H. Spencer-Oatey (ed.) *Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport through Talk across Cultures* (2nd edn) 304–321. London: Continuum.

Marra, M. (2005) "Whiter than white": Constructing ethnic and professional identity in a Maori workplace. Language in the media, Leeds University, Leeds 12–14 September 2005.
Marra, M. and Holmes, J. (2005) Constructing ethnicity and leadership through storytelling at work. In C. Mills and D. Matheson (eds) *Communication at Work: Showcasing Communication Scholarship*. Publication of the Annual Meeting of the Australia New Zealand Communication Association 2005. Retrieved on 15 October 2009 from http://www.mang.canterbury.ac.nz/ANZCA/FullPapers.shtml
Marra, M., Schnurr, S. and Holmes, J. (2006) Effective leadership in New Zealand workplaces: Balancing gender and role. In J. Baxter and A. Jule (eds) *Speaking Out: The Female Voice in Public Contexts* 240–260. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
McRae, S. (2009) 'It's a blokes' thing': Gender, occupational roles and talk in the workplace. In P. Pichler and E.M. Eppler (eds) *Gender and Spoken Interaction* 163–185. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
McElhinny, B. (2003) Fearful, forceful agents of the law: Ideologies about language and gender in police officers' narratives about the use of physical force. *Pragmatics* 13: 253–284.
Metge, J. (1986) *In and Out of Touch: Whakamaa in Crosscultural Context*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
Metge, J. (1995) *New Growth from Old: The Whānau in the Modern World*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
Metge, J. (2001) *Kōrero Tahi: Talking Together*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.
Metge, J. and Kinloch, P. (1978) *Talking Past Each Other Problems of Cross-Cultural Communication*. Wellington: Victoria University Press.
Mullany, L. (2007) *Gendered Discourse in Professional Communication*. Basingstoke, UK, New York: Palgrave Macmillan. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9780230592902
Ochs, E. (1992) Indexing gender. In A. Duranti and C. Goodwin (eds) *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon* 335–358. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Patterson, J. (1992) *Exploring Māori Values*. Palmerston North: Dunmore Press.
Phillips, J. (1996) *A Man's Country. The Image of the Pakeha Male: A History.* Auckland: Penguin Books.
Richards, K. (2006) *Language and Professional Identity: Aspects of Collaborative Interaction*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9780230505049
Schnurr, S. (2009) *Leadership Discourse at Work: Interactions of Humour, Gender and Workplace Culture.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.
Schnurr, S., Marra, M. and Holmes, J. (2007) Being (im)polite in New Zealand workplaces: Māori and Pākehā leaders. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39: 712–729. http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2006.11.016
Sunderland, J. (2004) *Gendered Discourses*. London: Palgrave Macmillan. http://dx.doi.org/10.1057/9780230505582

Swann, J (2009) Doing gender against the odds: A sociolinguistic analysis of educational discourse. In P. Pichler and E.M. Eppler (eds) *Gender and Spoken Interaction*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.