Building Leadership Capacity for Social Inclusion: Three Case Studies

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Abstract

Competing interests and power differentials pose a challenge for the social inclusion of marginalised groups in society. To address this challenge, this thesis investigates the potential contribution of leadership development across multiple levels. To this end, it adopts mixed qualitative and quantitative methods and data collected from multiple case studies of not-for-profit organisations engaged in the pursuit of social inclusion in Australia. The qualitative aspect of this study comprises 25 in-depth semi-structured interviews in two migrant settlement services agencies and 21 interviews in four congregations and denominational structures of the Uniting Church, Australia's third largest Christian denomination. It also draws on relevant organisational and Government publications and reports. The qualitative study is supplemented with an exploratory meso-level quantitative study of approaches to leadership development in Protestant churches, utilising the 2011 National Church Life Survey dataset of 2214 Protestant congregations with aggregated data from 185, 557 individual church attenders. The empirical data suggests that in not-for-profit settings, both leadership development and social inclusion involve similar individual, relational, and collective processes, and build various forms of capital that enhance power and efficacy.

This thesis addresses social inclusion and leadership development together, thereby overcoming the lack of scholarly attention to the relationship between the two. Social capital theory is used as a conceptual bridge between the two phenomena, which facilitates consideration of the multilevel dynamics and power differentials that have grown alongside the influence of neoliberalism on Australia's civil society and body politic. In addition, to enable a more holistic approach to leadership development and social inclusion, this study extends on existing understandings of leader and leadership development, phenomena which have previously been depicted in terms of human capital and social capital respectively. This 'capitals' perspective is extended to include cultural capital. This then enables attention to the development of relational leadership across multiple levels. By elaborating and applying a new conceptual framework referred to as Inclusive Relational Leadership Development (IRLD), the study explores how individual agents and organisations can collaborate to build meso-level organisational leadership capacity that can advance social inclusion.

CERTIFICATE OF ORIGINALITY

I hereby certify that this thesis is the result of my own research and that it has not, nor has any part of it, been submitted for a higher degree to any other university or institution. The sources of information used and the extent to which the work of others has been utilised, are acknowledged in the thesis. The thesis has also received the approval of the Ethics Review Committee (Human Research) at Macquarie University (Reference: 5201400677)

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This thesis is dedicated to my mum and dad.

Chapter One: Leadership Capacity and Social Inclusion

Social inclusion has been described as 'the powerful idea that the best way to help the disadvantaged is not to just provide them with a monetary safety net, but to build their capacities to participate in the mainstream economic and social life of the nation' (Nicholson, 2007a: 1). Although leadership development seems an obvious strategy for building the capacities of 'the disadvantaged', there is a dearth of scholarship that directly addresses this possibility. This thesis aims to address this gap by using a mixed methods approach that includes analysis of cases in two not-for-profit sectors.

The following research questions were developed to investigate the previously ignored relationship between leadership development and social inclusion:

1. What beliefs and practices inform leadership development within not-for-profit organisations in support of their social inclusion aims?

2. How do relationships and relational processes build social capital to develop leadership capacity?

3. What role does leader and leadership development play in building social capital to enable social inclusion?

Social inclusion is not only desirable for the sake of social justice, but also to provide opportunities for people to achieve their potential (Vinson, 2009b). Arguably, a harmonious society, along with a productive and efficient economy, requires opportunities for inclusion that enable diverse groups and individuals to participate and contribute. Hick (2012) suggests that diversity allows a greater range of creativity and capacity for specialisation, therefore the exclusion of some groups from mainstream social participation is sub-optimal. Despite a significant scholarly investment in understanding, monitoring, and developing policy for social inclusion, as well as the efforts of community service experts and governments, there is little evidence of tangible outcomes (Saunders, 2013, Saunders and Wong, 2012, Carey et al., 2015). As will be demonstrated in Chapter 2, there is a lack of consensus among scholars, practitioners, and policy makers about how social inclusion can be achieved.

