Research and Development Series

DIVERSITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION: LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES

Final Report

Dr Diane Bebbington
Director, Knowledge Perspectives

Leadership Foundation
for Higher Education

Series 2: Publication 2

Research and Development Series

DIVERSITY IN HIGHER EDUCATION: LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITIES AND CHALLENGES

Final Report

Dr Diane Bebbington
Director, Knowledge Perspectives

Leadership Foundation
for Higher Education

Series 2: Publication 2

Acknowledgements

Thanks are due to the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education for funding this work, providing a space for discussion and development of the project and giving sustained support for equality and diversity matters. The author particularly wishes to thank the following people at the Leadership Foundation: Ewart Wooldridge CBE, Professor Robin Middlehurst and Helen Goreham.

The expert group, convened especially for the purposes of this research, gave essential guidance to the development of the project. The knowledge they shared from their respective fields was invaluable. Members of the group were:

- Emeritus Professor Len Barton, Institute of Education, University of London
- Professor Judith Glover, Roehampton University
- Professor Jacky Lumby, University of Southampton
- Professor Tariq Modood, University of Bristol
- Professor Mustafa Özbilgin, University of East Anglia

We are also grateful to Nicola Dandridge, Equality Challenge Unit, for her constructive feedback at various points of the project.

Dr Diane Bebbington
Director
Knowledge Perspectives

First Published in November 2009
Leadership Foundation for Higher Education

Published by the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education

Registered and operational address:
Leadership Foundation for Higher Education
First Floor, Holborn Gate
330 High Holborn
London, WC1V 7QT
England

Tel: +44 (0)20 7849 6916
Fax: +44 (0)20 7849 6901
E-mail: info@lfhe.ac.uk

www.lfhe.ac.uk

ISBN 978-1-906627-15-7

Designed & produced by Smith Creative

Printed in the United Kingdom

Contents

Page

Executive summary 2

1. Introduction 5
2. Methodology 7
3. Organisational inequalities 8
4. Leadership: concepts and realities 16
5. Contextual issues 24
6. Equality in higher education 31
7. Leading for diversity in educational contexts 39
8. Conclusion 45
9. References 47

Executive summary

Rationale

This report, commissioned by the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education, has been written at a time of major developments in equality law, in particular the introduction in April 2009 of the Equality Bill. The Bill aims to harmonise, strengthen and progress existing anti-discrimination law. The Leadership Foundation is aware of the persistent lack of diversity in the senior ranks of UK higher education in spite of efforts to improve the balance of women and men on its programmes. A further rationale for this work derives from research that emphasises the crucial importance of effective, visible, proactive leadership in driving forward the equalities agenda. Given the inevitability of greater diversity amongst the population and workforce, the transformation of leadership becomes all the more imperative.

Aims and methodology

This review sought to pull together relevant literature on leadership and diversity primarily in higher education but also in other sectors where relevant, to present data highlighting patterns of participation of traditionally underrepresented groups in higher education leadership and management and to set out implications and recommendations from its findings. The review was guided by an expert group that met with the project manager and researcher on two occasions during the course of the project. An extensive literature search was undertaken and the material generated was analysed thematically. The resultant themes form the basis of this report.

Findings

Inequalities in organisations

Classical organisational theory in the Weberian tradition has been challenged. Researchers have shown that in contrast to the notion of organisations acting impartially and rationally, they are not neutral with regard to differences such as gender, class and race and in fact they are the site of much economic and social inequality. One way in which this is manifested is in differentials in power and pay between those at the senior levels of hierarchies and those at lower levels. Just as there are inequalities based on gender, class and race so too are there biases that relate to disability, religion, sexual orientation and age. The concept of institutional discrimination further challenges the notion of organisations as rational, impersonal entities. Evidence presented in this report highlights the need to tackle inequalities in higher education at organisational level in order not only to bring about change with regard to legal compliance, but also to challenge organisational culture.

While there may be objective effects in terms of occupational outcomes for certain groups, identities may shift and be renegotiated according to particular contexts. These effects may include negotiating identities in the workplace whereby heterosexual constraints are revealed or in which disabled people forge positive identities through the social model of disability. The importance of intersectionality has been highlighted in which multiple aspects of identity overlap, influencing for example the ways in which black and minority ethnic women experience and negotiate the workplace to achieve positive outcomes.

Contesting leadership

In line with dominant approaches to analysing organisations, theories of leadership tend to suppress 'difference' in race, gender and other aspects of identity. Historically, leadership studies have been based on data reflecting the experience of those in leadership positions – predominantly white men. Prominent concepts of leadership are trait theory that suggests leaders are born and embody qualities such as vision, creativity and charisma, and transactional and transformational leadership that focuses on the 'followers' as well as the leaders and the relationship and exchange of power that takes place between them. More recently, inclusive approaches have been discussed including distributed leadership that assumes the co-creation of leadership by a number of people in various formal and informal roles, and authentic leadership that focuses on the negotiation of values and the implications of leading people who have differing values and experiences. Change agency may be a useful concept that transcends explanations that attribute change to individuals or structural circumstances to recognising, for instance, the influence on organisations of cultural dynamics in the labour market.

Quantitative evidence highlights the persistence of hierarchical segregation across a variety of public and private sector organisations, with some groups being overrepresented in senior roles and others being underrepresented. Some leaders have expressed the view that the diversity of leadership is irrelevant to the task in hand. Qualitative studies reveal, however, that the very presence of women and minorities in leadership roles has the potential to disrupt existing power regimes. Research has suggested that organisational performance is enhanced by greater diversity. On the other hand, the view has been expressed that 'atypical' leaders may be associated with poorer organisational performance. However, this idea has been contested by research indicating that there may be broader concerns impacting on an organisation's functioning and that it may not be the leadership per se that is causing the downturn in performance. Fruitful approaches to leadership have emanated from the disability movement that both challenge the idea of a leader as being non-disabled and posit an alternative approach based on notions of collectivity and the creation of structures in which diverse people are enabled to explore their leadership potential.

The broader context

Broader issues in terms of economic, political and legislative developments are impacting on higher education with consequences for leadership and equality matters. Researchers have documented the rise of the New Public Management involving a shift to strategic management and restructuring with increased rationalisation and devolution. Key features are an emphasis on quantification such as performance indicators and a consumer orientation typified by market ideology. While opportunities may have arisen from these changes they may be in conflict with the managerialist agenda. The increasing focus on 'strong' management draws on traits typically associated with masculinity.

Neoliberal economies, involving open markets, free trade and organisational restructuring, have led to increasing variability in the nature of inequality. It has been argued that neoliberalism treats education as another service to be delivered on the market to those who can afford to buy. Narratives of equality and inclusion may challenge the dominance of neoliberalism. Neoliberal economics have led to 'academic capitalism' based on the recognition of education's potential profitability as a tradable service. Along with marketisation, there has been a rapid growth in student numbers. During a period of mass expansion the proportion of women undergraduates in the UK has increased, with women now making up over half of all undergraduates. However, the expansion of higher education has had a limited effect on the proportion of people from lower socio-economic groups entering higher education institutions. Despite the introduction of legislation that places greater onus on public bodies to promote equality, inequalities remain.

Equality and higher education

Despite changes in the student demographic, the social make-up of senior management and the academic workforce is still mainly white, non-disabled, middle-class and male. Research has investigated issues of equality in higher education in the areas of race, gender and, to some extent, sexual orientation and disability. Less attention has been paid to issues of religion and age. The relationship between scholarship and equality is noted whereby research that challenges power structures may be marginalised so that favoured themes and methodologies are reproduced. Traditional research paradigms are, however, being challenged by innovations from such fields as disability studies.

Researchers have examined the nature of leadership, but these studies have tended to overlook issues of social identity. While there is no comprehensive dataset that would allow a full analysis to be undertaken of the demographic characteristics of senior higher education staff, the available data would indicate the existence of class, race and gender penalties at senior levels. Most qualitative research on leadership and diversity in education has been carried out in further education and schools, although studies have examined the experiences of women in senior management, immigrant women professors and third-country academics. These studies indicate that various forms of discrimination impact on national and international careers in higher education. Challenges for higher education include the perception that the change from an elite to a mass system marks a decline in standards, entrenched attitudes in which diversity is perceived as a threat and the perception that diversity is mainly concerned with numerical representation rather than focused on creating an environment that improves day-to-day realities.

Leading on diversity

This literature review notes a tension between, on the one hand, the need for leadership to advance the equality agenda and, on the other, the reluctance of some leaders to engage with this area. Fragmentation of effort and a piecemeal approach have been highlighted in other international contexts, and these reinforce the need for a leadership-driven approach with a framework developed at institutional level. Two means of tackling inequality may be identified, including affirmative and transformational approaches. The former approach is orientated towards the values of tolerance, acceptance, benevolence and compassion, whereas the latter approach is more radical aiming to restructure the underlying framework and processes that produce inequality through, for example, reconstructing and transforming the curriculum to reflect the diversity of the staff and student population. Another approach is that of deconstructing the notion of privilege which, it is argued, incorporates an analysis of power.

Several case studies are described that sought to tackle inequality from a leadership perspective. One project involved building cultural understanding in leadership and management and another adopted the principles of mainstreaming to develop strategies to embed equality and diversity into the policies and practices of the university. Equality and diversity specialists in the sector underline the importance of visible leadership as well as the inclusion of this agenda in institutional strategy. Key requirements are also mandatory training for staff, resources in terms of staffing and finance and the integration of the work of equality and diversity specialists into institutional strategy and senior management. Research has examined the strategies of leaders in the US with track records in tackling inequality. Their strategies included developing coalitions and advocates, anticipating resistance, using data to neutralise political backlash, mounting public relations campaigns and showcasing success.

Recommendations

Organisational development

In terms of organisational development, discrimination in higher education institutions may be tackled in a variety of ways. Approaches advocated in the research include:

- Clear commitment within institutions to raise awareness and promote equality and diversity.
- Commitment to changing the culture and ethos of institutions so that the focus is not merely on complying with the law.
- Consistency in procedures in such areas as recruitment, induction and promotion to ensure that all forms of discrimination that may impact on staff are eliminated.

Leadership development

This report has highlighted the importance of exposing people to opportunities to develop their leadership skills. This can be achieved through:

- Recognising that leadership development happens over the long term.
- Providing mentorship to promote leadership development.
- Ensuring that potential leaders become part of a diverse network of leaders.
- Providing learning experiences that will enable future leaders to acquire relevant skills, knowledge and understanding.

Promoting equality

Major tasks for leaders in moving the equality agenda forward are to:

- Foster a climate within higher education institutions that promotes and supports a diverse community.
- Prepare staff for working in an increasingly diverse workplace including through training in cultural diversity.
- Introduce policies and practices that are sensitive to the needs of a diverse population.
- Ensure that an atmosphere for learning is created that allows for a discourse on diversity issues.
- Adopt zero tolerance of discrimination and exclusion, particularly in view of persisting inequalities and fiscal pressures.

Strategic level

The research reviewed here indicates that at strategic level leaders should:

- Ensure that there is visible leadership from the head of institution and senior management on diversity.
- Ensure that strategic and corporate plans incorporate diversity considerations.
- Strengthen networks to take the diversity agenda forward.
- Engage effectively with underrepresented or marginalised groups so that any initiatives accurately reflect their needs.
- Ensure that the diversity agenda is properly resourced in terms of funding and staffing.
- Ensure that there are good systems of data collection in place so that diversity initiatives are supported by empirical evidence.
- Support initiatives that showcase success.

Policy and research

- Efforts should be undertaken at national level to establish reliable information systems that provide data on the demographics of senior higher education staff. These should be collected in a way that allows for the identification of trends over time.
- Research should be undertaken to examine current higher education leadership and how issues of equality and diversity are dealt with and to identify what senior leaders and managers require in terms of support in this area. Research already undertaken in further education and schools could provide useful indications as to the direction of this research.

1. Introduction

This report presents key findings from a literature review that examined recent research on diversity and leadership and, where available, specific research on these themes in the context of higher education. Despite efforts by the sector, including the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education's aim to achieve a 50/50 gender balance in its Top Management Programme and various activities of its Diversity Advisory Forum, there is still a marked underrepresentation in higher education leadership of some groups including disabled people, women and ethnic minorities.

The policy context

A further rationale for undertaking this review is the current policy context. The Equality Bill, introduced in the House of Commons in April 2009 and underpinned by the recommendations of the Equalities Review,[1] aims to harmonise existing discrimination law, strengthen it and support progress towards equality. The Bill is expected to come into force in Autumn 2009 and the general public duty in 2011. The introduction of the Bill follows the amalgamation of the former equality bodies – the Commission for Racial Equality, Equal Opportunities Commission and Disability Rights Commission – into the Equality and Human Rights Commission (EHRC) in October 2007. The EHRC brings together the work of the three separate commissions and has taken on responsibility for other aspects of equality including age, sexual orientation, religion or belief and human rights. The general public duty will cover all these areas, and additionally pregnancy and maternity and gender reassignment. Higher education institutions will be subject to the duty that will require them to:

- Eliminate discrimination, harassment and victimisation.
- Advance equality of opportunity between persons who share a protected characteristic and persons who do not share it.
- Foster good relations between persons who share a protected characteristic and persons who do not share it.[2]

Leadership and equality

In addition to the new legislation, several key reports have highlighted the importance of leadership in promoting equality in the higher and further education sectors. A report by the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (NIACE) on disabled staff working in lifelong learning[3] stated that achieving inclusion for disabled staff is a crucial issue for leaders. It concluded that 'Effective, visible and proactive leadership and management are vital in the process towards disability equality. This is not a matter for leaders to delegate to others, they should take direct responsibility.'[4] The report stressed, moreover, that this should not be a 'bolt-on' activity and that confidence in 'saying and doing the right thing'[5] is critical in progressing disability equality. The Commission for Black Staff in Further Education also emphasised the critical role of the leadership of stakeholding bodies and institutions in taking forward its recommendations to tackle racial inequalities.[6]

Lumby[7] states that there is increasing scrutiny of the part that leadership plays in relation to equality initiatives. Although leaders may not be alone in having power and access to resources within organisations, their power in terms of their formal role of authority and access to other sources of power mean they have the possibility to unsettle power relations. A number of arguments have been put forward for encompassing equality within leadership including that leaders may play a role in acknowledging and validating the experiences of disempowered groups or may provide support when staff experience a backlash against equality and diversity initiatives. Lumby also highlights the point that institutions are becoming increasingly diverse and that this makes the transformation of leadership all the more imperative.

Literature review

To step up the Leadership Foundation's diversity-related activities, a two-stage research project has been planned. The first, this project, involves a report or 'think-piece' comprising a thematic analysis of pertinent literature and a statistical mapping of the demographics of higher education leadership using existing datasets. The second phase will involve empirical research to map in more detail the characteristics of senior staff in the sector. This may lead to further studies and/or intervention strategies.

The objectives of this phase are:

- To pull together relevant literature on leadership and diversity primarily with reference to the equality strands of disability, race, gender, religion or belief, sexual orientation and age but also in relation to socio-economic groups. In the first instance, literature pertaining to higher education will be gathered. Work from other sectors and organisational contexts will be considered if useful to the review.
- To present data highlighting patterns of participation of equality groups within higher education leadership and management in the UK. These data will be drawn from a number of sources as may be available including Higher

1 Equalities Review (2007)
2 Equality Challenge Unit (2009a)
3 NIACE (2008)
4 NIACE (2008) p13
5 NIACE (2008) p13
6 Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002)
7 Lumby (2007)

Education Statistics Agency (HESA), Equality Challenge Unit (ECU) and research on women and management in Scotland funded by the Leadership Foundation.[8] However, it may be expected that data on senior management will be limited as indicated by a recent ECU report that mapped the availability of equality data in the sector.[9]

- To set out implications and practical recommendations for the various stakeholders including higher education institutions, the Leadership Foundation, the ECU and executive search agencies.

8 McTavish and Miller (2007)

9 Equality Challenge Unit (2008)

2. Methodology

The research comprised two main elements: convening a group of experts to guide the project and carrying out a review of the literature. The expert group attended two meetings at the Leadership Foundation's offices and were chosen on the basis of their significant contributions to the field of equality and diversity. They were:

- Emeritus Professor Len Barton, Institute of Education, University of London
- Professor Judith Glover, Roehampton University
- Professor Jacky Lumby, University of Southampton
- Professor Tariq Modood, University of Bristol
- Professor Mustafa Özbilgin, University of East Anglia

The first meeting, held at the start of the project, was introduced by the Chief Executive of the Leadership Foundation, Ewart Wooldridge CBE. Members were asked to give an overview of their own perspectives on the issues and project. This was followed by a discussion of key themes emerging from the literature. A note of the discussion was then circulated together with a list of articles and books mentioned at the meeting. It was decided that the group would keep in touch via email and that any postings should be copied in to all members. This proved to be a valuable exercise in that it facilitated discussion on the various themes as well as the circulation of additional publications. Contact amongst the group members was maintained mostly to the point at which the drafting of the final report began. The group met again four months after the initial meeting to discuss a draft interim report. Members were then asked to give feedback on the final report circulated six months into the project. The guidance of the expert group was invaluable from several points of view including the debates which took place around various meanings of such concepts as 'diversity', 'identity' and 'diversity management'. Also discussed were problems faced by marginalised groups when studying or working in higher education and the sort of experiences they may encounter in leadership positions.

An extensive literature search was undertaken using on-line databases. Most of the journals searched were in the fields of the sociology of education, educational administration and management, management in general, higher education, education in general, disability studies, race studies, women's studies and comparative education. All back numbers published in the years 2002-09 were trawled using the journal publishers' websites. The final database contained around 200 articles. In addition to journal papers, the review made extensive use of key reports relating to equality issues, in particular the work of commissions examining the experiences of minority ethnic and disabled staff in higher and further education. Reference was also made to pertinent books and book chapters. The literature was grouped into a number of thematic areas and used as a basis on which to structure the report. The report deals firstly with organisational inequalities, initially focusing on organisations as a whole and then bringing in examples, where possible, from higher education. The following section looks at how models of leadership have been critiqued from the diversity perspective, who leaders actually are and how people's identities may influence their experience of leadership. The focus then turns to contextual issues impacting on higher education including neoliberal economic policy and the New Public Management. The effects of these developments on equality are discussed. The report moves on to equality in higher education, reviewing the breadth of academic work in this area and considering a range of themes relating to scholarship and equality and diversity and leadership in education. Finally, the report looks at 'leading for diversity in educational contexts' by reference to a number of exploratory studies and intervention strategies. It should be noted at this point that much of the literature cited in the report relates to issues of gender and race. This was not a deliberate choice but rather a reflection of the general emphasis within the literature on these areas rather than on other aspects of inequality.

3. Organisational inequalities

The literature in this section brings into question the notion of organisations as rational entities and indicates that organisational forms frequently mirror inequalities in wider society. Following an examination of the way various inequalities are reflected in organisations, the section considers the effects of the rise of free market ideology on equality before reviewing research that utilises the concept of institutional discrimination. It then looks at notions of identity and multiple identities/intersectionality where categories of race and gender intersect with regard to perceptions and experiences. Ways of tackling institutionalised forms of discrimination are highlighted.

Questioning organisational rationality

A major feature of classical organisational theory in the Weberian tradition is the notion of bureaucracy in its idealised form as having hierarchical authority, impersonality and rules that are applied without partiality. Within this model of organisation, duties are defined for each position and recruitment is based on demonstrated knowledge and competence. Authority rests on rules in contrast to older structures that are based on privilege and favour. Importantly, the rational bureaucracy involves 'a separation of the public world of rationality and efficiency from the private sphere of emotional and personal life'.[10] Pringle brings into question the notion of organisational rationality, arguing that what appear to be neutral rules and goals disguise the class and gender interests that they serve. In Pringle's view, this model of bureaucracy is effectively a new form of patriarchal structure. Pringle holds that gender and sexuality are central to the workings of modern bureaucracies and in all workplace relations. The tendency to pay little attention to aspects of identity such as gender within organisations is highlighted by Burrell and Hearn, who state that 'gender and gender relations have long been deemed to be absent or relatively unimportant within the study of organizations'.[11]

Inequality regimes

A major challenge to the view of organisations as neutral with regard to gender, race and class is that of Acker[12] who states that organisations are the site of much economic and social inequality in the US and other industrial countries and that trade unionists, feminists and civil rights reformers have framed their demands in response to this inequality. Acker proposes the concept of 'inequality regimes' as a way of theorising the creation of class, gender and race inequalities in work organisations. She argues that all organisations have regimes that may broadly be characterised as '…loosely interrelated practices, processes, actions, and meanings that result in and maintain class, gender, and racial inequalities within particular organizations'.[13]

Inequality is inherent in the way leaders, managers and heads of department have more power and pay than secretaries, production workers, students and so on. Acker holds that inequality regimes are reproduced even in organisations founded on egalitarian lines, including feminist organisations. Inequality in organisations is apparent with regard to differences in power and control over goals, resources and outcomes, decision-making in how work is organised, job security, pay and other financial rewards, promotion opportunities, respect and pleasures in work and work relationships. Organisations vary in the extent to which these differences exist. Where pay and other financial rewards are unequal, equality rarely exists over the control of goals and resources.

Inequality regimes are also influenced by social, historical, political and cultural factors. Acker argues that the bases for inequality vary: for instance, class practices occur in employment and wage-setting and are particularly evident in large organisations, corresponding to class processes in the wider society. According to Acker, gender was in the past virtually integrated with class in many organisations, with men working as managers and women working in low-level positions. More women are now in managerial jobs; however, they continue to make up the majority of workers in many areas such as caring and secretarial work. Race has also been integrated into class hierarchies with the effect, Acker argues, of excluding both men and women from racial minorities from positions of power within organisations including the military and elite higher education institutions such as Harvard and Yale, a pattern still evident in the majority of UK higher education institutions, as will be seen in section 6 of this report. The assumption of heterosexuality continues to be present in the functioning of organisations, with homosexuality considered to be disruptive to organisational life.

Developing the idea of heterosexuality as the assumed norm within organisational culture, Pringle[14] theorises sexuality and gender not as separate entities but as an intertwined relationship between heterosexuality and gender, proposing the concept of 'heterogender'. She argues that this provides another level of understanding of gendered processes in management. Just as different dimensions of identity and equality can be closely interwoven, as in the concept of heterogender, a similar case can be made for ethnicity and minority religions in Britain brought together as 'ethnoreligion'.

10 Pringle (1989) p159
11 Burrell and Hearn (1989) p1
12 Acker (2006)
13 Acker (2006) p443
14 Pringle (2008)

Modood[15] notes that self-identification within the South-Asian community relates substantially to religion at a time when many Britons say they do not have one. Bringing ethnoreligion into the frame becomes all the more important in light of suggestions that Muslimophobia is central to British and European racism.[16] However, ethnoreligious considerations have received relatively little attention in the literature on equality in higher education as will be seen later in this report.

Disability and employment

Acker states that age and physical disability are also bases for inequality but argues that neither are embedded in organisations to the same extent as gender, race and class. Yet there is much evidence of the continued exclusion of disabled people from the labour market. Danieli and Wheeler argue that current inclusion policies aimed at getting more disabled people into the workplace are merely 'old wine in new glasses'.[17] The focus solely on physical disability is open to question. Roets et al highlight the point that people with long-standing mental health difficulties may have great difficulty finding rewarding, paid work.[18] The relatively scant attention paid to disability issues in Acker's analysis is perhaps not surprising. Barnes and Mercer[19] observe that social science has tended to pay more attention to chronic illness and disability as a health issue than to disabled people's quality of life. They underline the lack of an appropriate framework for delivering policies that would give disabled people equitable treatment in paid employment.

This serious failure to recognise the importance of disability within a great deal of the literature dealing with inequalities and equal opportunities is the subject of critical analysis through what has become known as 'the social model of disability'.[20] This approach has been developed by disabled people in their struggles for an alternative understanding in which issues of social justice, human rights and empowerment are of central significance and disability is viewed as a form of social oppression. It thus needs to be seen as an integral aspect of equality issues and intentions. This perspective as Barnes notes:

> *… is a concerted attempt to politicize disability in order to provide a clear and unambiguous focus on the very real and multiple deprivations that are imposed on people whose biological conditions are deemed socially unacceptable in order to bring about radical structural and cultural change.*[21]

The significance of this approach is that it focuses attention on the struggle for a non-oppressive, non-discriminatory social world with the emphasis on challenging and removing all forms of barriers to the maximum participation and maintenance of the inclusion of all individuals, including disabled people.

The manifest failure of organisations to eliminate barriers for disabled people is evident in employment statistics; for example using data from the Family Resources Survey and Disability Follow-up, Burchardt noted that 30% of disabled men of working age were employed or self-employed compared to 84% of non-disabled men; and for women, the figures were 31% and 72% respectively.[22] One in six people who acquire an impairment lose their jobs within a year. Furthermore, disabled people earn significantly less than non-disabled people and are more likely to be in jobs for which they are over-qualified. From this brief consideration of disabled people's position in the labour market it would seem essential to integrate disability within Acker's notion of inequality regimes.

Secularity in organisations

Absent from Acker's analysis and the critique of the Weberian tradition of organisational rationality with its apparent neutral rules and goals is the assumption of secularity as being intrinsic to rationality. Modood[23] has pointed out that just as there are biases on account of race and gender in organisations so there can be secular biases. While Western countries are secular in many respects, 'interpretations and institutional arrangements diverge according to the dominant national religious culture and the different projects of nation-state building".[24] Commitment to secularism precludes the extension of equality to Muslims and other religious groups. Equality in the form of recognition has been sought by other groups such as women and racial and sexual minorities but does not appear to apply to religious minorities. Modood points out that in response to recognition claims on the part of other groups, religious minorities, in particular Muslims, are claiming that religious identity should not just be 'privatized or tolerated, but should be part of the public space'.[25]

Gendered, racialised and classed hierarchies

Acker notes that hierarchies are usually gendered, racialised and classed especially at the top and that both in Europe and the US the senior positions are often taken by white men.[26] She states that:

15 Modood (2005)
16 Modood (1992)
17 Danieli and Wheeler (2006)
18 Roets et al (2007)
19 Barnes and Mercer (2005)
20 Burchardt (2000) quoted in Barnes and Mercer (2005)
21 Barnes (2003) p19
22 Burchardt (2000) quoted in Barnes and Mercer (2005)
23 Modood (2009)
24 Modood (2007) p73
25 Modood (2007) p70
26 The remarkable exception is the election of Barack Obama to the presidency of the US. See Younge (2008) on reactions to his election.

The image of the successful organization and the image of the successful leader share many of the same characteristics, such as strength, aggressiveness and competitiveness.[27]

A further important dimension of inequality regimes is that of pay, with differences often varying with the height of the organisational hierarchy. According to Mishel et al,[28] in 2003 the average chief executive of US corporations earned 185 times the earnings of the average worker, and in large corporations the average chief executive earned 300 times the earnings of the average worker. Acker notes that segregation along class, gender and racial lines occurs within and between occupations, with hierarchical wage differentials and differences in relative power occurring not only in terms of where people are placed but also as regards comparative levels of power of groups in similar hierarchical positions. Women in senior positions, for example, may have less power than men at equivalent levels of seniority. The reproduction of inequality occurs, according to Acker through a number of organisational practices, including organising the general requirements of work, organising class hierarchies, recruitment and hiring practices and informal interactions while doing the work. She makes the important point that people in dominant groups '…generally see inequality as existing somewhere else, not where they are'.[29]

Free market ideology

Acker posits that power inequalities are being exacerbated by the ideology of the free market, the dominance of global corporations and the decline of trade union influence. The shift towards neoliberal economies across the globe and the implications for education have been examined across a number of continents and countries including Latin America[30] and Kenya.[31] Kivinen and Nurmi[32] consider the European situation, pointing out that across Europe universities are undergoing expansion of student numbers but at the same time the numbers of teaching staff are being reduced. In adopting an increasingly consumerist approach, Kivinen and Nurmi state that universities have begun to resemble '…bureaucratically organised corporations aimed simply at attracting and serving clients, be they individuals or companies, following the ideals of consumerism …'[33] Ball[34] states the main elements of policy, originally promoted by the OECD but now also by the EU, as marketisation, managerialism and performativity. The implications of these trends for equality issues in higher education will be examined later.

Other elements of organisational change include increasing competition within the private sector, budgetary constraints in the public sector, the continuing existence of job hierarchies and the movement of production and services to low-waged countries. Acker argues that while all workers are affected by restructuring, downsizing and so on, white men still dominate local and global organisations. In her view, 'In a culture that glorifies individual material success and applauds extreme competitive behaviour in pursuit of success, inequality becomes a sign of success for those who win.'[35] Inequality is perpetuated by deep-seated class inequalities, and adherence to racial, disabled and gendered identities and advantages. Organisations, apparently logical, abstract and disembodied, are in reality predicated on particular notions of identities seen to be possessed by the people who inhabit them.

Institutional racism

A further key challenge to the notion of organisations as rational, impersonal entities is the concept of institutional discrimination. The Macpherson report that resulted from the inquiry into the death of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence, defines institutional racism as:

The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin, It can be seen or detected in processes, attitudes and behaviours which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.[36]

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry moved the debate on from a focus on the individual as a site of racism to the recognition that racism was 'institutional, structural and collective and not simply a matter of individual prejudice, actions or behaviours'.[37] The Inquiry's report underlined the institutional character of racism as a failure of organisations to openly acknowledge and address this through policy, example and leadership, stating that without 'recognition and action to eliminate such racism it can prevail as part of the ethos or culture of the organisation. It is a corrosive disease.'[38]

In their work to address racism within the further education sector, the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education drew attention to a number of findings of the Inquiry relevant to the further education sector including:

27 Acker (2006) p445
28 Mishel et al (2003) quoted in Acker 2006
29 Acker (2006) p452
30 Torres (2002)
31 Munene and Otieno (2007)
32 Kivinen and Nurmi (2003)
33 Kivinen and Nurmi (2003) p84
34 Ball (2001) quoted in Kivinen and Nurmi (2003)
35 Acker (2006) p459
36 Macpherson (1999) para 6.34
37 Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) p20
38 Macpherson (1999) para 6.34

- The tendency for racism to be fuelled by a 'colour-blind' approach where everyone is treated the same regardless of their individual needs.
- The tendency for racism to be embedded in existing laws, customs, structures, practices and processes that could result in allegations regardless of individuals' intentions.
- That organisational culture is an important means through which negative stereotypes and views can be transmitted, with individuals pressurised to conform to dominant norms.

Some of the key quantitative findings of the Commission were that black staff were underrepresented in further education colleges at national and regional levels compared with the numbers of learners, they were underrepresented at management and senior management level, only 1% of principals were black, and many college corporations had no black governors or corporation clerks. Black lecturing staff were overrepresented in part-time and hourly-paid lectureships and proportionately fewer black staff were on permanent contracts compared with their white colleagues.

Major findings from the qualitative part of the above project indicated that black staff in colleges seeking to establish and maintain inclusive conditions and practices felt valued, motivated and able to achieve their career ambitions. However, many colleges did not acknowledge racism as an issue or did not know how to tackle it effectively. There was a glass ceiling preventing black staff from progressing into management positions and from temporary and part-time posts into permanent jobs. The processes of restructuring, mergers and other organisational changes resulted in discriminatory practices and the erosion of good equalities practice. A marked proportion of black staff felt marginalised, bullied and unsupported. It was felt that managers required training to increase their confidence in dealing with racism and that staff, both black and white, required training in equality and diversity issues. However, some colleges actively promoted race equality. One college had achieved a high representation of black staff in senior management and recruitment practices were monitored continuously:

> *Black senior managers in the college are represented in higher proportions than they appear in the local population and within the college community. We have a monthly data analysis of HR performance, staff recruitment and disciplinaries and management meetings to devise actions to address any inequalities.*[39]

On the other hand there were many instances of racial discrimination which went unchallenged at senior management level:

> *Black staff are very used to racial comments from White colleagues. There seems to be an acceptance of this practice by senior management because even when people are challenged about their behaviour, nothing appears to be done. The college operates an 'old boys network' and incidents just seem to get covered up.*[40]

The Commission stated that there were 'recurring stories of harassment and bullying received throughout the Commission's inquiry. Black staff who had complained about or tried to challenge racism generally or racist incidents reported that they had found themselves ignored or stereotyped as 'trouble-makers'.[41]

The Commission's recommendations focused on change at the organisational level, further underlining the argument developed earlier in this section, that organisations are not positioned neutrally in relation to class, disability, race and gender differences, in this case racial difference. Amongst the recommendations were the need for clear leadership and commitment to promote equality and race equality, the development of a race equality and action plan through widespread consultation, accountability of the governors, managers, staff and learners in terms of understanding their responsibility in promoting race equality and mainstreaming race equality into colleges' strategic plans and managers' personal appraisal systems.

Disablism[42] in lifelong learning

A recent report carried out by the Commission for Disabled Staff in Lifelong Learning for the National Institute of Adult Continuing Education (henceforth referred to as the NIACE report) similarly situates discrimination against disabled staff in the further and higher education sectors at institutional level, stating that 'Despite the introduction of various pieces of disability legislation, in policy terms the sector's disabled staff remain invisible. This serious failure, mirrored in the declining prospects of disabled people in the wider working population, has contributed to widespread institutional discrimination.'[43] There was widespread unease about disclosing impairments that were not obvious, prejudice against mental health difficulties along with uncertainty amongst employees as to how to deal with them and a lack of consistency in the

39 Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) p48
40 Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) p56
41 Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) p56

42 The term 'disablism' was first used by the charity Scope in its 'Time to Get Equal' campaign in 2004 to mean discriminatory, oppressive or abusive behaviour arising from the belief that disabled people are inferior to others. However, this definition is not free from controversy – see for example **http://www.prettysimple.co.uk/blog/index.php/2009/05/defining-disablism/**.
43 NIACE (2008) paragraph 1.1, p3

recruitment, induction, promotion and employment of disabled staff amounting to institutional discrimination. It was noted that there were few disabled staff in management roles in organisations.

The report suggested that one way of approaching these issues was to develop a framework to describe the sector in terms of disability discrimination and inclusion. This could be applied both at sectoral and organisational level. The study defined an institutionally inclusive organisation as one that was inclusive at organisational, department, team and individual level with a culture, ethos, policies and procedures that 'will be "lived out" by everyone within the organisation. There will be positive promotion of disability equality.'[44] Referring to cultural change, the report stated that inclusive organisations would have 'made the journey from compliance to culture change in terms of disability equality'.[45] Institutionally discriminatory organisations could be at one of three levels, although they could contain elements of each as follows:

- An organisation with many of the characteristics of an institutionally inclusive organisation, for example one that has the culture, ethos, policies and procedures of an inclusive organisation, but where there is some discrimination at departmental, team or individual level.
- An organisation with few characteristics of an institutionally inclusive organisation that may have policies in place but where there is a gap between rhetoric and reality and little disability awareness at strategic level.
- An organisation in which there is widespread discrimination, little effort to promote disability equality and little disability awareness. It may not even have achieved legal compliance, particularly an institution that had not drawn up a Disability Equality Scheme as required by the legal duty.

The stark conclusion of the NIACE report in applying the above framework to the lifelong learning sector is that 'as a whole, most organisations are not institutionally inclusive'.[46] The reality of the simultaneous existence of inclusive and exclusive conditions, relations and experiences within organisations, is a salutary reminder of the extent of the changes yet to be accomplished.

Experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered staff

A study carried out by the Association of University Teachers (AUT) in the earlier part of the present decade[47] looked into the experiences of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered staff in higher education, finding they had low levels of 'comfortableness'[48] in the workplace and were likely to receive treatment that was unequal to that received by their heterosexual colleagues. There was evidence of a glass ceiling operating against the promotion of gay men into senior academic posts akin to that experienced by heterosexual women. There was also a glass ceiling for lesbian, gay and bisexual staff in administration. Gay men and lesbians in academic posts reported high levels of discrimination, with lesbians facing the highest perceived levels of harassment. Lesbians in the study did not always report instances of harassment to managers but when they did no action was taken. Women as a whole suffered a pay gap of 18% when the data were adjusted for age. This reduced to 8% when controlled for other factors including full-time or part-time working and whether or not participants had a PhD. The study also found that a minority of lesbian and gay staff were out at work. Of gay men in academic posts only 20% were out at work and of lesbian academics only 13% were out.

Data from the qualitative part of the study underlined the institutionally embedded nature of discrimination as the following quotes indicate:

> *[My department] is very good at face value policies and filled with people who teach and claim to follow anti-sexist/racist/homophobic/ageist beliefs – but ironically these are the very same people who act in inappropriate ways. The whole management of the faculty … is characterised by bullying and emotional blackmail.* [49]

> *My sexual orientation has … been used as a basis to perpetrate slander to undermine my standing in the department.* [50]

A further finding of this study was that lesbian women's concerns about work were intertwined with their experiences as women. Apart from two lesbians who participated in the study, all identified discrimination as being related to their gender:

44 NIACE (2008) para 16.3, p121
45 NIACE (2008) para 16.3, p121
46 NIACE (2008) para 16.6, p123
47 AUT (2001)
48 The report states that an important aspect of equal opportunities is parity in pay and promotions but equally important is that people are 'comfortable in the workplace, free from perceived discrimination and harassment' (AUT 2001, p8).
49 AUT (2001) p12
50 AUT (2001) p12

I have generally felt more discriminated against as a woman than as a lesbian – all women in my department get a worse deal in promotion than all men. [51]

Where the AUT study framed lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered experiences of working in higher education in predominantly negative terms, Pringle, in her small-scale study of lesbian managers,[52] claims that her research adds to the growing literature on sexual minorities that is positively focused. Participants in Pringle's study openly negotiated their identities to create 'a space within which all managers, irrespective of sex, sexuality or gender may enact identity in ways that challenge heterogendered constraints. They create gender disturbance not discrimination.'[53] In Pringle's view, lesbians' visibility in the workplace poses an alternative to the difficulties heterosexual women face in dealing with gendered expectations where masculine behaviours are more highly valued than feminine ones. She suggests lesbian managers create an 'in-between space in which to enact gender, an unmapped territory'.[54] As a result of the intertwining of heterosexuality and gender, gender issues were not considered to be of significant concern by the study participants and were often related to heterosexual colleagues:

I have been witness to someone else going through that but no I haven't [had gender issues]. Our previous top person here was a woman and she didn't last very long. And that was a gender issue, the company and the customers didn't want to see a woman at the top. I witnessed the looks on people's faces, the whispers in the field.[55]

Furthermore, disclosing one's sexuality could be disruptive of the assumed heterosexuality of the workplace. One participant described the reactions of colleagues to bringing her female partner to a work 'away' weekend:

My boss decided he would shout us[56] *for the weekend to hotel X, because we had hit the million dollars for the month in the factory and I took a woman with me. And you could hear a pin drop when we walked in. They were all there when we got there and we walked in and it was like, Oh-kay. I said 'Hi this is Dorothy' and sat down and chat, chat with the boss's wife, but there was a stoney silence up the bloke end of the table.*[57]

The revelation of non-heterosexuality challenges assumptions of 'normalised social practices for it was not until the "other" was made visible that the dominant was seen'.[58] [59] Despite the explosion of research on gender and management in the last thirty years, there have been far fewer examinations of the interactions between gender and heterosexuality, with most research on sexuality focusing on sexual harassment and sexual minorities, particularly their workplace experiences. Pringle argues that heterosexuality remains invisible in much research on gender and management with gender having been constructed on the basis of stereotypical conceptualisations of masculinity and femininity situated within oppositional gender relations.

Challenging hierarchies

It has been suggested that 'organization theory begins from the world as it is, a world in which hierarchies organize all aspects of life'.[60] Iannello suggests that this stands in opposition to feminist theory in which 'gender hierarchies have been eliminated; thus, it assumes the possibility for fundamental social change'. According to Morley,[61] purely 'adding in' the feminist paradigm might not actually challenge mainstream organisational theory. She argues that change would involve engaging with both the political and personal consequences of exclusions and lost opportunities. She further points out that organisations interrelate with the wider society in which power relations are played out including racism, patriarchy and heterosexism. Mills[62] for example argues that 'organisational life exists in a dialectal relationship to the broader societal value system, each is shaped and reshaped by the other'.

Notions of identity

Many of the studies referred to above focus on groups of people defined in relation to different aspects of identity including race, class, gender and disability. Given the vast body of empirical work highlighting the objective effects in occupational outcomes of belonging to a particular group, it is worth considering what this 'belonging' constitutes and how, as was seen above, unsettling notions of identity may challenge entrenched organisational practices.

In his presentation on equality and the role of governing bodies to ECU's 2008 conference, Fanshawe[63] spoke of how people's identities may shift depending on their location and that labels such as 'Muslim', 'gay', 'black' reveal little about the people to whom these labels are assigned, as he put it,

51 AUT (2001) p11
52 Pringle (2008)
53 Pringle (2008) pS118
54 Pringle (2008) pS117
55 Pringle (2008) pS113
56 Expression meaning to pay for the expense.
57 Pringle (2008) pS114
58 Pringle (2008) pS114
59 Just as lesbians may be 'chilled' in the workplace, so may people be chilled if they are deemed overtly religious through for instance, wearing a headscarf or praying at work (Modood 2009).
60 Iannello (1992) pxi, quoted in Morley (1999) p74
61 Morley (1999)
62 Mills (1988) p761, quoted in Morley (1999) p74
63 Fanshawe 2008

'To know that someone is gay does not even tell you very much about their sexuality, let alone anything else about them.'[64] Alternative concepts of various aspects of identity may profoundly challenge people's self-identities such as the social model of disability mentioned earlier. Autobiographical accounts, statements from organisations of disabled people, songs produced by disabled protest singers such as 'Pride' by Johnny Crescendo all testify to the importance of a positive identity through the impact of the social model of disability in their lives. One example is that of Hevey, who powerfully contends:

> *As a working class son of Irish immigrants, I had experienced other struggles, but in retrospect, I evidently saw epilepsy as my hidden cross. I cannot explain how significantly all this was turned around when I came into contact with the notion of the social model of disabilities, rather than the medical model which I had hitherto lived with … I think I went through an almost evangelical conversion as I realised that my disability was not, in fact, the epilepsy, but the toxic drugs with their denied side-effects; the medical regime with its blaming of the victim; the judgement through distance and silence of bus-stop crowds, bar-room crowds and dinner-table friends; the fear; and, not least, the employment problems. All this was the oppression, not the epileptic seizure at which I was hardly (consciously) present.*[65]

Ostrander,[66] writing about the effects on identity of violently acquired spinal cord injury, cites Eriksonian theory on identity. According to Erikson identity expresses a consistent self as well as a continual exchange with others. Throughout life individuals reconcile their identities with those assigned them by family, friends and others. In synthesising these two aspects, a state of psychological wellbeing is achieved, a feeling of being 'at home in one's body'.[67] When significant events occur such as spinal cord injury, identities may need to be re-examined and reconciled with new circumstances.

Intersectionality

Ostrander points out that multiple identity categories are seldom considered in theories of identity development even though categories may overlap, a clear example being that of sexuality and religion in which gays and lesbians may conceal their sexual orientation in favour of their religion. Referring to the work of Crenshaw et al[68] Ostrander states that individuals will have different perceptions across these multiple identities. An African-American man with a disability may have experiences of discrimination and exclusion that arise not only on account of his disability but also as a result of his race and gender. Furthermore, a disabled man may experience masculinity differently from a non-disabled man, with the latter's masculine identity predicated on bodily performance. The interviewees in Ostrander's study spoke of how their masculinity had been diminished by their injury:

> *I'm half of man. I'm gonna fight as long as I can fight. I'm gonna sustain myself as long as I can sustain myself. I can only do so much. I'm always gonna need help.*[69]

Regarding participants' race, Ostrander found that their sense of belonging to a racial community was not affected by their injury although this did arise when participants discussed people's perception of them. He suggests that this may reflect the fact that the young men interviewed for the study may not have experienced racism on a daily basis, with many living in isolated communities where they were in a racial majority. He concludes that his research underlines the ways in which 'social contexts create internal battles among identity components'.[70] The young men participating in the research had sustained injuries that gave rise to a major conflict between their masculinity and their disability, with their masculinity having been threatened by their disabled status. The value placed on masculinity meant that the reconstruction of male identity was a key task for these men.

A recent report by the Diversity Practice focusing on high-achieving black and minority ethnic women[71] highlights the significance of identity in the context of work organisations. On the one hand the racialisation of organisational hierarchies may operate in a way that disadvantages black and minority ethnic women:

> *It's the perception of the unspoken attitude of senior management that irrespective of what you do or achieve you're never going to succeed.*[72]

> *My name does not indicate I am from a BME background. I have seen others not being able to mask their surprise when they meet me. Despite being born and educated in this country I do not always respond in a conventionally English manner. I think this goes against me as potential employers assure themselves I will not 'fit in'.*[73]

These perceptions are borne out by statistics indicating that of those in paid work, a larger proportion of Bangladeshi,

64 Fanshawe (2008) p43
65 Hevey (1992) pp1-2
66 Ostrander (2008)
67 Erikson (1963) cited in Ostrander (2008) p585
68 Crenshaw et al (1995)
69 Ostrander (2008) p592
70 Ostrander (2008) p595
71 Diversity Practice (2007)
72 Diversity Practice (2007) p33
73 Diversity Practice (2007) p32

Pakistani and black Caribbean than white women are graduates and black and minority ethnic women under 35 with children are more likely than white British women to aspire to senior positions.[74] Furthermore higher-level qualifications and ambition do not necessarily lead to better jobs for black and minority ethnic women, a situation that has been described as an ethnic penalty.[75]

On the other hand, positive self-identities had been nurtured within the women's communities and families and in countries where they had lived amongst a racial majority:

> *Things that shaped me were a sense of community – everyone took responsibility for the wellbeing of the children. A big extended family. Everyone would tell you off, report you to your parents, discipline you. I am still very rooted in family and community.*[76]

> *Going to Nigeria was very important for my development. If I'd stayed here … I've looked on Friends Reunited and looked at my peers … I wouldn't have been able to do what I have done. I'd be working for local authority in a middling kind of role. I definitely wouldn't have been a scientist. I really believe that.*[77]

The report shows how identities between work, home and the community may conflict with people needing to 'juggle' them. There could be a feeling of role reversal with women having to take on subservient, compliant roles in the workplace that contrasted with their roles in the community as powerful leaders. One woman said: 'I personally have to be someone completely different around my family members than I am in my work. If I remain the same it would challenge behaviours and beliefs of work colleagues.'[78]

Summary

The Diversity Practice study adds further weight to the argument developed in this section that while the notion of hierarchical authority in organisations may exist, the idea of organisations as acting impartially and impersonally is, to say the least, misleading. Conclusions of this analysis are that work critical of mainstream organisational theory has focused predominantly on gender and management with less consideration, in the UK literature, of inequalities associated with race, sexual orientation and disability. Organisations are gendered, racialised and classed in terms of power and pay differentials, with these differences exaggerated in large corporations. Disability is also strongly associated with disadvantage in organisations. Inequalities of power have been exacerbated by free market ideology at a time when the power of trade unions has declined. The market-led, consumerist approach is having a significant impact on the higher education sector, with marketisation, managerialism and performance indicators having become salient features of their economic operations.

Evidence from research on both the further education and higher education sectors underline the continued existence of institutional discrimination. New research has focused on the positive aspects of differing managerial identities including those of lesbian women managers. The fluidity of identity has been discussed; identities may be challenged by specific events such as suddenly occurring impairments. They may be felt or perceived differently depending on where an individual is situated at a particular point in time. Strategies may need to be developed to overcome negative assumptions including within the workplace. Finally, the intersecting aspect of identity has been highlighted, for example where masculinity, disability and race 'collide' and where different elements of identity come to the fore through a certain set of circumstances.

The literature indicates that discrimination within organisations may be tackled in a number of ways including through:

- Strong commitment within institutions to raise awareness and promote equality and diversity.
- Clear leadership and strategic direction in promoting equality and diversity.
- Commitment to changes in the culture and ethos of institutions so that the focus is not purely on complying with the law.
- Consistency in procedures in such areas as recruitment, induction and promotion to ensure that all forms of discrimination that may impact on staff are eliminated.

74 Equal Opportunities Commission (2007) cited in Diversity Practice (2007)
75 See for example Heath and Cheung (2006)
76 Diversity Practice (2007) p27
77 Diversity Practice (2007) p27
78 Diversity Practice (2007) p35

4. Leadership: concepts and realities

This section considers how much of leadership theory, in common with organisational theory, suppresses 'difference'. Key aspects of the main leadership theories are set out as well as new concepts of leadership and change agency. The demographic characteristics of current leaders across a number of sectors are discussed. Qualitative evidence is then examined, firstly in relation to how greater representation may impact on how leadership is enacted, and secondly regarding how a more diverse leadership may influence organisational performance. Lastly, this section shows that leadership, as viewed from a minority perspective, may bring about fresh ways of thinking, including a concept of leadership that stresses a collective rather than individualistic approach.

The suppression of 'difference'

In line with dominant approaches to the analysis of organisations discussed in the last section of this report, Parker[79] makes the point that race and gender are suppressed and neutralised in predominant views of leadership both in the traditional literature on leadership and in feminist approaches. In her examination of the gaps between leadership theory and practice, Middlehurst[80] places research on leadership in a historical context, pointing out that the scientific approach emerged strongly in the early part of the twentieth century. Settings for these studies were business, military and governmental organisations and their discipline bases were primarily in the fields of political science and business administration, with the latter including politics, psychology and organisational behaviour. These focused on people in leadership positions who were at the time white, Anglo-Saxon men. Until the end of the last century internationally much leadership research was carried out along positivist lines in pursuit of universal leadership characteristics. In the UK, research in educational leadership was primarily qualitative. The data collected and analysed generally reflected the experience and views of existing leaders, who were predominantly white men.

Leadership theories

Researchers have noted a continuing fascination with concepts of leadership even though these remain highly contested.[81] Middlehurst draws attention to the burgeoning literature on leadership and leadership development activity that has expanded to meet demands for more leadership and new forms of it. A push for greater emphasis on leadership in UK higher education for example led to the creation in 2003 of the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education and similar bodies were set up in other countries. Despite this level of interest and activity, clear definitions of leadership remain elusive. Middlehurst puts forward a number of explanations for this, basing her analysis on differences of assumptions, focus, causal links, lenses, values, terminology and constructs and perspectives.

A major assumption arising from earlier leadership research but still currently prominent is trait theory that is based on the suggestion that leaders are born and have certain qualities such as vision, creativity and charisma.[82] Possession of these traits sets leaders apart from the rest of the population and implies that they are more suited to running large organisations. Trait theories were followed by 'contingency' theories in which personality and behaviours are not deemed adequate to explain leadership styles. According to the contingency approach, leadership qualities need to be adaptive to different teams, activities and situations.

Another important difference has been a shift from a focus on leaders to those who 'follow' them and the relationship between 'leaders' and 'followers'. Here leadership is not seen 'as a trait, but as a 'social exchange process' characterised by the acquisition and demonstration of power'.[83] Transactional and transformational concepts of leadership incorporate notions of exchange of power. Summarising the work of Bass,[84] Bryman[85] states that transactional leadership is characterised by contingent reward in which the follower is rewarded for the successful completion of assessments and 'management-by-exception' which may be either passive (waiting passively for errors or not following procedures) or active (actively monitoring errors or departures from procedures). Transformational leadership comprises a number of features including 'idealised influence' that involves leaders' sharing risks with followers and dealing with them in a consistent way, 'inspirational motivation' which entails providing meaning and challenge to followers and inspiring their commitment, 'intellectual stimulation' involving stimulating innovation and creativity and 'individualised consideration' in which attention is paid to followers' needs and individual differences and developing followers' potential.

Recent theories of leadership appear to focus on a more inclusive approach. Distributed leadership has been examined in relation to higher education. Bolden et al[86] carried out research on collective leadership in the sector in response to various challenges including that higher education

79 Parker (2005)
80 Middlehurst (2008)
81 Leo and Barton (2006), Middlehurst (2008)
82 Breakwell and Tytherleigh (2008)
83 Middlehurst (2008) p328
84 Bass (1985), Bass (1999), Bass et al (2003)
85 Bryman (2007)
86 Bolden et al (2008a)

institutions are not suited to top-down management. They define distributed leadership as a process '… conceived of as dispersed across the organisation (within systems and relationships) rather than residing with the individual traits and capabilities of formally recognised 'leaders'.[87] This form of leadership assumes that leadership is co-created by a number of people in varying formal and informal roles.[88] However, issues of the differential distribution of power and so inclusion in the co-creation are generally not addressed. Bass and colleagues also highlight models of non-leadership, including 'laissez-faire' leadership in which the leader provides little or no direction to followers.

Other research has examined differences in intentions and outcomes in leadership behaviour. Moreover, theorists have brought to light assumptions of leadership as being value-free, a theme that echoes the critique of organisational theory developed earlier in this report. Also important for this review is the point that cultural approaches have considered how leaders bring values into leadership and leaders interact with groups with different value sets. Authentic leadership theory focuses specifically on negotiating values and places a central emphasis on the implications of leading those with differing values and life experiences.[89] The latter appears to offer a more inclusive notion of leadership, but has not proved influential in higher education leadership in the UK. Similarly, Middlehurst suggests that one avenue of future research in higher education leadership would be to critically examine cultural aspects of leadership including stereotypes and value bases. She argues that this is important in relation to 'different cultures and the individual diversity of those who might become or wish to become 'designated leaders'.[90]

Change agency

In discussing models of change agency in relation to diversity management, Özbilgin and Tatli[91] pick up on a number of threads highlighted above. They argue that this area lacks both theoretical rigour and an empirical basis and highlight three aspects they find problematic, namely the rational, autonomous and individualistic conceptualisation of change agency; the acontextual and disembodied focus on change agents' competencies and traits; and a lack of consideration of power dynamics in the process of change. Until the 1980s the change agenda, situated within organisational development research, was framed in terms of an individualised, linear and rational process that took place in a stable organisation through unbiased external or internal facilitation. Özbilgin and Tatli's second concern involving a disembodied, decontextualised notion of change agency developed in the 1980s focusing on leaders' and managers' roles in processes of change. The skills and role of change agents were largely synonymous with those of effective leadership including energy, courage, personal drive and so on. The emphasis on the charismatic leader, based on trait theory mentioned earlier, has since been critiqued. The third point is that although some models contextualise the role of change agents, they fail to take into account the power dynamics involved in change. In the work of Munduate and Gravenhorst[92] six bases of power are identified – reward, coercion, legitimacy, expertise, reference and information. Reward and coercive approaches lead only to compliance. The use of legitimacy, reference and expertise induce private acceptance. The only base of power that gives rise to long-lasting change is information, which leads to cognitive changes in people's beliefs, values and attitudes. Özbilgin and Tatli argue that traditional models of change agency and management, in this case diversity management, lead to notions of diversity managers as 'autonomous individuals who are to a large extent responsible for the success or failure of the diversity management initiatives and programmes'.[93]

Özbilgin and Tatli develop a theoretical model of change agency drawing mainly from Bourdieu's theory of human agency,[94] proposing a model comprising three dimensions: situatedness, relationality and performativity. Situatedness refers to the ways in which managers are situated in historical, economic and organisational contexts. These contexts influence the direction and scope of change agency. Özbilgin and Tatli state that management processes may vary according to the cultural dynamics of the labour market. The second dimension, relationality, involves 'self-reflexivity' – the process of reflecting on one's values, beliefs and actions and strategies and relationality between the self and circumstances, one aspect being the extent of an individual's affiliation with or experience of disadvantaged groups including religious or ethnic minorities. A third level is the relationship between the manager and other members of the organisation. Özbilgin and Tatli suggest that the amount of social capital held by managers has a significant impact on their relationships with other people in the organisation. Social capital refers to managers' connections both within the organisation and with external networks. Internal social capital includes interpersonal skills in negotiation, persuasion and networking. The final dimension is performativity. While situatedness and relationality focus on the influence of the context on the roles of change agents, performativity recognises 'individual capacity to learn and exert influence through the use of relevant discourses'.[95] One example of mobilising discourse to effect change in terms of

87 Bolden et al (2008a) p5
88 Spillane et al (2004)
89 Begley (2003)
90 Middlehurst (2008) pp334-335
91 Özbilgin and Tatli 2008
92 Munduate and Gravenhorst 2003
93 Özbilgin and Tatli (2008) p400
94 For example Bourdieu (1998)
95 Özbilgin and Tatli (2008) p411

diversity may be the use of the discourse of inclusion to gain allies at different organisational levels.

Although writing about diversity management, Özbilgin and Tatli's theoretical framework draws attention to the complexity of the organisations in which change management takes place as well as highlighting the various elements that can be drawn upon in order to bring about change. They claim that their framework transcends earlier explanations that attribute change to the individual initiating it or to structural circumstances that allow change to happen.

The demographics of leaders

In the previous chapter it was noted that organisational hierarchies are classed, racialised and gendered, particularly as regards senior positions. Disability is also a major factor influencing whether or not individuals rise within hierarchical structures. The report will now consider, by drawing on a range of quantitative evidence, the demographic characteristics of leaders across a number of economic sectors. The data are not exhaustive, but provide some indication of the numerical representation of the different groups in leadership positions in the UK.

A report that considers senior management and board levels across a number of equality strands is that of the London Equalities Commission 'The State of Equality in London'.[96] This looks at gender, disability and ethnicity in relation to representation in management although it does not consider intersections amongst the groups. It states that in 2005 fewer than 5% of directors of FTSE 100 companies in London were women. London had the highest number of female local authority chief executives in the country, but this was still relatively low at 27%. Disabled workers in London were underrepresented in management and professional occupations compared with non-disabled people. Over half of all non-disabled workers were employed in managerial, professional and technical occupations compared with 38% of disabled workers. As regards ethnicity, non-white ethnic minority staff were concentrated in lower grades across all sectors and were rare in senior management and executive positions. Eighteen per cent of managers and senior officials and fewer than 21% of professionals were from ethnic minorities. Three of London's 33 borough chief executives, that is 9%, were from minority ethnic backgrounds. This is despite the fact that the percentage of Londoners of ethnic minority background at the time of the report was 42% (with 30% of the total UK population being non-white). It is unlikely that these percentages will be very different today.

Focusing specifically on race, the recent Race to the Top Report[97] concludes that on current trends representation of ethnic minorities in management will never be in line with their representation in the overall population, and that the numbers of black and minority ethnic workers getting into the boardroom are very small and in some cases too small to be analysable. Three areas on which the report focuses merit attention – management positions, regional effects and the representation of black and minority ethnic (BME) individuals at senior levels of business and government. Key findings from the Labour Force Survey over the period 2000-07 were that:

- In public administration, education and health the BME share of management positions rose from 25.7% to 33.2%.
- In banking, finance and insurance the proportion of BME people in management jobs rose from 23.1% to 25.7%.
- In construction the proportion stayed at 2.3%.
- In all other sectors, including distribution, retail and restaurants, the numbers decreased.[98]

The report shows change in the regional profile of BME managers in 2000-07. There has been an increase in the share of management jobs for BME staff in almost all regions of the UK (although figures for Wales are not given). A decline has occurred in the South-East and London (the latter being the area where more than half of all ethnic minority managers work). The report states that this finding will 'fuel hope that equal opportunities within management is not just a 'London story'.[99] With regard to business, the proportion of directorships from non-European backgrounds in FTSE 100 companies has increased, but this recruitment is largely of non-British ethnic minority directors. With regard to senior government positions, seven out of 122 MPs in the current government are from BME backgrounds. There are currently 15 MPs out of a total of 646 who are BME, that is 2%. In order to reflect the proportion of ethnic minorities in the UK population as a whole, the report calculates that there would need to be 66 BME MPs in parliament.

Summarising the evidence for BME women, the Diversity Practice[100] point out that ethnic minority women are less likely than their white counterparts to hold management positions which leads them to develop purposeful career strategies to crack 'the concrete ceiling'.

'Who Runs Wales?'[101] is a report summarising the gender balance within top positions in predominantly public sector organisations. Table 1 shows the proportion of women in each sector. Of particular relevance here is that there are no women

96 London Equalities Commission (2007)
97 Race for Opportunity (2009)
98 It is recognised that these figures are aggregated for all minority ethnic groups and that differences are likely to become apparent when they are disaggregated.
99 Race for Opportunity (2009) p10
100 Diversity Practice (2007)
101 Equal Opportunities Commission/Wales Women's National Coalition (2006)

at all in top positions in higher education; the only other sector with an absence of women leaders is the police force.

Table 1: Top positions held by women in Wales

Sector and role	Percentage of Women
Assembly Cabinet	44
NHS Trust Chief Executives	38
Voluntary Organisation Heads	38
Newspaper Editors	30
Heads of Union Offices	21
Public Body Chief Executives	13
Secondary School Heads	19
Local Government Chief Executives	9
Police Authority Chairs	0
University Vice-Chancellors	0

Extracted from statistics collated in 'Who Runs Wales?'

Turning to the corporate sector, Cranfield University undertakes an annual review of women holding directorships on FTSE 100 boards.[102] These data are primarily quantitative, although several case studies are presented by the companies showing how they are tackling the gender imbalance within their organisations. In 2007 there was a gradual improvement in the proportion of women holding directorships in FTSE 100 companies. Eleven per cent of directors were women, a figure that had increased year-on-year since 2000 when the figure was 5.8%. The number of companies with no female directors also decreased year-on-year from 42 in 2000 to 24 in 2007. In terms of the most senior positions, the report notes that only two chief executives of FTSE 100 companies were women and there was only one woman chair of a board.

A briefing produced for the Disability Rights Commission in March 2006[103] based on Spring 2005 data of the Labour Force Survey (LFS) found that disabled people in employment were less likely to be working as managers and senior officials than their non-disabled counterparts and were more likely to be working in lower-level occupations. Key findings of an analysis of the representation of disabled people in senior positions across several economic sectors and based on figures up to 2005 were that:

- The numbers of disabled people in senior Civil Service jobs had remained static.
- LFS data for autumn 2003 showed that 10% of managers and senior officials were disabled with disabled people slightly more likely to be managers and senior officials in the public sector than in the private sector.
- There was an upward trend over time in the appointment of chairs of public boards from 1.6% in 1999 to 3.2% in 2005 and the NHS outperformed other public sectors, having 5.7% of chairs who were disabled.
- Disabled people were a small minority in senior positions of disability-related charities; for example, in 1998 only 7% of Scope's managers declared a disability. The RNID reported that 40% of its management posts were filled by disabled people with 13.6% of managers having a hearing loss.

The figures presented above, although focusing on particular geographic locations, specific equality groups and different parts of the UK economy, indicate that 'inequality regimes' persist in terms of who leads organisations. These datasets are limiting in the sense that they generally look at categories in isolation from one another. Within the field of disability studies, the need for analyses focusing on intersectionality in relation to disability, class, race, gender and sexuality, is evident in the back issues of the journal *Disability and Society*. This underlines Acker's point that studies rarely attempt to look at them as 'complex, mutually reinforcing or contradicting processes'.[104] Figures may show important contrasts when one group is considered alongside another; for instance, it was noted above that 38% of Welsh NHS Trust chief executives are women, a statistic that suggests that within the foreseeable future there may be as many women as men in chief executive positions. In stark contrast, a recent article in the Guardian[105] highlighted the fact that only 1% of NHS chief executives are from BME groups. This is not reflective of senior management and medical staff in the NHS; in 2007 for instance, 25% of medical consultants were from a BME background. They provided 15% of the NHS workforce compared with 9.4% of the adult population. The article concludes that the NHS is disproportionately staffed by people from ethnic minorities and disproportionately managed by whites. Only among non-executive members of trust boards is there a reasonably representative ethnic mix. The above data provide quantitative evidence of leadership as being underrepresentative of some groups and overrepresentative of others.

Organisations resisting change

There is evidence that the diversity of leadership itself is perceived as unimportant by some and that leadership and management functions are distinct and seen as unrelated to diversity. A study by Lumby et al[106] on leadership and diversity in the learning and skills sector, part of which involved a survey of all staff in ten case study organisations, elicited comments that illustrated these points of view. The opinion was also expressed that too much emphasis was being placed on diversity:[107]

102 Sealy et al (2007)
103 Disability Rights Commission (2006)
104 Acker (2006) p442
105 Carvel and Gentleman (2009)
106 Lumby et al (2000)
107 Lumby et al (2000) p82

I do not personally care about diversity of the leadership. The leadership should be competent to lead despite statistical requirements of race, gender or disability.

I do not agree with overdoing diversity, it should be celebrated, but a good manager is a good manager.

PC gone crazy. We need skills and achievement regardless of personal characteristics.

One hypothesis is that greater diversity in organisations may challenge such attitudes and considerable discussion has developed around the notion of how numerical diversity may or may not influence existing organisational culture. The work of Kanter[108] puts forward the theory that if women were represented in higher proportions in organisations they would be less likely to conform to organisational cultures and would be more likely to feminise them. Kanter's theory has been criticised from the point of view that an increase in the proportion of women does not guarantee they will behave differently from men. A study by Etzkowitz et al[109] found that in science departments where a critical mass of women had been reached, older women in senior roles tended to support traditional male scientists who in turn were supported by their wives in the private domain. Older women tended to 'do science' in a masculine way and berated younger women for not being sufficiently tough. A number of researchers point out[110] that being female does not necessarily entail holding feminist beliefs and that senior women may not consider the gendered power dynamics within organisations, as Morley puts it:

… the presence of women in senior positions is not an accurate measure of organisational development, as female cannot be unilaterally equated with feminism, nor are all feminists reflexive about their location in organisational power relations. Furthermore, a process of 'masculinisation' can occur for 'successful' women.[111]

Earlier in this section the need was expressed to challenge a system in which human potential is allocated according to gender. While the report will later consider diversity within the upper echelons of higher education, Morley's research on academic women in England, Greece and Sweden serves to highlight some of the paradoxes that surface when women occupy senior organisational positions. Echoing the findings of Etzkowitz, interviewees in Morley's study spoke of feeling unsupported by some senior women:

Although one of the pro-vice-chancellors is a woman, she is hardly the sort of woman who helps other women along, so it's not really been much help to anyone. She is not into feminism at all. She's very much part of the male establishment.[112]

I think probably one of the biggest things that happened was the arrival of the new director … she was the only woman short-listed … I began to feel at risk. More at risk than before she arrived … I was told by a woman in her previous institution, 'she's actually the nastiest piece of work that you've ever come across'.[113]

Morley suggests that this denouncement of senior women could be seen as an indication of women's deficiencies. Another interpretation is that conformity and resistance defend and contest existing power balances; rising in the hierarchy may involve implicit acceptance of the ideology of an organisation. Whitehead[114] cautions against too strong a critique of critical mass theory, pointing out that without numerical targets to increase the numbers of female MPs in the Labour Party through all-women shortlists, the number of women in the party would not have reached the present level. Nevertheless, there remains a question about what impact this increased representation is having. Whitehead's research entailed interviewing a small group of women Labour MPs. MPs' work patterns were not likely to be conducive to family life. For these women a role reversal in terms of a typical sexual division of labour had to take place, with the women's partners taking the larger share of domestic work and childcare, as one of the study's informants put it:

Politics takes over and dominates your life. It shapes the rest of your life and time with the family … politics imposes tremendous sacrifices in people's families. The sacrifice is mainly made by our partners and children.[115]

As a result of investing this level of time and energy in their careers, Whitehead argues that these women's lives and relationships are atypical of what is currently understood to be a pattern of womanhood as experienced by the majority of their constituents.[116] Women are a third of all politicians in Scandinavia and it has been argued that this has led to a more consensual form of politics. This contrasts with the House of Commons where machismo predominates:

The macho, schoolboy's way of doing things leaves a lot to be desired. At times parliament just sounds like a real

108 Kanter (1977)
109 Etzkowitz et al (1994)
110 Glover (2000), Morley (1999)
111 Morley (1999) p75
112 Morley (1999) pp76-77
113 Morley (1999) p77
114 Whitehead (1999)
115 Whitehead (1999) p22
116 There is a general pattern of senior women being more likely to be partner and child-free in contrast to their male counterparts who are likely to be married with children (Glover and Kirton 2006).

rabble – you can't believe the levels of heckling. I do think that has to change. The danger is that if you're not careful, you can get sucked into it.[117]

Whitehead observes that the masculine culture of the House of Commons is reflected in particular traditions, the Civil Service ethos, language, fraternalism, everyday practices and so on. Some interviewees, however, acknowledged these aspects but did not perceive them to be indicative of a masculine culture. The assimilation into the culture where only the 'toughest' survive may result in reinforcing existing power relations. This is bolstered by what Whitehead terms as an apparent 'deep animosity and anger directed at many of these women MPs by some men politician in all parties …'[118] There were reports of physical, emotional and verbal abuse of the women, as well as sexual intimidation. In concluding the study, Whitehead draws attention to some positive changes, pointing to the more consensual approach to politics that some women have adopted. The women's presence itself has disruptive potential, placing under tension 'the dominant masculinist codes, assumptions and ways of being which have, over centuries, come to constitute and symbolize political and parliamentary processes'.[119]

Ryan and Haslam[120] have coined the metaphor 'the glass cliff' to refer to women leaders when they occupy precarious positions. They summarise key issues in relation to gender and leadership as follows:

- Women are generally confronted by an invisible barrier preventing their rise into leadership positions – the 'glass ceiling'.
- Men, particularly in female-dominated professions, are more likely to be conveyed into management positions by means of a 'glass elevator'.
- Women are beginning to break through the glass ceiling but when they become leaders their performance is placed under close scrutiny.

A further metaphor used to describe restricted mobility in the labour market is the 'glass partition'. Some disabled scholars like Roulston[121] are critical of the unqualified application of the notion of 'glass ceiling' to disabled staff in higher education. Roulston maintains that, particularly with regard to individuals who are trying to change jobs, they experience a glass partition. That is to say, that a significant paradox arises. The more support that is provided in one job, the harder it is to transfer to another employment context. This is the 'fallacy of transferable enablement'.

The impact of diversity on organisational performance

Greater diversity amongst leaders is argued to offer a range of benefits likely to boost organisational performance.[122] Ryan and Haslam question a claim made in a Times article 'Women on the Board: Help or Hindrance?',[123] that states that while the increase in the numbers of women on corporate boards is a positive development, this has had a negative impact on their companies' financial performance. Ryan and Haslam find a number of methodological flaws in this research. Reviewing data compiled by Singh and Vinnicombe,[124] Ryan and Haslam note that the study reported in the Times overlooked the fact that two of the bottom five companies cited in the Cranfield Index with no women directors had underperformed financially. Thus when women do eventually achieve leadership positions not only are they judged more harshly, they take up positions that are riskier. Ryan and Haslam argue that it is important to make visible these processes given that they are normally overlooked in leadership research.

Ryan and Haslam undertook an archival study to see whether or not they could replicate the findings by examining the share price performance of FTSE 100 companies on the London Stock Exchange before and after the appointment of a male or female board member. Contrary to the conclusion reached in the Times article, they found that the appointment of women to the board was not associated with a downturn in economic performance. Also the data showed fluctuations in the period leading up to the appointment of new board members. Importantly the study found a difference in company performance leading up to the recruitment process; those companies whose performance was stable before and after recruitment took on men, but companies experiencing a downturn took on women. Ryan and Haslam conclude that:

... it appears that women are particularly likely to be placed in positions of leadership in circumstances of general financial downturn and downturn in company performance. In this way, such women can be seen to be placed on top of a 'glass cliff', in the sense that their leadership appointments are made in problematic organizational circumstances and hence are more precarious.[125]

117 Whitehead (1999) p23
118 Whitehead (1999) p25
119 Whitehead (1999) p30
120 Ryan and Haslam (2005)
121 Roulston (2009)
122 Singh (2002)
123 Judge (2003)
124 Singh and Vinnicombe (2003)
125 Ryan and Haslam (2005) p87

Challenging leadership theory

Foster-Fishman et al,[126] writing about building the next generation of leaders in the disability movement, underline the tendency for leadership to be conceptualised as an individual-level skill that can trained in workshops and seminars. While they view this approach as important, they see it as constraining the numbers of disabled people who can achieve leadership positions. One aspect lies in choosing the 'right' people to lead, a dominant construction of leadership being a leader who is non-disabled with disabled leaders viewed as a contradiction in terms. Foster-Fishman et al note that disabled people, particularly those with challenging disabilities, are rarely given opportunities to access leadership skills or to lead organisations that serve the disability community. The latter point is borne out by data presented earlier highlighting the small proportion of disabled people leading disability-related charities. Another barrier to building the next generation of disability leaders is that because of society's negative attitudes towards disability, disabled people may not put themselves forward for leadership roles or training because they may not want to draw attention to their disability or they may be unwilling to be identified as disabled. It may also be that disabled scholars clearly recognise that the sort of infrastructural supports that are necessary for their engagement are not available. Also, there is a very real possibility that given the very few disabled people in senior positions, the pressure for their representation on increasing numbers of committees and developments within universities leads to exhaustion and undermines job satisfaction.

Foster-Fishman et al interviewed disabled people in the USA who had been identified as effective leaders. One theme that arose was the emergence of a hierarchy within the movement itself, with people with cognitive and psychiatric difficulties underrepresented on boards compared with people with physical disabilities. The second theme related to the definition of leadership and leadership development. Leaders in the study felt that leadership development should not be thought of as developing individual leaders but as developing collective groups. This approach is more inclusive in that it involves many types of people being involved as potential leaders. This is particularly important for disabled people who may have health problems requiring them to be less active for periods of time. Foster-Fishman et al argue that this approach has similarities with the concept of distributed leadership that is gaining interest.

The approach advocated by participants in this study parallels a shift from training individual leaders to promoting leadership within a collective group, a trend in leadership development which according to Foster-Fishman et al is growing. One participant described this change in thinking:

> *We have to think about leadership development not as developing individual leaders but as developing collective groups that are capable where everyone has some leadership skills. We don't think in those terms. We think about the traditional model of the charismatic leader.*[127]

Foster-Fishman's participants described their leadership capabilities as emerging over a period of time and that may have been precipitated by an experience or event that changed the way they saw themselves:

> *I took a leadership role when I didn't have a choice. When it affects my life to a point where I was being denied the opportunity to do some things.*[128]

Participants in the study felt that leadership skills taught through leadership development programmes could be effective but that an important element that was lacking was helping individuals transform this learning into becoming a leader. A similar conclusion is reached by Bolden et al[129] who state that leadership development programmes may result in 'changed' individuals who are more than likely to return to organisations that are themselves unchanged.

Foster-Fishman et al identify four lessons arising from their research, firstly that leadership development needs to continue across the lifespan and across multiple contexts, and secondly that mentorship is necessary to promote leadership within the disability community. Mentoring by visible, successful disability leaders either formally or informally was seen as essential to these informants' development as leaders. The finding that mentoring plays a crucial part in developing disabled leaders is supported by other research.[130] The third lesson is that potential leaders need to become part of a diverse network of leaders. The rationale for this is to enable potential leaders to share best practice, unearth opportunities and build the collective power needed to bring about change. As one person put it:

> *The best thing I could suggest for someone who's wanting to take a role in the disability movement is certainly they need to network. They need to know the field in which they are fixing to play. They need to know where the power is at, where it's not at, those kinds of things.*[131]

126 Foster-Fishman et al (2007)
127 Foster-Fishman et al (2007) p347
128 Foster-Fishman et al (2007) p348
129 Bolden et al 2008a
130 See for example McCarthy (2003)
131 Foster-Fishman et al (2007) p351

The fourth lesson is that leadership develops through practice, with experiential learning providing the opportunity to acquire skills, knowledge and understanding through failures as well as successes. This helps to build the confidence necessary for leadership. Foster-Fishman et al state that 'This practicing in the real world and real time scenarios is essential, given that leadership is contextual, taking on different forms in different situations and environments.'[132] A key conclusion from this study is that the disability community could usefully reframe leadership in terms of stressing its collective nature and creating structures in which diverse people can explore their leadership potential.

Summary

This section began by considering a variety of critiques of leadership in terms of its traditional conceptualisation. The trait theory of leadership conceives of leaders as possessing an idealised set of characteristics that set them apart from the general population. This definition of leadership has been deconstructed from a number of perspectives including that leadership is context-specific. A key issue is that leaders operate in organisations infused with dominant ideologies relating to disability, race, gender and other 'differences'. This leads to questioning the value-neutrality of leadership. This is in a similar vein to analyses of organisations that have brought to light ways in which power relations within the wider society are reflected in organisational culture. There is quantitative evidence of hierarchical segregation across a variety of public and private sector organisations with different groups affected to varying degrees. There is a view that the diversity of leaders themselves is unimportant, yet qualitative evidence suggests that the very presence of women, minorities and particularly disabled people in leadership positions has the potential to disrupt existing regimes of power. Furthermore, their presence raises aspirations amongst people of similar backgrounds.

New forms of leadership have been much discussed in the literature. Empirical research emanating from the disability movement has emphasised the crucial importance of exposing individuals to opportunities in multiple contexts that will foster their leadership potential. An important shift is in conceiving of leadership not as an individual-level activity but as the responsibility of a collective group. This can be achieved through:

- Recognising that leadership development happens over the long term.
- Providing mentorship to promote leadership development.
- Ensuring that potential leaders become part of a diverse network of leaders.
- Providing learning experiences that will enable future leaders to acquire relevant skills, knowledge and understanding.

132 Foster-Fishman et al (2007) p352

5. Contextual issues

As mentioned in the introduction to this report, the increasing diversity of institutions makes the transformation of leadership all the more pressing. This underlines the importance of taking into account the wider context in which leadership activities in relation to equality take place. This section considers the influence on higher education of new managerialism, neoliberalism and free market ideology. The implications of these developments for equality are discussed. The section then turns to developments in equality legislation and its impact on education, particularly higher education.

New managerialism

Bolden et al[133] identify a range of organisational cultures pertaining to higher education including the bureaucratic form (often referred to as managerialism) that is traditionally associated with hierarchy and authority relations, collegiality that privileges professional expertise above positional power, corporatism involving the authority of the chief executive (vice-chancellor or principal), strong institutional management and strategic planning and entrepreneurialism that focuses on '… institutional change, adaptation, flexibility and the constant interaction of a university with its external environment'.[134] Bolden et al acknowledge the difficulties in describing university culture in its actuality, pointing out that the four cultures may co-exist within a single institution, although one or more types may predominate. Bolden et al observe historical shifts in university culture, stating that this moved from a collegial and bureaucratic culture in the 1980s, in parallel with the emergence of a state-regulated market in the UK, towards a more corporate form of organisation.

Middlehurst[135] charts the rise of the 'New Public Management' (NPM) in the 1990s and its adoption not only in the UK but in many countries in Europe, East Asia and Africa. Drawing on the work of Pollitt,[136] Middlehurst notes that the features of NPM include:

- A shift in the focus of management systems from inputs and processes to outputs and outcomes.
- A shift towards quantification such as performance indicators and away from trust in professionals.
- Greater use of market forces for developing public services including through competitive tendering mechanisms.
- Greater emphasis on quality and a consumer orientation typified by market ideology.
- A new focus on efficiency and individualism rather than on older priorities such as security and universalism.

Specific illustrations of the impact of New Public Management in higher education would be the rapid increase in competency-led practice, quality assurance measures, audit trails and benchmarking.

Managerialism and equality

A study examining the relationship between new managerialism and equality concerns in higher education was carried out by Deem.[137] Drawing on data from 137 female and male manager-academics from head of department to vice-chancellor level, Deem explored gendered management practices with particular reference to new managerialism. Deem's characterisation of new managerialism centres on managerial power and the assertion of 'the right of managers to manage',[138] an emphasis on the importance of management and the ability to challenge professional autonomy. Other aspects are: introducing cost centres and financial targets, an emphasis on quasi-markets, the entry of private-sector funding into the public sector, outsourcing some services and introduction of performance indicators. In addition, efficiency is achieved through cost-containment and an increase in activity levels. Audits of professional work, increasing surveillance and self-regulation are also key features. Deem states that many aspects of new managerialism operate in higher education institutions, but that there is resistance amongst staff towards them.

Deem notes that the rise of new managerialism has meant the creation of new and more career routes into management. In the past one professor would be appointed to head of department, a dean would act primarily in a symbolic capacity and there would be one deputy vice-chancellor or pro-vice-chancellor supporting the vice-chancellor. Possibilities for moving into management were significant for some of Deem's research participants. One woman had become head of a humanities department having encountered difficulty pursuing a research career. This was due to family responsibilities:

> *My husband died … leaving me with two young children … And I think most men would have got married [laugh] and um brought in a nice wife ... I had to bring them up alone, so, I mean, from that point of view I had to always balance my career … I had to make decisions about my own research … it was when I was in an archive one day … I looked out of the window and realized Y, who's now published a hundred things … on these nine boxes of paper, was upstairs and as I said, we were talking about these papers and how exciting they were, and he said, 'Yeah, I'm staying here for the summer'. And I knew I had*

133 Bolden et al (2008a)
134 Bolden et al (2008a) p8
135 Middlehurst (2004)
136 For example, Pollitt (2003)
137 Deem (2003)
138 Deem (2003) pp247-8

to be back here in England by next Monday, you know, and I suddenly packed up my bags and went for a walk and thought it's stupid even to pretend that I can do that type of research that involves long times in the archives.[139]

In an earlier section this report considered the argument that women and men may act differently in management roles. Deem found that almost all her respondents, regardless of gender, claimed to manage people in a consultative, facilitative manner. However, their staff did not necessarily share this view, with many seeing managers as adopting elements of the new managerial approach, for example by using the language of business and markets. However, although manager-academics' jobs were broadly similar, there were differences in the ways in which women and men invoked managerialist discourse. Men tended to focus more on the business elements:

In the last ten years, the Head of the School's role has changed considerably from, I suppose, one who was a teacher and managed some academic activities to managing an educational business … you've got to change the culture inside so that academics realize they have got to be able to deliver anytime, anywhere, anyhow.
(Male head of department, applied science, post-1992)[140]

Women on the other hand placed more emphasis on developing and motivating staff:

The main thing is to give cohesion to the activities of a very disparate group of very intelligent, highly motivated staff … it's leadership in keeping people's eye on the ball, also encouraging, motivating people, giving them the confidence to do things … you have to make sure that people have the opportunity to do the things that will in turn be motivating for them.
(Female head of department, health, pre-1992)[141]

Despite these differences, Deem observes that both women and men displayed '… evidence of bi-lingualism, speaking managerialism and also embracing more traditional academic or subject/discipline values'.[142] Deem concludes that there are relatively few women reaching the most senior ranks of manager-academic work and argues that there is continuing prejudice against them and that criteria for success and failure are gendered.

The different priorities of female and male academic managers highlighted here warrant further attention. Lumby[143] points out that power differentials have intensified in organisations as a result of managerial practices, involving greater use of leaders' coercive power through control of resources and greater surveillance of staff via audit and quality assurance. Importantly, Lumby notes a shift in values:

… where learners' needs are of lesser importance than those of the organisation, where growth in the finance and status of the organisation is the primary aim.[144]

Lumby further argues that the current emphasis on performativity and accountability have affected education globally and that leadership in this context represents a profound embodiment of masculinity. Informants in research by Brewis[145] on women managers in the public sector equated management and decision-making by men and women with '… the values of caring and sharing; the prioritizing of feelings; the reality and value of the non-marketable and non-material …'.[146] Although it may be wise not to place too much store on essentialist notions of femininity and masculinity, this analysis may in part account for the different orientations of Deem's manager-academics. Lumby argues that crises in fiscal matters and public relations are seen to require 'strong' management in order to counter chaos and decline in organisations and that this is perceived as requiring masculine modes of behaviour.[147]

Neoliberalism and the market

A number of writers have drawn attention to the broader political context in which the New Public Management is being exercised. Torres,[148] in examining the rise of neoliberalism in Latin American countries and its impact on educational policy, states that key ideas promoted by neoliberal governments include open markets, free trade, the reduction of the public sector, decrease in state intervention in the economy and the deregulation of markets. Torres considers that the neoliberal model is 'culturally conservative and economically liberal'[149] and one in which the state, state intervention and state enterprises are seen as part of the problem. Economic restructuring resulting from advanced capitalism and structural adjustment is compatible with neoliberalism and involves the reduction of public spending, reduction of programmes considered wasteful, the selling off of state enterprises and putting in place deregulation mechanisms to avoid state intervention in corporate business. As part of the free market, Torres argues that private enterprise and privatisation are glorified and imply:

139 Deem (2003) p247
140 Deem (2003) p253
141 Deem (2003) p253
142 Deem (2003) p255
143 Lumby (2007)
144 Lumby (2007) pp90-91
145 Brewis (1999)
146 Hines (1992) quoted in Brewis (1999) p88
147 See also Glover and Kirton (2006) for a review of research on this issue.
148 Torres (2002)
149 Torres (2002) p368

> *… total confidence in the efficiency of competition because the activities of the public or state sector are seen as inefficient, unproductive, and as a social waste. In contrast, the private sector is considered to be efficient, effective, productive and responsive, and because of its less bureaucratic nature, better at adapting more flexibly to the transformations occurring in the modern world.*[150]

While on the one hand neoliberal states are business-orientated, the abandonment of state intervention may be differential owing to the influence over the state of interest groups that may seek consensus, particularly during election campaigns. Torres concludes that public policies of the welfare state are dismantled selectively rather than indeterminately and focus on particular targets.

Acker[151] argues, in relation to neoliberal economics, that organisational restructuring has led to increasing variation in the nature of inequality. Competitive pressures in the private sector and budgetary restraint in the public sector, driven by restructuring, new technology and the globalisation of production, are making challenges to inequality regimes less likely. Processes that are giving rise to more varied forms of inequality include downsizing, outsourcing work to low-income countries, increased dominance of global corporations and free market ideology. In Acker's view, change towards greater equality is a possibility but it is problematic because of entrenched economic interests. In a period where economic performance is characterised by efforts to reduce labour costs and by increasing inequalities through, for example, pay and retirement benefits, Acker believes that inequality is becoming more visible whilst at the same time challenge to its legitimacy is declining.

Lynch[152] views neoliberalism as highly instrumental in the dismantling of publicly-funded services, pointing out that with the rise of the New Right and the neoliberal agenda, there have been moves to pass the costs of education as well as other public services on to the individual. Recent Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) publications place a major emphasis on the role of education in servicing the economy, in Lynch's view, '… to the neglect of its social and developmental responsibilities'[153] Lynch argues that neoliberalism offers a view of citizenship that is antithetical to rights, in particular guarantees by the state of rights to education, health and other services. Neoliberalism treats education, in Lynch's view, '… as just another service to be delivered on the market to those who can afford to buy it'.[154] The notion of choice is relevant to those with the resources to be able to make a choice, whereas it is irrelevant to those without. This renders 'choice' as illusory for those lacking resources whose key concerns are affordability, accessibility and high quality higher education. Lynch states that neoliberalism has inherited liberalism's emphasis on competition and individualism, both desirable attributes for entrepreneurialism. Lynch points out that alternative narratives such as those relating to equality and inclusion may challenge the dominance of neoliberalism.

The marketisation of higher education

Mok and Lo[155] highlight the trends of marketisation, corporatisation and the 'academic capitalisation' of higher education. Universities are under pressure from governments, their main providers, to show maximum outputs from economic investment. The market-led, corporate approach involves transforming universities into corporations or sites of entrepreneurship in line with the belief that education should serve economic purposes. In the face of economic pressures arising from widening access and economic restraint, the market is perceived as a mechanism to improve efficiency and make staff work harder. This has given rise to the adoption of new managerialist practices as described earlier. In terms of the outputs of higher education, two key processes are: the commercialisation of research and the commodification of knowledge. The concept of 'academic capitalism' proposed by Slaughter and Leslie refers to the ways in which academic work has been absorbed into the market:

> *To maintain or expand resources, faculty had to compete increasingly for external dollars that were tied to market-related research, which was referred to variously as applied, commercial, strategic and targeted research, whether these moneys were in the form of research grants and contracts, service contracts, partnerships with industry and government, technology transfer, or the recruitment of more and higher fee-paying students. We call institutional and professional market or marketlike efforts to secure external moneys academic capitalism.*[156]

The movement of higher education from a public service to a global system run along market-orientated lines has been supported by free-trade agreements such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). A key driver for the marketisation of higher education is the recognition of its potential profitability as a tradable service and this has given rise in some countries and continents to considerable privatisation. Teferra and Altbach[157] for instance, note growing demands for higher education in Africa but at the same time

150 Torres (2002) p369
151 Acker (2006)
152 Lynch (2006)
153 Lynch (2006) p1
154 Lynch (2006) p3
155 Mok and Lo (2002)
156 Slaughter and Leslie (1997) p8
157 Teferra and Altbach (2004)

the increasing strain being placed on resources. They observe growth in the private sector in some African countries, including Kenya where the number of private universities outnumbers those in the public sector. Factors driving privatisation include burgeoning demand from students at a time of declining capacity in the public institutions. Teferra and Altbach highlight some advantages of an emerging private sector, including the provision by these institutions of relatively low-cost, high-demand, skill-based courses. On the other hand, there are concerns about the quality of education provided, lack of accountability and the primarily profit-driven nature of the provision of education by multinationals.. Nevertheless, privatisation is occurring in a period where there is increasing recognition of African higher education as being vital for development.

Shattock[158] has argued that universities in almost all countries are under increasing pressure through rapidly rising student numbers and increasing government control. In a cross-cultural comparison of participation rates, Wang[159] for instance concludes that Taiwan has developed a mass higher education system similar to that in the US and Japan, characterised by a mix of public and private institutions. This differs from the largely publicly funded system operating in Europe.[160] With regard to the latter, Morley[161] points out that demand for educational opportunities has been growing from a wider section of the population and that as a consequence there has been a massive expansion of student numbers in Europe from 5% to 30% participation in the last 30 years. This has resulted in changing student demographics. Morley argues that greater demand for higher education reflects a professed commitment to the democratisation process in the European Union (EU), with EU policy linking poverty, unemployment and social exclusion with poor education and training opportunities. Mok and Lo observe that the hugely increased enrolment rate in the context of Hong Kong is driven by policy that seeks to '… catch up with the pace of higher education expansion in the neighbouring major cities in Asia and the developed countries in order not to fail to meet the needs of a knowledge-based economy'.[162]

Bolden et al's study of twelve universities in the UK[163] highlights these trends from the perspective of leaders and managers. Participants in the study drew attention to the planned growth in student numbers across the UK, in particular the larger proportion of non-traditional students including postgraduate and international students and those from minority and underrepresented social groups. Bolden et al state that 'This will result in greater diversity of the student population including age, race, prior experience, social and cultural background, and English language. Together these will pose new challenges and demands on academic and support staff.'[164] Pressure to increase student numbers will require institutions to develop distinct 'brands' and become more customer-focused. The variable fee structure introduced in 2006 is already having a major impact on the relative incomes of universities and consequently their ability to attract and retain staff. In terms of internationalisation, increased competition for students has meant a focus for some institutions on the international market by setting up overseas campuses and developing alliances overseas. Others have placed emphasis on developing regional linkages through business and community initiatives.

Mass education and equality

Despite initiatives to improve access to higher education, large differences in participation rates exist amongst different social and cultural groups in almost all countries, with expanding enrolments not necessarily helping to achieve social equity. In fact Brennan and Naidoo[165] state that in most countries participation rates of young people from lower socio-economic groups have been less than the overall rate of increase, leading them to the possible conclusion that the middle classes will always find ways of reproducing their privilege. Mass expansion has, moreover, been accompanied by increasing sectoral differentiation which they argue comes with:

> *… newer and ever more subtle ways of maintaining positional advantage. Social and cultural capital provides know-how of where and what to study that is crucial to eventual life changes but which is denied to those from disadvantaged groups and communities.*[166]

It has been observed that equality issues in higher education focus more on access than any other area, and the review of literature for this report would certainly bear this out. Morley[167]points out that although the demographics may have changed, other aspects such as the research agenda and organisational culture may not have altered significantly. In addition, even though access to higher education may have improved for some non-traditional groups there may still be unequal outcomes. The overall participation rate of British ethnic minorities in undergraduate education is higher as a percentage of all ethnic minorities than the participation rate for white people as a total of their population. Research by the

158 Shattock (1995)
159 Wang (2003)
160 However, Cabrito (2004) points out that although the growth of the private sector is a recent phenomenon in Portugal, it now enrols a third of all higher education students.
161 Morley (2000)
162 Mok and Lo (2002) p59
163 Bolden et al (2008a)
164 Bolden et al (2008a) p46
165 Brennan and Naidoo (2008)
166 Brennan and Naidoo (2008) p295
167 Morley (2000)

Department for Education and Skills[168] found, however, that even after controlling for the majority of factors including prior educational attainment, ethnic minority students were still more likely to be awarded a lower class of degree than white students. A project undertaken to investigate this further identified a number of actions to address this issue[169] including ensuring that data should be used for institutional action planning most usefully through impact assessment. Furthermore, institutions should put in place systems to review and design teaching, learning and assessment activities in the light of variations in degree attainment.

The legislative context

The project mentioned above that addressed issues of differential degree attainment amongst ethnic groups made explicit reference to the requirements of the higher education sector in relation to its duties under race relations legislation. The Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000 placed a general duty on public authorities to eliminate unlawful racial discrimination, promote equality of opportunity and promote good relations between people of different racial groups. Under the Act, specific duties were placed on further and higher education institutions to prepare and maintain a race equality policy and to assess its impact. Guidance was provided within the Act as to how to go about impact assessment in relation to a number of questions, including those set out in paragraphs 6.32b and 6.32c; for instance paragraph 6.32b asks:

> *How does the institution explain the difference between groups of students in terms of teaching and learning, drop-out rates, student progression and achievement, assessment, access to learning resources, support and guidance, and curricular and other opportunities?*

The Equality and Human Rights Commission, established under the Equality Act 2006, states that its remit is to be '… the independent advocate for equality and human rights in Britain …'[170] and that it aims to: '... reduce inequality, eliminate discrimination, strengthen good relations between people, and promote and protect human rights'.[171] A raft of Acts and regulations has set out employers' responsibilities in relation to discrimination, including:

- Equal Pay Act 1970
- Sex Discrimination Act 1975
- Race Relations Act 1976
- Disability Discrimination Act 1995
- Human Rights Act 1998
- Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2000
- Civil Partnership Act 2004
- Disability Discrimination Act 2005
- Equality Act 2006
- Sex Discrimination (Gender Reassignment) Regulations 1999
- Employment Equality (Sexual Orientation) Regulations 2003
- Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulations 2003
- Employment Equality (Sex Discrimination) Regulations 2003
- Employment Equality (Age) Regulations 2003

Service providers, as employers, are legally responsible for acts of discrimination against their employees, even when these are carried out without the employers' authority or knowledge. However, if it is proven that the employer took reasonable measures to prevent discrimination or harassment, then the employee becomes liable. In British law, various forms of discrimination have been identified – direct discrimination, for example requiring that job applicants are of a particular nationality; and indirect discrimination, for instance requiring in a job advertisement that all applicants are over six feet tall which would indirectly discriminate against women.

The Equality Bill

A major development, as mentioned in the introduction, is the Equality Bill. The purpose of the Bill is:

> *… to ensure everyone has a fair chance in life. This is important to individuals, for a strong society and a competitive economy. The Equality Bill will promote equality, fight discrimination in all its forms, including age discrimination, and introduce transparency in the workplace which is key to tackling the gender pay gap.*[172]

The main elements of the Bill include:

- Banning age discrimination in the provision of goods, facilities or services and public functions.
- Increasing transparency in the workplace.
- Having a single equality duty that will require public bodies to consider the diverse needs of the workforce.
- Extending positive action initiatives to improve the representativeness of organisations and businesses.
- Reducing nine major pieces of legislation and approximately one hundred statutory instruments into a single Act.

Disability legislation

Recent developments have foregrounded the position of legislation in relation to disability equality in England, Wales

168 Broecke and Nicolls (2007)
169 Higher Education Academy (2008)
170 http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/aboutus/mission/pages/visionmissionandpriorities.aspx
171 http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/en/newsandcomment/Pages/SingleEqualityBillmustgivecitizensmorepowertodemandfairness,arguesTrevorPhillips.aspx
172 http://www.commonsleader.gov.uk/output/Page2657.asp

and Scotland. The Duty to promote Disability Equality and to provide Disability Equality Schemes became a major outcome of the Disability Discrimination Amendment Act 2005, and became binding on all public bodies, including education, by December 2007. The Disability Equality Duty requires all educational establishments to ensure that disabled pupils are not treated less favourably than their non-disabled peers; they must promote positive attitudes to all disabled pupils in all areas of the curriculum; ensure the elimination of bullying and harassment; promote equality for disabled pupils, parents, staff and members of the community and ensure disabled pupils, parents and staff play a full part in the public life of the school.

In an important article in which Beckett[173] identifies a research agenda for a critical understanding of the function of education in encouraging non-disabled children to develop positive attitudes towards disabled people, the author highlights the importance of the Disability Equality Duty in English schools in terms of its possible impact on education for disability equality. This could be understood as a form of 'disability awareness raising/training' elements into the teaching programme of schools. However, in a serious and powerful manner, the author reminds us:

> *… despite the rhetoric about encouraging schools to take a 'proactive' approach to promoting positive attitudes, the government has not opted to insist that schools engage in particular activities and has instead opted for making 'suggestions' about the 'variety of ways' to teach good practice.*[174]

The author expresses deep concerns over this light-touch approach to implementing such guidelines, seeing it as a far cry from the urgent and necessary task of tackling discrimination and exclusion within schools in terms of the personal, cultural and institutional factors involved. It leaves much to be desired in terms of establishing emancipatory, anti-disablist education. Developments within other aspects of the educational system, are important in sensitising us to the difficulties of engaging with these issues effectively in higher education.

The impact of policy

Regarding the impact of legislation on inequality within employment, Acker[175] notes that the legitimacy of inequality varies according to political and economic conditions. She argues that during the 1960s and 1970s in the US, legislation and social programmes were spurred on by the women's and civil rights movements and that during this period '… entrenched legitimacy was shaken'.[176] Acker makes the important point that class inequality is presently legitimised because class practices including paying wages and maintaining the supervisory function are fundamental to the organisation of work in capitalist economies. Whilst legislation cannot guarantee the realisation of effective inclusive conditions and experiences, it is nevertheless an essential part of a transformative change process. In relation to equality issues and outcomes, both the specific nature of legislation and the degree to which it is enforceable are of perennial significance.

Deem et al[177] argue that the policies of the Labour government in the 1960s and 1970s based on social activism and an awareness of social justice have not been replicated under 'New Labour'. They put forward a number of reasons for this, including greater recognition of institutional discrimination and a shift towards an emphasis on diversity rather than on inequalities experienced by certain social groups. Thirdly, there is more emphasis on mainstreaming and other generic concepts which they view as being virtually the opposite of what happened in the 1960s and 1970s. Fourthly, the current emphasis on managerialism has made it harder to track the progress of equality policies within organisations in which only some employees have increased autonomy. The focus is now individualistic rather than encouraging collective action.

According to Deem et al New Labour is diverting attention away from systemic sources of inequality and is more concerned with the recognition of difference. With regard to higher education, Deem and Morley[178] suggest that more attention than before is being paid to equality issues, but that the sector has been less proactive than other areas of the public sector such as schools. In their view '...higher education equality strategies have been underresourced, relatively unmonitored and fragmented'.[179] A number of concerns expressed around staff and student inequalities have given rise to policy developments in the last two decades, notably the establishment by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals (now Universities UK) of the Commission for University Career Opportunity (CUCO) in 1994 and the setting up in 2001 of ECU. Both bodies focused on staffing issues, but the ECU later expanded its remit to include students. Developments within higher education will be discussed more fully in the next section.

173 Beckett (2009)
174 Teachernet (2006)
175 Acker (2006)
176 Acker (2006) p453
177 Deem et al (2005)
178 Deem and Morley (2006)
179 Deem and Morley (2006) p187

Summary

A variety of contextual factors are brought to bear on the leadership of organisations that in turn have equality effects. These include organisational restructuring, the globalisation of production, economic pressures and shifts to neoliberal economies. Within higher education organisational culture has changed from a predominantly collegial culture to a form of corporate managerialism. The focus is now more consumer-orientated and market-driven, with the focus on efficiency and performance measurement. Although opportunities may have opened up as result of these changes, in particular new and more career paths into management for higher education staff, they have often been in conflict with the new managerialist agenda, including the emphasis on financial matters and performativity. Furthermore, researchers have noted that increasing emphasis on 'strong' management draws on traits typically perceived to be possessed by men.

Neoliberalism and its impact on higher education has been discussed, again underlining pressures on universities to show maximum gains for their economic investment. The absorption of academic work into the market has been described as 'academic capitalism', involving competition for external funding through market-orientated research or via the recruitment of more students paying higher fees. Concomitantly with the marketisation of higher education, and in some countries a significant rise in the number of private universities, the sector has seen a rapid growth across the globe. However, mass expansion has had a limited impact on increased access to higher education from those in lower socio-economic groups. On the other hand, the gender balance of the student body has changed significantly in the last four decades, with women now constituting the majority of undergraduates. The importance of looking beyond access to other aspects of inequality has been highlighted. Research has shown, for instance, that although black and minority ethnic students as a whole are well represented in higher education, their degree attainment is not on a par with that of their white peers.

As regards the legislative environment, acts and regulations at national and European levels place responsibilities on employers not to discriminate on the basis of a person's religion or belief, sexual orientation, race, disability, gender or age. The approach has now become proactive, with public bodies charged with the task of promoting equality. Despite the efforts of the Equality and Human Rights Commission, the former equality bodies and developments in equality law, inequalities persist. Increasing attention is being paid to equality issues in higher education through research and policy developments. Nevertheless, there is a view that the sector has been less proactive than others and that the current approach focuses more on the recognition of difference than on tackling the root causes of inequality.

6. Equality in higher education

Section 1 of this report drew attention to critiques of the notion of organisations as rational, ordered entities devoid of racial, disability, class, gender and other interests. Jones[180] points out that predominantly government-led initiatives have been partially successful in increasing the access and participation in higher education of some social groups such as the working classes, women and ethnic minorities. This has taken place in a system primarily dominated by privileged, white, male, middle-class elites. Jones argues, however, that inequalities persist and continue to be prominent in educational discourse and policy. Even though the demographics of the student body may have changed, the social makeup of the academic workforce and senior management structures remain overwhelmingly white, male, non-disabled and middle class.

Rassool[181] argues that in being incorporated into organisations, the everyday reality of individuals is structured within hierarchical power relations. In the academic setting this is associated with '… bureaucratic forms of organization represented in the inter-locking, hierarchical and depersonalized processes of command inherent in departmental and faculty structures'.[182] The rational view of organisations fails to consider the point that organisations, including academic institutions, are made up of people constantly interacting with one another and that this takes place in a network of relations based on unequal distributions of power. Meaning may be negotiated through contradictory discourses; informal discourses in academic institutions may be exclusionary and derive from meanings attached to particular social groups and although not present in a formal way:

> *… they permeate the body politic where they construct 'commonsense' understandings of, for example, 'racialized ethnicity', gender and sexuality. Thus it is that concepts of 'racial otherness' may be constructed within the organization in terms of 'commonsense' or stereotypic understandings of 'ethnic or gender specific' behaviours, temperament and disposition which would ostensibly undermine individuals' ability to make rational decisions – and which, in turn, would influence their 'credibility' in positions of authority.*[183]

Major themes within the area of equality in higher education are drawn together in this section. Following a consideration of the relationship between scholarship and equality, recent studies looking at the nature of higher education leadership are discussed. Quantitative data on the demographic characteristics of leaders and other senior staff groupings in the sector are then set out. The limitations of current statistical data are examined. Finally, the section looks at the challenge for higher education and the implications for leadership.

Research themes

A considerable body of literature now exists on equality issues in higher education but with large variations in the emphasis accorded to different areas. In particular, religion is given little attention even though it is a significant feature in the structuring of society and privilege. It would be beyond the scope of this review to produce extensive lists of research publications in every area. Nevertheless, it would seem critical to highlight some of the major thematic areas. These include aspects of socio-economic class and access to higher education mentioned earlier, financial issues for students entering higher education from low-income backgrounds[184] and the experiences and perspectives of working-class women in academic and contract research work.[185] With regard to race, researchers have investigated issues of degree attainment amongst ethnic minority groups,[186] institutional biases towards ethnic minority candidates in UK universities,[187] factors influencing academic achievement amongst African-Caribbean students in the UK[188] and aspects of identity and competing discourses amongst black and white students in post-apartheid South Africa.[189] In terms of academic staff, researchers have examined the situation of ethnic minorities in UK academic employment[190] and reflected on their own experiences of teaching and research in academe.[191]

A body of primarily qualitative research has examined the experiences pf women academics, including feminist academics,[192] women scientists in academe,[193] women in decision-making positions in British higher education[194] and women in management.[195] Researchers have also looked at women's experiences of sexual harassment in the sector,[196] the implications of globalisation and corporatisation on gender equality[197] and the effect of gender and family formation on academic employment.[198] Other researchers have considered intersections of 'race' and gender in academic work, including participation and retention issues for black women returning to postgraduate study[199] and race and gender and their relationship with educational aspiration and desire.[200]

180 Jones (2006)
181 Rassool (1995)
182 Rassool (1995) p29
183 Rassool (1995) p30
184 Mitton (2007)
185 Mahony and Zmroczek (1997), Reay 2000
186 Higher Education Academy (2008)
187 Shiner and Modood (2002)
188 Rhamie and Hallam (2002)
189 Walker (2005)
190 Carter et al (1999)
191 Housee (2006), Jacobs and Tate (2006)
192 Morley (1999)
193 Bebbington (2002)
194 Bown (1999)
195 Deem (2003), Fletcher (2007)
196 Bagilhole and Woodward (1995)
197 Blackmore (2002)
198 Raddon (2002), Wolfinger et al (2002)
199 Johnson-Bailey (2004)
200 Mirza (2006a)

Mirza[201] has critiqued the practice of diversity within higher education, highlighting '… the apparent contradiction between the persistent marginalisation of black women in higher education and the continuing desire among black women to educate and be educated'. Jones[202] has similarly deconstructed the concepts of social justice and diversity by specific reference to black and minority ethnic academics and in particular black female academics. Other work on intersections includes that of Berggren[203] on gender and class differentiation in the Swedish student body.

With regard to disability, Barnes[204] reviews progress in higher education, focusing particularly on the relationship between the disability movement and disability studies as an academic area, pointing out that until the 1990s universities were almost inaccessible to disabled students and staff. Bolt[205] argues that the ableist approach to educating undergraduates requires modernisation to examine, for example, how disability can inform the field of literary studies. Tidwell[206] examines the nature and implications of age-related hearing loss for senior professors and presents strategies to adapt to this impairment. Woodcock et al,[207] also writing about deafness and significant hearing loss, highlight the global underrepresentation of this group in universities. They review barriers to equitable representation and make recommendations as to how these can be overcome. Potts and Price,[208] through reflexive accounts of their experiences of myalgic encephalomyelitis (ME), discuss the ways in which academic work is embodied, arguing that academic discourse fails to acknowledge '… the materiality of its own production, the resources and labour that enable its existence'.[209] The NIACE report mentioned earlier[210] that looked at the experiences of disabled staff in higher and further education generated a great deal of material and gave concrete recommendations to address issues for disabled staff, who the evidence found 'remain invisible'[211] in both sectors.

The review found limited work on issues of religion in higher education and what there was generally referred to students' experiences of overseas higher education. Mabokela and Seggie[212] for example, explore secularism in Turkish higher education, particularly in relation to female students' view of the banning of the headscarf. Shavarini[213] considers the role of higher education in Iranian Muslim society through a case study of one young woman. A NATFHE report 'Discrimination on the grounds of religion or belief',[214] published in 2002 in anticipation of the introduction of the Employment Equality (Religion or Belief) Regulation 2003, places in context the need for legislation, including the fact that religion is emerging as a significant factor in social identity, especially in minority communities. Amongst the issues raised are the needs of religious minorities in the workplace, the relationship between religion and education and the opportunities that higher education provides as an environment made up of many cultural groups. A joint publication by Universities UK, the Standing Conference of Principals (SCOP, now GuildHE) and ECU[215] focused on the way in which good campus relations could be promoted in order to tackle hate crime and intolerance. The report notes the wide range of hate crimes committed arising from people's gender, sexual orientation, religion and so on. It highlights the rise in religious hate crime, in particular towards Muslim and Jewish people, with Islamophobia currently on the rise, especially in the wake of the 11 September 2001 attack on the World Trade Centre and the London bombings of 7 July 2005.

Work on age discrimination in higher education was found to be sparse, an observation made by other researchers.[216] Koopman-Boyden and Macdonald stress the importance of age in workforce planning, particularly in view of the ageing academic workforce, in this instance in New Zealand; Manfredi's recently completed study on managing age diversity in UK higher education found that although a small proportion of respondents to her survey reported experiencing age discrimination, the majority did not follow this up because they felt no action would be taken. On the basis that age-related discrimination exists in the sector, action on a number of fronts is recommended, including raising awareness of the issues, addressing them in staff recruitment and selection and monitoring perceptions of unfair age discrimination through the use of staff surveys.

Another area in which little recent work appears to have been done is that relating to sexual orientation, although work commissioned recently by ECU has brought issues of lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) staff and students more to the fore. The report focuses on a number of areas including this group's experiences in higher education, issues around monitoring, teaching, learning and the curriculum, how institutions demonstrate commitment to LGBT issues, emerging tensions between LGBT and faith groups in the sector and matters concerning making complaints.[217] The AUT survey of 2001 mentioned in Section 1 of the report looked at the experiences of lesbian, gay and bisexual academic staff. The impact of the 'hidden curriculum' on higher education

201 Mirza (2006b) p101
202 Jones (2006)
203 Berggren (2008)
204 Barnes (2007)
205 Bolt (2004)
206 Tidwell (2004)
207 Woodcock et al (2007)
208 Potts and Price (1995)
209 Potts and Price (1995) p102
210 NIACE (2008)
211 NIACE (2008) p3
212 Mabokela and Seggie (2008)
213 Shavarini (2006)
214 NATFHE (2002)
215 Universities UK (2005)
216 Koopman-Boyden and Macdonald (2003), Manfredi (2008)
217 Equality Challenge Unit (2009b)

and its implications for lesbian academics is discussed by Epstein.[218] She argues that New Right policies have had a powerful effect on broader discourses of identity and describes how this influenced her teaching and students, with one aspect relating to the view that homosexuality is a threat to the traditional family.

Some literature documents the experiences of international students. Lee and Rice,[219] in a study of international students in America, found that students with foreign national status suffered the most both in and outside the classroom in terms of being ignored, receiving verbal insults and confrontation at the hands of peers, teaching staff and people in the local community. Furthermore, there appeared to be a divide between non-white and white international students, with the former, who came from India, Latin America, Asia and the Middle East, experiencing more discrimination. Lee and Rice put forward neo-racism as a theory to explain international students' experiences rather than viewing the issues as matters of adjustment.

Scholarship and equality

Bolt has argued that there needs to be a move away from rhetorical approaches to disability towards incorporating disability in meaningful ways in the curriculum.[220] Recent literature has explored other links between scholarship and equality and how some groups appear to be more privileged than others in processes of knowledge production. Özbilgin[221] notes that social research that challenges power structures is often marginalised and not published in top-ranked journals. He further notes that men who are white and middle or upper-class tend to dominate as editors, board members and reviewers of prestigious journals. Although a challenge is posed to academia by an increasingly diverse body of doctoral students, this numerical diversity, in Özbilgin's view does not automatically present a challenge to power, influence and domination of the elite. Özbilgin sets out ways in which power relations in publication are maintained, including through the practice of citing the work of others selectively so as to build successful research careers, focusing on positivist methodologies rather than on non-positivist approaches and through the perpetuation of a system in which insiders know what the favoured themes and methodologies are, with novice and international researchers having to guess this information. Özbilgin offers many different approaches to tackling current problems with the journal ranking system, including improving regulation by the teaching and funding bodies and changing journal ranking systems alongside development activities in order to enable staff to appreciate a wider range of methodologies and research philosophies. More radically, Özbilgin proposes a replacement for the current journal ranking system through, for instance, setting criteria for a good quality journal and having transparent policies for editorial board membership.

However, there are some positive developments. *Disability Studies* has witnessed an increasingly sustained interest in the support for innovatory methodologies and challenges to traditional and dominant understandings and practices of the purpose, process and outcomes of research. Part of this engagement has focused on the politics of recognition, and giving priority to the question of voice in which the perspectives, experiences and concerns of disabled people are of central significance to the research agenda. This development includes a critical recognition of the extent to which research itself is disabling. The concern is with the realisation of a dignified relationship for all participants within the research process based on trust, respect and reciprocity. As Oliver contends:

> *The emancipatory paradigm, as the name implies, is about the facilitating of a politics of the possible by confronting social oppression at whatever level it occurs. Central to the project is a recognition of and confrontation with power, which structures the social relations of research production.*[222]

Whilst the discussion is particularly focused on disability research, it is also intended to apply to research involved in all aspects of social justice and equality. Supporting publications of this nature are the Journal *Disability and Society* and The Disability Press, which is housed in the Sociology and Social Policy Department at Leeds University, and aims to provide an alternative outlet for such innovatory work in the field of disability studies.

Meriläinen et al[223] echo many of Özbilgin's sentiments mentioned earlier. In a reflexive analysis of a joint Finnish-British publishing venture, they argue that '…institutions of academic publishing are constantly reproduced through hegemonic practices that serve to maintain and reinforce core-periphery relations'.[224] Reviewing critiques of journal ranking systems, Meriläinen et al find that these tend to point to hegemonic practices being more important than quality in terms of journal rankings. Furthermore, US academia dominates organisation and management studies, with the positivist approach also dominant. In their study, Meriläinen et al describe how through a variety of practices leading up

218 Epstein (1995)
219 Lee and Rice (2007)
220 Bolt (2004)
221 Özbilgin (2009)
222 Oliver (1992) p110
223 Meriläinen et al (2008)
224 Meriläinen et al (2008) p585

to the publishing process, the Anglophone perspective in terms of culture and language is privileged, occurring through such activities as peer review and the translation of text from Finnish into English – the dominant language of conferences. They point out that, in what seem like mundane academic practices such as attending conferences and writing academic papers, Anglophone culture reproduces itself and comes to dominate in academic publishing.

Higher education leadership

Higher education leadership has been the subject of a variety of studies in recent years. Bolden et al's major research study[225] involving interviews with 152 university leaders theorised from the data that higher education leadership is made up of five key elements – personal, social, structural, contextual and developmental. 'Personal', for instance, refers to the personal qualities, experiences and preferences of individual leaders, and 'social' refers to what Bolden et al describe as 'both formal and informal networks and relationships within and beyond the institution ("social capital") as well as the shared sense of identity and purpose within and between groups ("social identity")'.[226] Bolden et al find that while elements of leadership are distributed widely through people, networks and structures, leadership is enacted both collectively and individually, concluding that leadership in higher education is best regarded as hybrid in form. Gibbs et al,[227] in an international study of leadership of teaching in research-intensive universities, found that leadership theory and advice should be used with caution owing to the finding that teaching excellence appeared to be achieved through contrasting leadership styles. One department, teaching a professional subject, had been transformed from a collegial into an entrepreneurial culture. Leadership was dispersed through staff involvement using a range of formal mechanisms. Another department that taught science remained collegiate, with individuals taking responsibility for themselves and their teaching. No emphasis was placed on changing teaching, learning or assessment and Gibbs et al suggest that if the head of department had tried to change this they would have faced opposition from staff. Nevertheless, this department was ranked first in its country for teaching its subject. These findings, in Gibbs et al's view, question the assumption that corporate planning and strategic management to improve teaching are necessary in every context.

Diversity in higher education leadership

Deem and Brehony[228] add another dimension, referring in their work primarily to managers but nevertheless examining those in decision-making roles. They argue against the idea of managers as constituting a particular class grouping and note the existence of divisions on the basis of disciplinary boundaries, gender, ethnicity and different pay levels and contracts, noting that 50% of academic staff are not on permanent contracts. Breakwell and Tytherleigh's analysis of the demographic characteristics of UK vice-chancellors (VCs)[229] reflect gender, ethnic and class penalties, finding that:

- Almost all VCs appointed since 1997 were white.
- Their average age was 57.76 years.
- Most held professorships.
- Twenty-three per cent of VCs were Oxbridge undergraduates and 28% had been postgraduates there.
- VCs in pre-92 universities were twice as likely to have been to Cambridge or Oxford as VCs in post-92 universities.
- Eighty-five per cent of VCs were male.
- Since 1997 more women have been appointed to pre-1992 institutions than to post-1992 institutions.
- Three women VCs now lead research-intensive institutions.
- Sixty-eight per cent of women VCs were married or living with a partner compared to 96% of their male counterparts.
- Fifty per cent of women VCs had children compared with 81% of male VCs.
- All 17 female VCs came from social science backgrounds.

Breakwell and Tytherleigh's data compares with evidence presented in section 2 that highlighted vertical segregation in other sectors of the economy, albeit with variations. As of 2009, only one non-white VC is leading a UK higher education institution and given that for some time there has been an overall high proportion of ethnic minority students the question must be asked as to why leadership, on this measure alone, is not reflective of the student body?

Bown's research,[230] though now a decade old, involved an analysis of gender divisions within decision-making levels in British higher education. Using data from the Association of Commonwealth Universities and from other sources, Bown examined five senior academic positions – vice-chancellor and principal, pro-vice-chancellor or deputy principal, registrar, bursar and university librarian. Bown found that 42% of the universities and colleges, that is 62 out of 146 institutions, had no women in any of these five positions. There were no senior women at five out of 10 universities who came top in the Research Assessment Exercise, with Bown concluding that 'The absence of women decision-makers in major research universities and colleges is alarming, since research is all too often gender-biased.'[231] Bown also analysed data on university

225 Bolden et al 2008b
226 Bolden et al (2008b) p366
227 Gibbs et al 2008
228 Deem and Brehony 2005
229 Breakwell and Tytherleigh (2008)
230 Bown (1999)
231 Bown (1999) p6

governing bodies. These have considerable influence on the running of higher education institutions as well as being ultimately responsible, in the context of this report, for overseeing the implementation of equalities legislation. Bown found that out of the 121 institutions examined, only four had women as sole chairs and three had women as joint chairs. A research project currently being commissioned by the ECU and the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education is examining the role of the governing bodies in relation to equality and is looking at the demographic makeup of the bodies themselves. It will be interesting to see to what extent their gender composition has changed since Bown published her findings.

Demographic data

More recently, McTavish and Miller[232] looked at gender and senior management in Scottish further and higher education. A wealth of quantitative data emerged from the study indicating that:

- Women in Scotland are 25% more likely than men to enter higher education as students, although only 40% of academic staff are women.
- Women in higher education are underrepresented in the highest positions and are overrepresented in non-permanent part-time jobs.
- Only 14% of Scottish university professors are women.
- Seventy per cent of all university court members are men.
- There is a gender pay disparity of 18% for higher education professionals.
- Only three women hold the post of principal in Scottish universities, that is 15% of the total.
- Thirty-two per cent of female staff in UK higher education are research active compared with 52% of men.
- There are gendered subject divisions, with science, engineering and technology being dominated by men and health and education being dominated by women.
- Female academics spend more time on teaching and administrative duties than do their male peers.

At the time of writing this report, there appear to be no comprehensive primary or secondary data that would indicate the demographic characteristics of UK universities' senior management teams beyond the gender aspect. A key report was published a decade ago[233] that looked at academic careers using the 1996-97 HESA dataset up to professorial level. This examined the ethnic and gender composition of academic staff for that year. Some of the key findings were that:

- About 6%-6.5% of academic staff were not white and just over a half of this group were non-British nationals.
- Chinese, 'Asian other' and Indian ethnic groups were the largest groups of minority staff.
- Bangladeshi, Pakistani, Black Caribbean and 'black other' were significantly underrepresented in senior posts.
- Most non-white staff were in medical schools and pre-1992 universities, although in pre-1992 universities the minority staff were more non-British and in post-1992 institutions there were more British minority staff.
- Women in all groups were less likely to be in academic work and were more likely to be on fixed-term contracts and in part-time and less senior jobs.
- Ethnic minority women, particularly those who were non-British, were the most disadvantaged.

HESA statistics provide a gender breakdown of higher education staff across the UK in 2006-07. In that year, 62.6% of non-academic staff were female and 48.9% were in 'other academic grades'. At the senior level, 17.5% of all professors were women, though this represents an increase from 16.7% in 2005-06.[234]

During this project, data were obtained on participants on Leadership Foundation programmes to ascertain broad demographic trends. However, the data were not sufficiently complete to undertake this analysis. Other than the dataset of UK vice-chancellors on which Breakwell and Tytherleigh based their analysis,[235] no dataset is available on the demographics of senior higher education staff. This point was corroborated in research carried out for the ECU to map existing data sources in the sector[236] which found that there are no data giving a breakdown at national level of leadership and management positions such as deputy vice-chancellor, pro-vice-chancellor, registrar, and so on. Regarding social groupings, gender, ethnicity and age data are collected by HESA but there are concerns over the quality of disability data that it collects. No national data are gathered on religion or belief or sexual orientation. Further shortcomings of the existing national dataset are that there are fewer data for non-academic occupational areas and a lack of longitudinal data to track equality issues in career progression. A key conclusion of the ECU report was that, 'There are no national data at the top levels of management and governance of institutions to identify the scale of imbalances towards particular groups and to monitor progress towards equality and diversity.'[237]

232 McTavish and Miller (2007)
233 Carter et al (1999)
234 Higher Education Statistics Agency (2008)
235 Breakwell and Tytherleigh (2008)
236 Equality Challenge Unit (2008)
237 Equality Challenge Unit (2008) p3

Career advancement

A number of qualitative studies on specific equality issues relating to careers and career advancement in higher education will now be considered. Dedoussis[238] examines issues of diversity from the perspective of third-country academics[239] employed in business schools in a number of international locations. From the point of view of the academics interviewed, students placed high value on native English-speaking academics, particularly if they had a PhD from a prestigious university, and tended to focus on linguistic deficiencies of third-country academics rather than on their knowledge base. A further issue was that of culture and the process of learning and teaching, for instance regarding the leadership role that academics were expected to play. In an Australian institution, academics were expected to be friendly and approachable and treat students as equals. Students at a Lebanese university tended to be passive listeners who looked up to the lecturer as a source of knowledge and expected a highly directive approach. Addressing the complexity of issues for third-country academics, Dedoussis argues that the ongoing internationalisation of higher education should require that academics be drawn from and are able to work in different international settings and that staff have intercultural competencies as well as language skills. Important benefits may be gained by universities seeking to maximise the opportunities presented by internationalisation such as '… increased creativity and innovation, enhanced problem-solving capabilities and decision-making, higher productivity, and improved employee attitudes that diversity has been linked with in management literature'.[240] For this to happen, however, policies need to be put into place and implemented in order to attract and retain third-country academics.

Regarding issues of gender, Chesterman et al[241] in a study of women in senior management positions in Australian universities point out that the sector has been criticised for overlooking women's potential and being male-dominated, although strong policies have led to some change. The study found that a high proportion of women in senior administrative positions had come into the sector from other public or private sector employment but that on entering higher education women who were not academics encountered a lack of career advancement opportunities. In relation to academic careers, Chesterman et al note the importance of research and that this area may be problematic for women. This has been put down to a variety of factors including :

- Women tend to enter academia later than men.
- They have interrupted career paths due to domestic responsibilities.
- They enter academia at lower levels than men and this has a cumulative effect resulting in less time to build up academic qualifications.
- They are concentrated in areas that do not have long traditions of research such as nursing and education.
- They have less access to large research grants.

The women in this study placed a high value on research qualifications and without PhDs were loathe to apply for senior positions unless specifically encouraged to do so, for example by search agencies. Chesterman et al put forward a number of suggestions to overcome the gender imbalance in senior positions, including giving women encouragement to apply for senior positions, increasing the efforts of search agencies to find suitable women and actively seeking women to take on acting positions.

Skachkova's work on immigrant professors in the US[242] highlights features of American higher education that are similar to the Australian situation, including the fact that women academics are still in the minority and that they teach mainly education, health sciences and humanities, while men primarily teach engineering, agriculture and the natural sciences. Women earn less than men in all ranks and are less likely to have tenure. They also enter a sector that is racially and ethnically segregated, with the vast majority of academics being white. Interviews with the women who came predominantly from Asia and Europe revealed the classroom as a conflictual space and a '…dangerous territory crossed by invisible but carefully drawn national, racial, and imperial borders ...'[243] Key findings of this research were that immigrant professors experienced systematically differentiated treatment by students, colleagues and administrators, they were segregated into teaching courses that were related to their ethnic and national backgrounds and that this affected their credibility with regard to teaching US-based subjects. They felt they were less likely to get grants, they published less than American academics and were excluded from social networks with their US colleagues. Skachkova suggests that current practice could be changed through creating systematic support at institutional level and by various efforts at national and governmental level to challenge ethnocentrism, sexism and racism through a variety of measures including increasing the flow of international students and scholars.

238 Dedoussis (2007)
239 Third-country academics are those who are neither host-country natives nor American citizens.
240 Dedoussis (2007) p152
241 Chesterman et al (2005)
242 Skachkova (2007)
243 Skachkova (2007) p705

The challenge for higher education

Responding to a survey in the late 1990s of the campus climate in a research university in the southern US, Brown[244] is of the view that with the inevitability of greater diversity within the population and workforce, higher education institutions '… do not only have a responsibility but must assume a leadership position on this crucial issue of preparing citizens for the world they now face'.[245] Brown draws attention to a number of persisting obstacles to achieving diversity even though most universities and colleges aim to achieve a more diverse community. One challenge is the difficulty of overcoming historical exclusion on the basis of race, gender and disability. This, Brown argues, has an impact on the present and gives rise to perceptions that equality policy is more concerned with representation than with improving day-to-day realities. Morley[246] makes a similar observation in noting that although mass expansion and increased quantitative representation of non-traditional groups has occurred, qualitative changes in service delivery have not taken place. She states that 'organisational cultures and priorities of the academy are still geared to the needs and interests of the dominant group. The opportunity discourse can rapidly transmute into exploitation of the "consumers" in the market economy'.[247] At the same time, there is a perception that the development from an elite to mass system marked by the entry of previously underrepresented groups marks a decline in standards, with widening participation perceived as 'dilution, or pollution; a situation which challenges the very notion of equity in higher education'.[248]

A further obstacle lies in dealing with entrenched attitudes in which diversity is perceived as a threat by those in positions of influence. Brown argues that in theory diversity is desirable and ought to be promoted. Dissension arises, however, in creating the conditions to promote and support a diverse community, which in Brown's view go beyond mere representation of staff and students and superficial changes to the curriculum. To address diversity effectively, adjustments are needed to working in an increasingly diverse workplace including preparing staff for this change and encouraging them to '… accept ownership of the responsibility for teaching in such a way that demonstrates a commitment to the principle of respect for all'.[249] Brown argues that the role of higher education institutions is crucial in addressing issues of diversity and some of the mechanisms to achieve this include staff training in cultural diversity, the incorporation of multicultural policies and recruitment practices that are sensitive to the needs of a diverse population. Brown supports this argument using the business case, stating that higher education supplies leadership talent to businesses and professional organisations. As society becomes more diverse, it seems logical that the pool from which leadership is drawn is more reflective of society. Higher education involves not only learning facts but also subtle learning derived from the experience of education, with diverse communities more likely to enhance learning opportunities. Brown gives a strong rationale for diversifying the staff and student population and creating a climate of support:

> *There is no denying that institutions of higher education are placed in the unenviable position of preparing the intelligentsia and future leaders of the society. Higher-level training in almost every discipline takes place in such institutions. Therefore, their products permeate every discipline from teaching, to government, to private enterprise, and influence every stratum of society. Consequently, the role of faculty is critical to creating the atmosphere within their classes that allows for a discourse on issues of diversity, and as a result, allows for the transfer of the understanding gained to a wider society.*[250]

Sheldon[251] highlights some of the likely impacts on disability of the current fiscal downturn. The labour market and the vulnerability of disabled people in terms of both access to and continuance within work, as well as the increasing difficulties of external funding for user-led organisations and particular forms of critical and applied research, are some of the significant points for consideration. Raising the issue of disability studies in relation to this serious situation, the author gives particular emphasis to the urgent need for a shift towards political-economic thinking and the development of a 'global political economy of disability'. Given the continued existence of stubborn inequalities within higher education and the educational system generally, coupled with the new challenges informed by globalisation and fiscal developments, the need for zero-tolerance with regard to all forms of discrimination and exclusion is the responsibility of all those within higher education who are involved in the struggle for transformative change.

Summary

Academic institutions have been the subject of considerable research on equality in some areas, including race, gender, disability and to some extent sexual orientation. Considerably less attention has been paid to issues of religion and age. Aspects of the relationship between scholarship and equality have been highlighted. Social research with the potential to challenge power structures may be kept on the margins,

244 Brown (2004)
245 Brown (2004) p21
246 Morley (1999)
247 Morley (1999) p32
248 Morley (1999) p36
249 Brown (2004) p30
250 Brown (2004) p32
251 Sheldon (2009)

thus allowing favoured themes and methodologies to be reproduced. This effect is of significance not only within national boundaries, but also on the world stage, where an Anglophone perspective predominates. Nevertheless, innovatory research, including that which is emanating from the field of disability studies, is mounting a challenge to traditional research paradigms.

Researchers have developed a number of models to explain how leadership operates in higher education, yet in the main these tend to overlook issues of social identity in any substantial way. Quantitative data have been presented on the social characteristics of certain groups of leaders and senior staff, including vice-chancellors, leaders and managers in Scottish further and higher education and people in academic grades. There is no comprehensive national dataset that would enable a full demographic analysis of UK higher education leadership to be undertaken. Most qualitative work on leadership and diversity in education has focused on leadership in schools and, as was seen earlier, on further education. Key themes include the need to move beyond the recognition of difference and improving the numerical representation of certain groups, towards tackling the classism, racism and homophobia that are embedded within organisations.

Studies in higher education have examined the experiences of women entering senior management, immigrant women professors and 'third-country' academics. These studies underline the point that various forms of discrimination including racism, disablism and sexism have a major impact on national and international careers in higher education. This evidence supports the notion set out earlier in this review that higher education and its institutions operate in a dialectical relationship with the wider society and its value systems. The influence of sociopolitical developments are also highly significant. Rizvi,[252] in considering the implications for education of the 11 September 2001 attack, draws attention to the effects of international organisations such as the World Bank and OECD on national and local educational policy and the influence on educational practice of cultural globalisation through the mass media and globalised consumer culture.. According to Rizvi, these issues have implications for thinking about education 'and for imagining education's role in the promotion of global democracy and justice'.[253]The reluctant leaders in Lumby' et al's study of further education[254] might be challenged by this analysis and also by Brown's argument that multiculturalism should be a fundamental part of people's working lives and not 'just another initiative to be added to an already packed schedule'.[255]

The literature reviewed in this section has highlighted some major tasks for leaders, namely to:

- Create a climate within higher education institutions that promotes and supports a diverse community.
- Prepare staff for working in an increasingly diverse workplace including through training in cultural diversity.
- Introduce policies and practices that are sensitive to the needs of a diverse population.
- Ensure that an atmosphere for learning is created that allows for a discourse on diversity issues.
- Adopt zero tolerance of discrimination and exclusion particularly in view of persisting inequalities and fiscal pressures.

252 Rizvi (2004)
253 Rizvi (2004) p157
254 Lumby et al (2000)
255 Brown (2004) p29

7. Leading for diversity in educational contexts

This section begins by discussing some of the tensions and contradictions that appear to be inherent in juxtaposing the concepts of leadership and diversity. It then looks at leadership and diversity from a number of perspectives including the South African case and from the point of view of school leadership. The concept of privilege is then considered in terms of its potential to change the focus regarding notions of equality. The report then looks at research that sought the views of higher education staff at senior levels on diversity. Several intervention programmes are then described, the first aiming to improve cultural understanding in leadership and management and the second that developed strategies to embed equality and diversity policies and practices into one institution. The key findings of a study of equality and diversity specialists' views are then set out with concrete recommendations for change. Further pointers to action are highlighted in a study of leaders in US higher education known for their successes in equality and diversity matters. Finally, key findings of a government report on improving the life chances of disabled people are described. These underline the crucial importance of engaging with groups who may benefit from diversity-related activities.

Tensions and contradictions

A number of themes arising in this report appear to be in tension or contradiction with each other as regards higher education leadership and its engagement with equality and diversity issues. Commissions looking into the experiences of racial minorities and disabled staff have emphasised the need for strong leadership to support effective change. Other research has highlighted the reluctance of leaders to become fully involved in this area. Furthermore, hierarchical seniority frequently equates with greater power and prestige and the question arises as to what extent senior leaders are willing to share their power, as Lumby puts it 'If those currently without power or with lesser power than those in the dominant group are to have more power and opportunity, is this to be at the cost of those who currently hold power?'[256] Lumby notes that in terms of leadership and its relationship with diversity, a clear framework for choices and action is lacking and that despite educational communities becoming more diverse, leadership has not achieved inclusion. This review found a marked lack of research on diversity in higher education leadership, although as has been noted throughout this report, inequitable practices surface at many different levels within universities.

The need for leadership

Cross[257] considers that the project of diversity poses serious challenges in the context of South African higher education. Even though this may be different in many ways from UK higher education, useful lessons may be learnt and areas of similarity discerned. Cross notes that South African campuses have embarked on a range of initiatives to respond to the changes in South African society and to prepare students for increasing globalisation. He also observes that universities are increasingly aware of social imbalances that have resulted from apartheid but that diversity initiatives tend to be fragmented, a point made earlier in relation to UK higher education. In his view there is a need for an integrated approach that should be driven from the highest levels of institutions:

> *… fragmentation of effort and a piecemeal approach still dominates institutional responses to these challenges. In this context, the paper reaffirms the need for a leadership-driven integrated approach within an institutional planning framework which sets parameters, targets, priorities and clear lines of accountability and responsibility for the diversity project.*[258]

Cross also usefully highlights the tension between pressures from marketisation and globalisation on the one hand and on the other the need to sustain research and intellectual activity on diversity. In terms of the curriculum, Cross argues that diversity-related topics are usually confined to arts subjects and that diversity is generally seen as peripheral, with no awareness of how it is rooted in social institutions such as families, schools and the mass media. This has meant that diversity 'has only received significant attention in those institutions where there has been strong institutional leadership and commitment at the management level and diversity is assumed as a civic value, which requires new norms for human competence and social practice.'[259]

Cross argues that diversity in South Africa has been driven by a practical, instrumentalist view of diversity rather than by critical debate. The tendency has been to focus on practical activity and problem-solving; on the 'how?' rather than the 'why?' He draws attention to two distinctive approaches to diversity: affirmative and transformative. The former is associated with activities such as programmes on multicultural education to redress disrespect for particular groups. In essence, affirmative 'remedies' mean acknowledging, valuing, respecting and being sensitive to people's diversity. They also involve tolerance, acceptance, benevolence and compassion. A number of disadvantages are inherent in this approach, including its failure to promote equality and social justice

256 Lumby (2007) p87
257 (Cross) 2004
258 Cross (2004) p407
259 Cross (2004) p394

which may result in stigmatising disadvantaged people, highlight differentiation between groups and fail to address equality issues within the curriculum or across the university campus. The transformative approach is more radical, aiming to restructure the underlying framework and the processes that produce inequality. In the South African context this means dismantling and deconstructing old norms to 'reconstruct and transform the Eurocentric and racist curriculum to reflect the diverse nature of the academic staff and student population'.[260] Cross argues that the process of transforming underlying value systems and destabilising group identities increases self-esteem of currently disrespected groups as well as changing others' sense of self.

Leadership in schools

Writing on leadership in British schools, Osler[261] states that the new leadership discourse fails to draw on the body of work on race equality and education that has accrued since the 1970s. She notes a lack of co-operation between researchers engaged in educational leadership, an area that has traditionally enjoyed high prestige, and those working on issues of racial justice in schools. Osler argues that co-operation is vital in order for research to be useful for school leaders. Furthermore, leaders, researchers and school inspectors are required who understand the nature of structural inequalities and who have not only the skills and confidence to discuss racism but also the knowledge to implement policy and practice. Osler underlines the importance of acknowledging structural inequalities to explain unequal outcomes rather than basing leadership and research on recognitional notions of diversity that focus on individual achievement. While some leaders in Osler's study recognised the need to monitor student achievement by ethnicity and gender, others felt that a focus on the individual was sufficient:

> *Our equal opportunities approach is very much to know what the needs of every individual child are, what every individual child should be achieving and to be tracking that. (Secondary head teacher)*[262]

In earlier publications, Osler also highlighted contrasting approaches to equality. One head teacher appeared to take what Cross[263] might define as an affirmative approach, conceiving of anti-racist practice in terms of valuing and respecting difference:

> *being very supportive when students want to have an Eid party or, you know, when groups of students want to do something very much, making sure that they are respected and valued for doing it … you give that leadership and then that should percolate down.*[264]

Evidence from discussions with black head teachers and senior managers underlined their commitment to race equality based on life experiences. Osler uncovered a blurring of boundaries between the leaders' professional and community responsibilities and observes that her respondents were extending their citizenship into their professional lives, as a local education authority adviser put it:

> *As the LEA erodes, how are you going to actually effect change? And I think the answer is, encourage more black people to put themselves forward on governing bodies. Address meetings and encourage them to be involved. Advise parents on what questions to ask. I'm a resource, anyone in the community knows that they can ask advice.*[265]

In conclusion, Osler states that leadership for diversity within a multicultural democracy requires leaders to address inequalities including racism that serve as barriers to participation and are antidemocratic.

Also on the theme of school leadership, Leo and Barton[266] looked at how senior leadership may affect ways in which inclusion is conceptualised and practised in the school setting. They draw attention to the introduction in schools of decision-making based on free-market ideology with its emphasis, as in higher education, on competition, performance and standards. Leo and Barton explore the notion of 'leadership for inclusion' via a six-year longitudinal study in an urban secondary school with an increasing intake of disadvantaged students, including those with statements of special educational needs. The researchers found that senior leaders were well-informed and had a critical perspective on the possibility that their students could be socially excluded. They constantly questioned the standards agenda and encouraged debate within the school on learning and learners through organising workshops, seminars and professional learning activities. This strategy was harnessed to achieve the school's goals of inclusion and excellence and contrasted with a perception for some schools that the two agendas stood in opposition to one another. Pedagogic practices were developed by senior leaders and teachers over the period of the study and leaders constantly reviewed practices and assumptions around diversity and inclusion. Leo and Barton conclude that leadership has to be conceptualised in the context in which it happens. They argue that this study is evidence of the multidimensional

260 Cross (2004) p402
261 Osler (2006)
262 Osler (2000) p133
263 Cross (2004)
264 Osler (2000) p133
265 Osler (1997) p134
266 Leo and Barton (2006)

nature of leadership and that it cannot be compartmentalised in terms of whether it is 'distributed', 'moral' or reflective of other models of leadership. Fundamental to leadership in this school, however, was an approach based on the moral values of social inclusion.

Privilege and power

Another approach is via a critique of the concept of 'privilege'. Analyses of what constitutes privilege have been undertaken for some time in relation to antiracism and gender.[267] Choules argues that bringing the notion of privilege into discussions of social justice affords a change of focus. She identifies two approaches to social justice: charity and justice/human rights. The former refers to social initiatives supported by the powerful and achieved through appealing to their moral goodness. The negative consequences of charity may be dependency, loss of dignity and powerlessness. Over the last century the human rights framework has come to the fore, moving notions of social justice on from 'the choice and benevolence of the powerful'.[268] This approach, she argues, stresses the equality of all human beings but leaves those in positions of power unexamined. This has resonance with the view that research on higher education tends to be gendered, with very little attempt to problematise men and masculinities.[269] Choules posits that bringing in the notion of privilege develops the discourse of social justice to incorporate an analysis of power:

> *The discourse of privilege places under the spotlight those of us who occupy the positions of power on any social justice issue and interrogates the systems and structures that operate to maintain the privileged position.*[270]

The three discourses – charity, human rights and privilege – according to Choules have different implications for those in positions of power. Characteristics that attract privilege include being non-disabled, affluent, educated and heterosexual. Choules posits that a major feature of privilege is that it is unearned, an accident of birth. Furthermore, privilege may be ignored or disclaimed by those who have it. Dominance is accorded to the privileged and with this comes the ability to 'have one's views seen as correct and immutable, as well as the ability to disregard the rights of others. It is the invisible flipside of oppression and its existence implicates all those who occupy privileged positions in the oppressive dynamic.'[271] Fear and anger may be engendered in those with privilege when it is challenged and may account for emotional reactions to affirmative action strategies. Analysis of privilege is helpful to educators, in Choules' view, by making transparent unearned advantages and dominance. This is, however, no easy task given the invisibility of privilege.

Higher education leaders' views

Studies examining diversity in UK higher education leadership are sparse. However, some research has highlighted leaders' views of the equality agenda and accounts of various intervention strategies have been published. Deem and Morley's[272] study of staff perceptions of equality and diversity issues in six case study institutions in the UK found that due to pressures from funding bodies and legislative requirements all had to a certain extent developed equality policies and strategies. There was a common view that equality was higher on the agenda for students than it was for staff. The managers interviewed for this study tended to emphasise the celebratory aspects of diversity within an organisational context. The responses fell into three main groups, the first being the belief that key changes had already occurred, the second that little change was needed and a third that was more imaginative but not particularly radical. One senior manager was of the view that equality was no longer an issue:

> *I don't think we're particularly non-equitable at the moment … I'm not aware of huge inequalities or huge biases against particular students or groups of staff or students. (Senior administrator)*[273]

The majority of staff did feel that some change was necessary in terms of the demographic constituency of staff and students. Diversification was seen to be a good in its own right, with no mention of tackling structural inequalities:

> *If we're going to be … improving our research … we need to have a greater cultural diversity, we need to have our female colleagues … at high level. (Male VC)*[274]

> *If there were more black senior managers, if there were more female vice-chancellors, if there were more 'out' gay administrators … (Male senior administrator)*[275]

The third group of responses, in line with Cross's discussion of the affirmative approach mentioned above, focused on the creation of a tolerant, caring climate that treated everybody 'equally' regardless of sexual orientation, religion or gender. More creative approaches were expressed, but these did not appear to connect with notions of social justice and redistribution:

267 Choules (2006)
268 Choules (2006) p282
269 Morley (2002)
270 Choules (2006) p283
271 Choules (2006) pp283-4
272 Deem and Morley 2006
273 Deem and Morley (2006) p196
274 Deem and Morley (2006) p196
275 Deem and Morley (2006) p196

I think a lot of it may be virtual. Because in a virtual community, unless you have a name which indicates you know, male, female, ethnic background or whatever. then you can be who you are, and not who other people may perceive you to be. The filters aren't there, So I think that's going to be an exciting place to be.[276]

Leadership initiatives in higher education

In terms of intervention within individual institutions, two recent case studies are 'Cultural Understanding in Leadership and Management'[277] and 'Embedding equality and diversity in the university'.[278] The first, at Bradford University, aimed to establish a diversity learning partnership designed to increase the pool from which the University's leaders and managers could be drawn. The project's main activity was to pair senior white leaders or managers within the University with black and minority ethnic academic and academic-related staff. The expected outcomes included: the establishment of effective learning relationships within the pairs; raised awareness amongst the managers of the experiences and perceptions of black and minority ethnic staff; and improved understanding of management with opportunities to influence it; and finally, black and minority ethnic staff developing and implementing career plans to increase their suitability and likelihood of gaining senior management positions. In addition to the learning partnerships, Archibong and Burford state that the key impact of the learning partnership for black and minority ethnic staff was one-to-one access to senior managers and the opportunity to explore business, policy and political agendas of the University. White participants gained increased awareness of the issues facing black and minority ethnic colleagues and for some their own practices were challenged or validated.

Archibong and Burford highlight the need for leaders who are 'not only au fait with the current circumstances but who understand each other and the community that they serve in a deeper, more personal and experiential way'.[279] Leaders in this way will be more creative in responding to future scenarios in a collaborative way through greater knowledge and reduction of fear.

Rees and Young adopted a 'mainstreaming' approach alongside a human resource management approach to explore and develop strategies to embed equality and diversity within all the policies and practices of Cardiff University. Rees has developed the notion of mainstreaming elsewhere.[280] This has much in common with Cross's notion of transformative remedies, in that both recognise the systemic nature of inequality. Rees notes feminists' change of focus from equality and equal treatment to recognising the androcentricity of institutions and their superstructures. In Rees' view the task is:

… to challenge and change the male-streamism of organisations, illuminating how employers are not gender-neutral but, for example, privilege criteria for promotion (such as longevity of service and unbroken careers) which automatically and systematically favour one gender rather than the other.[281]

Rees states that mainstreaming is a long-term strategy involving placing women's needs at the centre of policy development and programme design through changing organisational cultures and institutions. Rees and Young draw attention to a number of contextual factors including the merger of the University in 2004 with the University of Wales College of Medicine, the internationalisation of the staff and student bodies, rapid developments in equality law and the introduction of the Government of Wales Act 1998 that required the National Assembly for Wales to pay due regard to equal opportunities for all. The merger, along with the National Framework Agreement on pay and conditions, prompted a greater emphasis on a mainstreaming approach. The project team consisted of the pro-vice-chancellor (staff and students) (Teresa Rees) and the equality and diversity manager (Hannah Young). Objectives were to gather baseline data, to identify elements of existing good practice that could be replicated and to develop various strategies to deliver equality and diversity across the institution. A number of structural changes took place over the course of the project including:

- A revamp of the equality and diversity committee chaired by the pro-vice-chancellor and attended by the vice-chancellor.
- Formulating a new equality and diversity policy with an emphasis on promoting equality and diversity in the institution.
- The establishment of an equality and diversity support team made up of deputy directors of the University's administrative directorates.
- The creation of an equality and diversity manager post where previously neither institution had employed one.

Focus groups conducted during the project identified a number of priorities for improvement including better communication, harmonisation and leadership. A number of schools and directorates emphasised the need for a strategic approach across the University, clear guidance, training and awareness and integration through committee structures.

276 Deem and Morley (2006) p197
277 Archibong and Burford (2007)
278 Rees and Young (2007)
279 Archibong and Burford (2007) p99
280 Rees (1998)
281 Rees (1998) pp40-41

Through the various activities of the project, Rees and Young[282] conclude that significant progress was made including gaining a better understanding of organisational structures, mapping good practice, increasing the capacity to promote equality and starting to undertake impact assessment. Enthusiasm was also generated through the establishment of a number of networks including a sexual orientation working group.

Equality and diversity specialists' views

In a key report on the role of equality specialists in UK higher education,[283] the specialists were asked what should be done to embed equality and diversity in their institutions. Some of the desirable outcomes reflected those of the Cardiff project including:

- Visible leadership from the head of institution and senior management.
- Provision of adequate financial and staffing resources.
- Inclusion of equality and diversity considerations in institutional, strategic and business plans.
- Mandatory training for all staff.
- Mainstream equality and diversity throughout the institution.

It was apparent from the responses that top-level support and resources may be inadequate, as these comments suggest:

> *No real commitment from the top. Promotion of values and policies, therefore come from a different level within the organization. No training is mandatory and difficult to engage staff who really need it.*[284]

> *Resources are sadly lacking. The support I have from the top allows me to communicate the message. My concern is that our practices can be inconsistent. Things are changing for the better but dedicated resources would help to embed culture more effectively.*[285]

A strong case is put forward in the report for the work of equality specialists to be integrated into institutional strategy and senior management, through the concurrent development of the equality and diversity strategy alongside the overall strategic plan. Moreover, targets should be set that align with the overall strategy, with these measured and reported on annually.

Successful leadership

In terms of leadership itself, Kezar[286] also notes the lack of studies dealing with the challenges leaders face in the area of diversity, which in some institutions may still be controversial. In her view, presidents[287] of US universities have an important role to play in this area, because other leaders do not have the authority that is critical to institutionalisation. Presidents for example, can help to create institutional commitment to diversity by linking the diversity agenda to the overall mission of the institution. Echoing the findings of the report of the Higher Education Equal Opportunities Network (HEEON), Kezar suggests that presidents can relate diversity to the overall institutional mission and can include it in strategic planning and budgeting. They can obtain support from the board, improve dialogue across the campus and establish commissions and committees. They may also be involved in curricular transformation, evaluating strategic goals and improving accountability. Kezar points out that higher education is becoming increasingly political, with many different interest groups defending their power and resources. Groups include academics, students and administrators, each with their own subcultures, value systems, goals and purposes. Other contextual factors relevant to the UK situation are increasing corporatisation and commercialisation, the rise of managerialism and an increasing divide between part-time and short-term contract staff and those on permanent contracts.

Kezar's study involved interviewing 27 college presidents, 50% of whom were non-white, a notable contrast with the ethnic composition of UK vice-chancellors. One third were women. Data are not provided on both the gender and ethnic identities of the presidents. Criteria used to select them included that they were known widely for having been successful in advancing the diversity agenda, that they represented different types of institution, for example urban, rural and suburban, and that they had a reputation for reflective leadership. Objective criteria included:

- A change in the mission of the university to include diversity.
- A strategic plan that focused on diversity.
- Increasing the funding for diversity-related activities.
- Recruiting staff to support diversity.

Kezar identifies six main strategies employed by presidents to move the diversity agenda forward, including developing coalitions and advocates; taking the 'political pulse' regularly; anticipating resistance; using data to neutralise politics and rationalise the process; creating public relations campaigns and showcasing success; and capitalising on controversy for learning and to unearth interest groups. The most common

282 Rees and Young (2007)
283 Higher Education Equal Opportunities Network/ECU (2007)
284 Higher Education Equal Opportunities Network/ECU (2007) p20
285 Higher Education Equal Opportunities Network/ECU (2007) p20
286 Kezar (2008)
287 The term president'in US universities is equivalent to vice-chancellor'in the UK.

political issue that presidents faced was resistance from dominant groups to diversity initiatives. This did not always arise at the beginning of an initiative but emerged as backlash when an underrepresented group had achieved success. In addition to the approaches already mentioned, several presidents had developed strategies for their own 'survival' including keeping focused on the main goals of the institution and having a network outside it. Kezar concludes that making visible the politics relating to diversity enables presidents to negotiate them and make it more possible for advocates of diversity to 'move their causes forward'.[288]

In an important document from The Prime Minster's Strategy Unit entitled 'Improving the Life Chances of Disabled People',[289] in a section dealing with the implementation of best practice in policy-making, service design and delivery fundamentally important changes are outlined and include:[290]

- Disabled people should be at the heart of how relevant public services are designed and delivered.
- Services for disabled people should be personalised to reflect the range of needs of individual disabled people.
- Service providers should be held to account by disabled people wherever possible. Disabled people should also be involved in the design and planning of services – but should maintain the ability to provide strong critical challenge.
- Disabled people should have increased choice regarding the services and benefits they receive, with specific support available to achieve informed choice.

Whilst the focus of these considerations is not directed specifically at higher education, they nevertheless provide a fundamental challenge with regard to how disabled staff and students are engaged with.

Summary

Research directly exploring higher education leaders' views of diversity indicates that some do not perceive there to be a problem. Others tend to place emphasis on increasing the numerical representation of marginalised groups. The need for critical debate in this area, as well as practical engagement, has been emphasised. In the UK context there is a sense of urgency. Jacobs et al[291] highlight the institutional disadvantage of ethnic minority staff and students and at the same time a parallel growth of interest in the pedagogy of 'race' and ethnicity, partly for the aforementioned reasons but also in the light of a number of factors including the more general perception that Britain is now a multicultural society and the increasing profile of teaching in areas such as race/ethnicity, colonialism/postcolonialism and migration.

Conceptualisations of diversity include the notion of diversity as a civic or moral value integrated at the highest levels within organisations. A transformative perspective questions both the underlying institutional structures and the curriculum. The importance of the latter is underlined by Kelly Coate: 'To study the curriculum, as Bernstein argues, is to begin to understand what it is possible to think and who can think it.'[292] The deconstruction of the notion of privilege affords another viewpoint; within discussions of gender and class for instance, the focus is frequently on the less powerful within the binaries male/female and middle-class/working-class. An examination of the nature of privilege has the potential to render the powerful more visible.

Several case studies tackling equality issues from the leadership perspective have been described. The first involved building understanding and relationships across cultural difference with the aim of achieving more equitable promotions into senior management. The second, drawing on the principles of mainstreaming, aimed to integrate equality and diversity into institutional structures at all levels. The importance of embedding equality and diversity has been underlined by equality specialists along with the need for this work to be properly resourced. The importance of acknowledging the political nature of leading on diversity and finding ways to overcome issues such as resistance were emphasised. In light of Coate's view that 'The social construction of academic knowledge involves a complex interplay between politics, knowledge, power relations and the structure of the higher education system'[293] it would seem imperative for higher education leaders to be fully engaged in this agenda.

Drawing on the findings from this section, key tasks for leaders are to:

- Ensure that there is visible leadership on diversity from the head of institution and senior management.
- Ensure that strategic and corporate plans incorporate diversity considerations.
- Develop advocates and strengthen networks to take the diversity agenda forward.
- Engage effectively with underrepresented or marginalised groups so that any initiatives accurately reflect their needs.
- Ensure that the diversity agenda is properly resourced in terms of funding and staffing.
- Ensure that there are good systems of data collection in place so that diversity initiatives are supported by empirical evidence.
- Support initiatives that showcase success.

288 Kezar (2008) p437
289 Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2004)
290 Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2004) p25
291 Jacobs et al (2006)
292 Coate (2006) p407
293 Coate (2006) p407

8. Conclusion

This report draws together recent literature on diversity in leadership, particularly as it relates to higher education. In terms of the original objectives of the project, the data analytical part was restricted owing to the lack of demographic data on leaders and managers in the sector. The notable exception is the VC database used to underpin Breakwell and Tytherleigh's study.[294] Nevertheless, a number of research reports have been helpful in providing cross-sectional data on aspects of equality, notably race and gender.

The second objective was to pull together the literature on leadership and diversity in higher education. The focus of this review has been driven largely by the existing literature, therefore cannot lay claim to being inclusive. Overall, the research found that both theoretical and empirical work in the area of diversity in higher education leadership is limited, although various findings have emerged as a result of broader studies of equality in higher education. This contrasts with detailed studies of leadership and diversity that have been carried out in the further education and schools sectors. Much of the literature focuses on gender and race but although limited in terms quantity, other forms of discrimination are considered including on the basis of disability, sexual orientation, religion or belief and age.[295] Other themes concern the impact of multiple identities/intersectionality and inequalities based on class.

A number of themes emerged that have implications for leaders, managers, stakeholders and academics in the sector. These can be grouped into three overarching themes: theoretical issues; empirical findings from the broader literature on paid work and education; and issues relating to equality in higher education.

Theoretical concerns include:

- Developing critiques of organisational and leadership theory that traditionally conceive of both as being value-free. Researchers have examined ways in which aspects of identity, such as gender and race, are suppressed in dominant approaches.
- The importance of paying attention to intersectionality in organisational theory and data-gathering and examining ways in which different identities may challenge or disrupt existing power relations.
- Contested definitions of diversity, including approaches that are affirmative or transformative and those that are recognitional or redistributive. Writers highlight the need for critical reflection on notions of diversity alongside practical interventions.
- The relationship between the developing managerialist and performative context of higher education and embedding or challenging equality and diversity.

Key empirical findings were that:

- 'Inequality regimes' persist in organisations with hierarchical segregation evident in terms of the effects of class, race, gender, sexual orientation and disability. Inequalities are particularly marked at leadership level even in areas of work where minority groups are well represented at the lower levels. Leaders dealing with these issues need to encourage zero-tolerance to all forms of discrimination and exclusion within an institution.
- 'Typical' leadership embodies stereotypical masculinity both in behavioural terms and with regard to career patterns. 'Atypical' individuals in leadership roles are under pressure to conform to dominant norms.
- The focus of diversity work over the last two decades has been on managing diversity at the individual level, placing value on tolerance, respect and compassion and being sensitive to people's differences. Attempts to bring about structural change, aimed at tackling the root causes of institutional discrimination, are now less prominent. According to many researchers, true change can only come about through deconstructing and transforming old norms.

Turning to leadership, equality and higher education, major themes are that:

- Higher education institutions may be perceived as rational, depersonalised and bureaucratic. However, stereotypical understandings of different social groups persist.
- As a result of demographic changes in the staff and student body, it might appear that things are now 'more equal'. However, the range of data presented indicates that in many areas this is not the case.
- Political trends, in particular the rise of neoliberalism, have had a major impact on higher education across the globe resulting in what has been termed 'academic capitalism' with its emphasis on profitability and a business orientation. This can have negative consequences for equality.

294 Breakwell and Tytherleigh (2008)

295 In a survey of diversity officers in UK organisations, Özbilgin and Tatli found that the three legally protected categories of gender, race and disability were most frequently incorporated into the organisations'diversity policies. These were followed by religion, sexual orientation, nationality, age, marital status, parental status, criminal convictions, trade union membership, all forms of difference, socio-economic group, mental health, physical appearance, political ideology, weight, postcode and accent! (Özbilgin and Tatli 2008).

- Scholarship has contributed much to theorising academic production from the points of view of disabled people and non-anglophone researchers, amongst others. However, this work may be marginalised through a number of processes including the way in which journals are ranked and the continuing use of traditional research methodologies.
- Leaders in higher education may not perceive diversity as a problem within their institutions, yet much research in this area stresses the crucial importance of leadership in moving this agenda forward.
- As well as committed leadership, effective diversity strategies require appropriate structures and resources. Leaders known for their success in diversity-related initiatives have developed a number of strategies to overcome resistance, including using information, showcasing success and developing alliances and advocates.
- The 'business case' for equality that justifies equality policies on the basis that they benefit the business or organisation may be fragile, narrow and only beneficial in the short term. More sustainable change is only likely to come about by recognising and addressing social inequalities.

9. References

Acker, J. (2006) Inequality Regimes: Gender, Class, and Race in Organizations. *Gender and Society* 20: 441-464.

Archibong, U and Burford, B. (2007) The cultural understanding in leadership and management (CULM) project: phase 1. In Marshall, S. (ed.) *Strategic Leadership of Change in Higher Education: What's new?* Oxford, Routledge.

AUT (2001) *Lesbian, Gay and Bisexual Participation in UK Universities*. Results from a pilot study, November 2001. London, Association of University Teachers.

Bagilhole, B. and Woodward, H. (1995) An Occupational Hazard Warning: academic life can seriously damage your health. An investigation of sexual harassment of women academics in a UK university. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 16: 37-51.

Ball, S. (2001) Globaalit toimintaperiaatteet ja kansalliset politiikat eurooppalaisessa koulutuksessa [Global policies and vernacular politics in European education]. In Jauhiainen, A., Rinne, R. and Tähtinen J. (eds.) *Koulutuspolitiikka Suomessa ja ylikansalliset mallit [Educational Policy in Finland and Global Models]*. Turku, Suomen kasvatustieteellinen seura.

Barnes, C. (2003) Rehabilitation for Disabled People: a 'sick' joke? Downloaded on 15 May 2009 at http://www.leeds.ac.uk/disability-studies.

Barnes,C. (2007) Disability, higher education and the inclusive society. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 28: 135-145.

Barnes, C. and Mercer, G. (2005) Disability, work, and welfare: challenging the social exclusion of disabled people. *Work, Employment and Society* 19: 527-545.

Bass, B.M. (1985) *Leadership and Performance Beyond Expectations*. New York, Free Press.

Bass, B.M. (1999) Two Decades of Research and Development in Transformational Leadership. *European Journal of Work and Organizational Psychology* 8: 9-32.

Bass, B.M., Jung, D.I., Avolio, B.J. and Berson, Y. (2003) Predicting Unit Performance by Assessing Transformational and Transactional Leadership. *Journal of Applied Psychology* 88: 207-218.

Bebbington, D. (2002) Women in Science, Engineering and Technology: A Review of the Issues. *Higher Education Quarterly* 56: 360-375.

Beckett, A. E. (2009) Challenging disabilist attitudes, building an inclusive society: considering the role of education in encouraging non-disabled children to develop positive attitudes towards disabled people. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* (forthcoming).

Begley, P. (2003) In Pursuit of Authentic School Leadership Practices. In Begley, P. and Johansson, O. (eds.) *The Ethical Dimensions of School Leadership*. London, Kluwer Academic.

Berggren, C. (2008) Horizontal and Vertical Differentiation within Higher Education – Gender and Class Perspectives. *Higher Education Quarterly* 62: 20-39.

Blackmore, J. (2002) Globalisation and the Restructuring of Higher Education for New Knowledge Economies: New Dangers or Old Habits Troubling Gender Equity Work in Universities? *Higher Education Quarterly* 56: 419-441.

Bolden, R., Petrov, G. and Gosling, J. (2008a) *Developing Collective Leadership in Higher Education*. Final Report. London, Leadership Foundation for Higher Education.

Bolden, R., Petrov, G. and Gosling, J. (2008b) Tensions in Higher Education Leadership: Towards a Multi-Level Model of Leadership Practice. *Higher Education Quarterly* 62: 358-376.

Bolt, D. (2004) Disability and the Rhetoric of Inclusive Education. *Journal of Further and Higher education* 28: 353-358.

Bourdieu, P. (1998) *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Bown, L. (1999) Beyond the Degree: men and women at the decision-making levels in British higher education. *Gender and Education* 11: 5-25.

Breakwell, G. and Tytherleigh, M.Y. (2008) *The Characteristics, Roles and Selection of Vice-Chancellors*. Summary Report. London, Leadership Foundation for Higher Education.

Brennan, J. and Naidoo, R. (2008) Higher education and the achievement (and/or prevention) of equity and social justice. *Higher Education* 56: 287-302.

Brewis, J. (1999) How does it feel? Women managers, embodiment and changing public-sector cultures. In Whitehead, S and Moodley, R. (eds.) *Transforming Managers: Gendering Change in the Public Sector*. London, UCL Press Ltd.

Broecke, S. and Nicolls, T. (2007). *Ethnicity and Degree Attainment*, Department for Education and Skills Research Report RW92. London, DfES.

Brown, L. (2004) Diversity: the challenge for higher education. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 7: 21-34.

Brunner, C. (2002) Professing Educational leadership: Conceptions of Power. *Journal of School Leadership* 12: 693-720.

Bryman, A. (2007) *Effective Leadership in Higher Education*. Summary of findings. London, Leadership Foundation for Higher Education.

Burchardt, T. (2000) *Enduring Economic Exclusion: Disabled People, Income and Work*. York, Joseph Rowntree Foundation.

Burrell, G. and Hearn, J. (1989) The Sexuality of Organization. In Hearn, J., Sheppard, D.L., Tancred-Sheriff, P. and Burrell, G. (eds.) *The Sexuality of Organization*. London, Sage.

Cabrito, B. (2004) Higher education: an education for elites? The Portuguese case. *Higher Education in Europe* 29: 33-45.

Carter, J., Fenton, S. and Modood, T. (1999) *Ethnicity and Employment in Higher Education*. London, Policy Studies Institute.

Carvel, J. and Gentleman, A. (2009) Cold shouldered. *Guardian, 14 January*. Downloaded on 12 June 2009 at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/society/2009/jan/14/nhs-equality-health-public-sector-careers

Chesterman, C., Ross-Smith, A. and Peters, M. (2005) 'Not doable jobs!' Exploring senior women's attitudes to academic leadership roles. *Women's Studies International Forum* 28: 163-180.

Choules, K. (2006) Globally privileged citizenship. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 9: 275-293.

Coate, K. (2006) Imagining women in the curriculum: the transgressive impossibility of women's studies. *Studies in Higher Education* 31: 407-421.

Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) *Challenging racism: further education leading the way*. The full report of the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education. London, Association of Colleges.

Crenshaw, K., Gotander, N., Peller, G. and Thomas, K. (eds.) (1995) *Critical Race Theory: The Key Writings that Formed the Movement*. New York, New Press.

Cross, M. (2004) Institutionalising campus diversity in South African higher education: Review of diversity scholarship and diversity education. *Higher Education* 47: 387-410.

Danieli, A. and Wheeler, P. (2006) Employment policy and disabled people: old wine in new glasses? *Disability and Society* 21: 485-498.

Davies, C. (1995) *Gender and the Professional Predicament in Nursing*. Buckingham, Open University Press.

Dedoussis, E.V. (2007) Issues of diversity in academia: through the eyes of 'third-country' faculty. *Higher Education* 54: 135-156.

Deem, R. (2003) Gender, Organizational Cultures and the Practices of Manager-Academics in UK Universities. *Gender, work and organization* 10: 239-259.

Deem, R. and Brehony, K. (2005) Management as ideology: the case of 'new managerialism' in higher education. *Oxford Review of Education* 31: 217-235.

Deem, R., Morley, L. and Tlili, A. (2005) *Negotiating equity in higher education institutions*. Project 3. Report to HEFCE, SHEFC, HEFCW. Bristol, HEFCE.

Deem, R. and Morley, L. (2006) Diversity in the Academy? Staff Perceptions of Equality Policies in Six Contemporary Higher Education Institutions. *Policy Futures in Education* 4: 185-202.

Disability Rights Commission (2006) *Statistics: Representation of disabled people in senior positions*. Downloaded on 31 March 2009 at: http://83.137.212.42/sitearchive/drc/about_us/leadership_strategy/evidence/statistics_representation_of.html

Diversity Practice (2007) *Different women different places*. London, The Diversity Practice.

Epstein, D. (1995) In Our (New) Right Minds: The Hidden Curriculum and the Academy. In Morley, L., and Walsh, V. (eds.) *Feminist Academics Creative Agents for Change*. London, Taylor and Francis.

Equal Opportunities Commission/Wales Women's National Coalition (2006) Who Runs Wales? Downloaded on 27 February 2009 at: http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/Documents/EOC/PDF/Policy/who%20runs%20wales%202006.pdf.

Equal Opportunities Commission (2007) Moving on up? Bangladeshi, Pakistani and Black Caribbean Women and Work. Downloaded on 31 March 2009 at: http://www.equalityhumanrights.com/Documents/Gender/Employment/Moving%20on%20up%20investigation%20-%20key%20statistics.pdf

Equalities Review (2007) *Fairness and Freedom: The Final Report of the Equalities Review.* London, The Equalities Review.

Equality Challenge Unit (2008) *Mapping Equality Data in the Higher Education Sector.* London, ECU.

Equality Challenge Unit (2009a) Briefing April 2009 Equality Bill. Downloaded on 10 June 2009 at: http://www.ecu.ac.uk/publications/equality-bill-briefing-04-09/?searchterm=equality%20bill.

Equality Challenge Unit (2009b) *The experience of lesbian, gay, bisexual and trans staff and students in higher education.* London, Equality Challenge Unit.

Erikson (1963) *Childhood and society.* New York, W.W. Norton and Co.

Etzkowitz, H., Kemelgor, C., Neuschatz, M., Uzzi, B. and Alonzo, J. (1994) The paradox of critical mass for women in science. *Science* 266: 51-54.

Fanshawe, S. (2008) *Sophisticated narratives: equality and the role of governing bodies in Evidence for Equality. The future of equality in higher education*. London, Equality Challenge Unit.

Fletcher, C. (2007) Passing the buck: gender and management of research production in UK Higher Education. *Equal opportunities international.* 26: 269-286.

Foster-Fishman, P., Jimenez, T., Valenti, M. and Kelly, T. (2007) Building the next generation of leaders in the disabilities movement *Disability and Society* 22: 341-356.

Gibbs, G., Knapper, C. and Piccinin, S. (2008) Disciplinary and Contextually Appropriate Approaches to Leadership of Teaching in Research-Intensive Academic Departments in Higher Education. *Higher Education Quarterly* 62: 416-436.

Glover, J. (2000) *Women and Scientific Employment.* London, Macmillan Press Ltd and New York, St Martin's Press Inc.

Glover, J. and Kirton, G. (2006) *Women, Employment and Organizations.* Abingdon, Routledge.

Heath, A. and Cheung, S.Y. (2006) *Ethnic penalties in the labour market: Employers and discrimination.* Department for Work and Pensions Research Report No.341. London, Department of Work and Pensions.

Hevey, D. (1992) *The Creatures Time Forgot: Photography and Disability Imagery*. London, Routledge.

Higher Education Academy/Equality Challenge Unit (2008) *Ethnicity, Gender and Degree Attainment Project. Final Report*. York, Higher Education Academy.

Higher Education Equal Opportunities Network/ECU (2007) *The Role of the Equality Specialist in Higher Education Institutions*. London, Equality Challenge Unit.

Higher Education Statistics Agency (2008) Press release 118. HESA data shows increase in proportion of female professors. Downloaded on 31 March 2009 at: http://www.hesa.ac.uk/index.php/content/view/1120/161/

Hines, R. (1992) Accounting: filling the negative space. *Accounting, Organisations and Society* 17: 314-41.

Housee, S. (2006) It's not 'cos I'm black or brown or female: but 'cos I know the stuff of 'race' and racism. In Jacobs, S. (ed.) *Pedagogies of Teaching 'Race' and Ethnicity in Higher Education: British and European experiences.* C-SAP Monograph Series No. 7. Birmingham, C-SAP

Lannello, K. (1992) *Decisions without hierarchy: Feminist Interventions in Organization Theory and Practice.* New York, Routledge.

Jacobs, S., Gabriel, J., Housee, S. and Ramadani, S. (2006). The Teaching of 'Race' and Ethnicity in UK Higher Education: findings of the *Pedagogies* Project. In Jacobs, S. (ed.) *Pedagogies of Teaching 'Race' and Ethnicity in Higher Education: British and European experiences* C-SAP Monograph Series No. 7. Birmingham, C-SAP

Jacobs, S. and Tate, S. (2006) Susie Jacobs and Shirley Tate in Conversation. In Jacobs, S. (ed.) *Pedagogies of Teaching 'Race' and Ethnicity in Higher Education: British and European experiences* C-SAP Monograph Series No. 7. Birmingham, C-SAP

Johnson-Bailey, J. (2004) Hitting and climbing the proverbial wall: participation and retention issues for Black graduate women. *Race Ethnicity and Education* 7: 331-349.

Jones, C. (2006) Falling between the Cracks: what diversity means for black women in higher education. *Policy Futures in Education* 4: 145-159.

Judge, E. (2003) Women on the board: Help or hindrance? *The Times, 11 November:* 21.

Kanter, R.M. (1977) *Men and Women of the Corporation.* New York, Basic Books.

Kezar, A. (2008) Understanding Leadership Strategies for Addressing the Politics of Diversity. *Journal of higher education* 79: 406-441.

Kivinen, O. and Nurmi, J. (2003) Unifying Higher Education for Different Kinds of Europeans. Higher education and work: a comparison of ten countries. *Comparative Education* 39: 83-103.

Koopman-Boyden, P.G. and Macdonald, L. (2003) Ageing, Work Performance and Managing Ageing Academics. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management* 25: 29-40.

Lee, J.J. and Rice, C. (2007) Welcome to America? International student perceptions of discrimination. *Higher Education* 53: 381-409.

Leo, E. and Barton, L. (2006) Inclusion, Diversity and Leadership: Perspectives, Possibilities and Contradictions. *Educational Management Administration and Leadership* 34: 167-179.

London Equalities Commission (2007) *The State of Equality in London*. London, Greater London Authority.

Lumby, J., Harris, A., Morrison, M., Muijs, D., Sood, K., Glover, D., Wilson, M. with Briggs, A.R.J. and Middlewood, D. (2000) *Leadership, development and diversity in the learning and skills sector*. London, Learning and Skills Development Agency.

Lumby, J. with Coleman, M. (2007) *Leadership and Diversity: Challenging Theory and Practice in Education.* London, Sage Publications.

Lynch, K. (2006) Neo-liberalism and Marketisation: the implications for higher education. *European Educational Research Journal* 5: 1-17.

Mabokela, R.O. and Seggie, F.N. (2008) Mini skirts and headscarves: undergraduate student perceptions of secularism in Turkish Higher Education. *Higher Education* 55: 155-170.

Macpherson, W. (1999) *The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry: Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson.* London, Stationery Office.

Mahony, P. and Zmroczek, C. (eds.) (1997) *Class Matters 'Working-Class' Women's Perspectives on Social Class.* London, Taylor and Francis.

Manfredi, S. (2008) *Developing Good Practice in Managing Age Diversity in the Higher Education Sector: An Evidence-Based Approach*. Oxford, Centre for Diversity Policy Research and Practice.

McCarthy, H. (2003) The disability rights movement: experiences and perspectives of selected leaders in the disability community. *Rehabilitation Counseling Bulletin* 46: 209-224.

McTavish, D. and Miller, K. (2007) *Gender Balance in Management: Higher and Further Education Sectors Scotland.* Glasgow Caledonian University, The Centre for Public Policy and Management. Downloaded on 31 March 2009 at: http://www.lfhe.ac.uk/research/projects/gcgender.doc

Meriläinen, S., Tienari, J., Thomas, R. and Davies, A. (2008) Hegemonic Academic Practices: Experiences of Publishing from the Periphery. *Organization* 15: 584-597.

Middlehurst, R. (2004) Changing internal governance: a discussion of leadership roles and management structures in UK universities. *Higher Education Quarterly* 58: 258-279.

Middlehurst, R. (2008) Not Enough Science or Not Enough Learning? Exploring the Gaps between Leadership Theory and Practice. *Higher Education Quarterly* 62: 322-339.

Mills, A.J. (1988) Organization, Gender and Culture. *Organization Studies* 9: 351-369.

Mirza, H.S. (2006a) 'Race', gender and educational desire. *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 9: 137-158.

Mirza, H.S. (2006b) Transcendence over Diversity: black women in the academy. *Policy Futures in Education* 4: 101-113.

Mishel, L., Bernstein, J. and Boushey, H. (2003) *The state of working America 2002/2003.* Ithaca, New York, Cornell University Press.

Mitton, L. (2007) Means-tested higher education? The English university bursary mess. *Journal of further and higher education* 31: 373-383.

Modood, T. (1992) *Not Easy Being British: Colour, Culture and Citizenshi*p. Stoke-on-Trent, Runnymede Trust.

Modood, T. (2005) *Multicultural Politics: Racism, Ethnicity and Muslims in Britain*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.

Modood, T. (2007) *Multiculturalism: A Civic Idea*. Cambridge, Polity Press.

Modood, T. (2009) Personal communication.

Mok, J.K.H. and Lo, E.H.C. (2002) Marketisation and the Changing Governance in Higher Education: A Comparative Study. *Higher education management and policy* 14: 51-82.

Morley, L. (1999) *Organising Feminisms The Micropolitics of the Academy*. Basingstoke, Macmillan Press Ltd and New York, St Martin's Press Inc.

Morley, L. (2000) The Micropolitics of Gender in the Learning Society. *Higher Education in Europe* 15: 299-235.

Morley, L. (2002) Recent research on women in the academy. In Bebbington, D. (ed.) *New research on women, science and higher education*. Proceedings of the conference, Royal Institution of Great Britain, 25 September 2001. London, Athena Project.

Munduate, L. and Gravenhorst, K.M.B. (2003) Power Dynamics and Organisational Change: An Introduction. *Applied Psychology: An International Review* 52: 1-13.

Munene, I.I and Otieno, W. (2007) Changing the course: equity effects and institutional risk amid policy shift in higher education financing in Kenya. *Higher Education* 55: 461-479.

NATFHE (2002) *Discrimination on the grounds of Religion or Belief*. A NATFHE Discussion Document. London, National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education.

NIACE (2008) *From compliance to culture change. Disabled staff working in lifelong learning*. Final report, March. Leicester, National Institute of Adult Continuing Education.

Oliver, M. (1992) Changing the social relations of research production? *Disability, Handicap and Society* 7: 101-114 (Special Issue).

Osler, A. (1997) *The Education and Careers of Black teachers: changing identities, changing lives*. Buckingham, Open University Press.

Osler, A. (2000) The Crick Report: difference, equality and racial justice. *Curriculum Journal* 11: 25-37.

Osler, A. (2006) Changing Leadership in Contexts of Diversity: visibility, invisibility and democratic ideals. *Policy Futures in Education* 4: 128-144.

Ostrander, R.N. (2008) When identities collide: masculinity, disability and race. *Disability and Society* 23: 585-597.

Özbilgin, M., and Tatli, A. (2008) *Global Diversity Management: An Evidence-Based Approach*. Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan.

Özbilgin, M. (2009) From Journal Rankings to Making Sense of the World. *The Academy of Management Learning and Education* 8: 113-121.

Parker, P.S. (2005) *Race, Gender and Leadership*. New Jersey, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Pollitt, C. (2003) *The Essential Public Manager*. Maidenhead, Open University Press.

Potts, T. and Price, J. (1995) 'Out of the Blood and Spirit of Our Lives'. The Place of the Body in Academic Feminism. In Morley, L., and Walsh, V. (eds.) *Feminist Academics Creative Agents for Change*. London, Taylor and Francis.

Prime Minister's Strategy Unit (2004) *Improving the Life Chances of Disabled People. An Analytical Report*. London, Prime Minister's Strategy Unit.

Pringle, R. (1989). Bureaucracy, Rationality and Sexuality: The Case of Secretaries. In Hearn, J., Sheppard, D.L., Tancred-Sheriff, P. and Burrell, G. (eds.) *The Sexuality of Organization*. London, Sage.

Pringle, J. (2008) Gender in Management: Theorizing Gender as Heterogender. *British Journal of Management* 19: S110-S119.

Race for Opportunity (2009) *Race to the Top: The place of ethnic minority groups within the UK workforce*. Downloaded on 31 March 2009 at: **http://www.bitc.org.uk/workplace/diversity_and_inclusion/race/index.html**

Raddon, A. (2002) Mothers in the Academy: positioned and positioning within discourses of the 'successful academic' and the 'good mother'. *Studies in Higher Education* 27: 387-403.

Rassool, N. (1995) Black Women as the 'Other' in the Academy. In Morley, L., and Walsh, V. (eds.) *Feminist Academics Creative Agents for Change*. London, Taylor and Francis Ltd.

Reay, D. (2000) 'Dim Dross': Marginalised Women Both Inside and Outside the Academy. *Women's Studies International Forum* 23: 13-22.

Rees, T. (1998) *Mainstreaming Equality in the European Union: Education, Training and Labour Market Policies*. London and New York, Routledge.

Rees, T. and Young, H. (2007) Embedding equality and diversity in the university. In Marshall, S. (ed.) *Strategic Leadership of Change in Higher Education: What's new?* Oxford, Routledge.

Rhamie, J. and Hallam, S. (2002) An Investigation into African-Caribbean Academic Success in the UK. *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 5: 151-170.

Rizvi, F. (2004) Debating globalization and education after September 11. *Comparative Education* 40: 157-171.

Roets, G., Kristiansen, K., Van Hove, G. and Vanderplasschen, W. (2007) Living through exposure to toxic psychiatric orthodoxies: exploring narratives of people with 'mental health problems' who are looking for employment on the open labour market. *Disability and Society* 22: 267-281.

Roulston, A. (2009) Disabled People and the Economic Downturn. Seventh Annual Disability Lecture, 11 May 2009. St John's College, Cambridge.

Ryan, M.K. and Haslam, S.A. (2005) The Glass Cliff: Evidence that Women are Over-Represented in Precarious Leadership Positions. *British Journal of Management* 16: 81-90.

Sealy, R., Vinnicombe, S. & Singh, V. (2007) *The female FTSE report 2007*. Cranfield, Cranfield School of Management.

Shattock, M. (1995) The university of the future. *Higher Education Management* 7: 157-164.

Shavarini, M.K. (2006) The role of higher education in the life of a young Iranian woman. *Women's Studies International Forum* 29: 42-53.

Sheldon, A. (2009) Recession, radicalism and the need for recovery. *Disability and Society*. Special Issue on 'Brave New World?' Disability and the 21st Century: Challenges and Solutions (forthcoming).

Shiner, M. and Modood, T. (2002) Help or Hindrance? Higher Education and the Route to Ethnic Equality. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 23: 209-232.

Singh, V. (2002) *Managing Diversity for Strategic Advantage*. London, Council for Excellence in Management and Leadership.

Singh, V. and Vinnicombe, S. (2003) *The 2003 Female FTSE Index. Women Pass a Milestone: 101 Directorships on the FTSE 100 Boards*. Cranfield, Cranfield School of Management.

Skachkova, P. (2007) Academic careers of immigrant women professors in the U.S. *Higher Education* 53: 697-738.

Slaughter, S. and Leslie, L.L. (1997) *Academic Capitalism: Politics, Policies and the Entrepreneurial University*. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press.

Spillane, J., Halverson, R and Diamond, J. (2004) Towards a Theory of Leadership Practice: A Distributed Perspective. *Journal of Curriculum Studies* 36: 3-34.

Stone, D. and Colella, A. (1996) A model of factors affecting the treatment of disabled individuals in organizations. *Academy of Management Review* 12: 352-401.

Teachernet (DFES) (2006) *Guidance on disability in schools*. Downloaded on 15 May 2009 at:
http://www.teachernet.gov.uk/docbank/index.cfm?id=10596

Teferra, D. and Altbach, P.G. (2004) African Higher Education: Challenges for the 21st Century. *Higher Education* 47: 21-50.

Tidwell, R. (2004) The 'invisible' faculty member: The university professor with a hearing disability. *Higher Education* 47: 197-210.

Torres, C.A. (2002) The state, privatisation and educational policy: a critique of neo-liberalism in Latin America and some ethnical and political implications. *Comparative Education* 38: 365-385.

Universities UK (2005) *Promoting good campus relations: dealing with hate crimes and intolerance*. London, Universities UK.

Walker, M. (2005) Race is nowhere and race is everywhere: narratives from black and white South African university students in post-apartheid South Africa. *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 26: 41-54.

Wang, R. (2003) From elitism to mass higher education in Taiwan: The problems faced. *Higher Education* 46: 261-287.

Whitehead, S. (1999) New women, new Labour? Gendered transformations in the House. In Whitehead, S and Moodley, R. (eds.) *Transforming Managers: Gendering Change in the Public Sector*. London, UCL Press Ltd.

Wolfinger, N.H., Mason, M.A. and Goulden, M. (2002) Problems in the Pipeline: Gender, Marriage and Fertility in the Ivory Tower. *Journal of higher education* 79: 388-405.

Woodcock, K., Rohan, M.J. and Campbell, L. (2007) Equitable representation of deaf people in mainstream academia: Why not? *Higher Education* 53: 359-379.

Woodfield, S. and Kennie, T. (2008) 'Teamwork' or 'Working as a Team'? The Theory and Practice of Top Team Working in UK Higher Education. *Higher Education Quarterly* 62: 397-415.

Younge, G. (2008) The journey of generations that passed in a moment, *Guardian, 6 November*. Downloaded 23 March 2009 at: **http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2008/nov/06/uselections2008-usa**

Biography

Dr Diane Bebbington, Director, Knowledge Perspectives

Diane been working and researching in the area of equality and diversity for over fifteen years. She set up Knowledge Perspectives in 2004 and works with public and private sector organisations on equality issues. She is currently diversity advisor to the Leadership Foundation. Diane has worked on many national, European and international projects including for the Higher Education Funding Council for England, Equality Challenge Unit, the Department of Trade and Industry, the University of Cambridge, the Athena Project, Roehampton University/European Commission and the InterAcademy Council. She has a PhD in sociology from the University of London's Institute of Education and an MSc in human communication from City University.

Research and Development Series

Leadership Foundation
for Higher Education

First Floor, Holborn Gate
330 High Holborn
London
WC1V 7QT

T 020 7849 6907
F 020 7849 6901
E info@lfhe.ac.uk
www.lfhe.ac.uk