There is also a lack of consensus around leadership development because the vast leadership literature has explored a wide variety of phenomena, and scholars embrace a broad set of divergent perspectives. Bennis and Nanus (1997: 19) described leadership as 'the most studied and least understood topic of any in the social sciences'. Despite the breadth of scholarly leadership research, there has been little attention given to leadership development as a way to enable social inclusion. This gap is evidenced by the failure of database searches (as recently as 11 November, 2016) in Google Scholar, Web of Science, ScienceDirect, Proquest, Informit, Expanded Academic ASAP, Brill Journals and Books online, and Web of Knowledge–Medline, to identify a single article that included the words leadership, development, social, and inclusion in the title. Topic searches for 'leadership development' and 'social inclusion' also found scant overlap. This is surprising because the extensive study of leadership and leadership development has explored many conceptual relationships (Stogdill, 1975, Bennis, 2007, Avolio et al., 2009), although Avolio did argue that leadership development has been comparatively 'under-researched' (Avolio, 2010: 722).

While there is a gap in the literature particular to social inclusion and leadership development, there has been research on peripherally related themes. For example, organisational diversity scholars have explored inclusive styles of leadership (Bernstein and Bilimoria, 2013, Daya, 2014, Cottrill et al., 2014, Dobusch, 2014, Folguera, 2014), as have scholars in educational or bureaucratic contexts (Shepherd and Hasazi, 2007, Muijs et al., 2010, Liasidou and Antoniou, 2015). Similarly, 'inclusive leadership' scholars have shown how the relational practices of building trust, enabling risk-taking and learning from failures, have been associated with higher levels of employee engagement and creativity, and firm performance (Carmeli et al., 2010, Hollander, 2012). This scholarship provides some support for the argument of this study, but does not directly address leadership development or address the macro-social shifts necessary to enable social inclusion. Social policy scholars have noted that a feature of policy implementation is the involvement of community 'leaders', although these arrangements suffer from power imbalances, the exclusion of some interests, such as unions, (Geddes, 1998: 66), tokenism and other problems (Geddes, 2000, Silver, 2010). However, a leader being inclusive, or working with established leaders to implement policy, involves quite different activities to leadership *development*, which builds capacity so that marginalised groups can negotiate their own social inclusion.

Social inclusion was once described as the 'central legitimating concept of social policy in Europe and elsewhere' (Levitas, 2003: 1). The notion of social inclusion as an alternative approach to dealing with social problems of poverty, exclusion, and diversity was introduced to Australia by the South Australian Government in 2002 (Hayes et al., 2008), then became a significant policy theme of the incoming Federal Rudd Government (Gillard and Wong, 2007). The Australian Social Inclusion Board was established in 2008, amid high hopes of a bi-partisan consensus around a new approach to social policy (Nicholson, 2007a).

These hopes evaporated in the increasingly polarised and volatile federal political environment that characterised the Rudd-Gillard-Rudd (Labor) and Abbott (Coalition) governments from 2010 onwards (Saunders, 2013). In 2013, the incoming Liberal-National Coalition Government acted swiftly to dismantle Labor's Australian Social Inclusion Board (Commonwealth of Australia, 2013). This left the community services sector, which according to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2010) is an approximately $25 billion per annum industry, without a cohesive conceptual framework to guide policy implementation.

This research explores the beliefs and practices informing leadership development and social inclusion practice in a range of not-for-profit organisations, against the backdrop of such recent Australian social policy developments. These phenomena will be explored along with the grey literature on social inclusion policy in a chapter on context. As is the case with the scholarly literature, there has been little attention to the potential role of leadership development amongst marginalised groups in the social inclusion process in the grey literature. Early conceptualisation of the 'Australian social inclusion agenda' (Gillard and Wong, 2007) did acknowledge the need for partnering with and developing the human capital, social capital, and leadership capacities of marginalised communities (Vinson, 2007). However, it appears that despite these early aspirations, control of the social inclusion policy process was firmly retained by Government and its agencies, rather than shared with the third sector, or distributed to marginalised groups and individuals. Scholars such as Carey et al. (2015), Marston and Dee (2015), and Redmond (2015), suggest that government departments were able to adopt the new language of social inclusion, without

significantly changing their practices and without relinquishing power over the implementation of government policy.

Yet according to Atkinson (1998: 14) and Room (1999: 171), social inclusion policy needs to take into account the agency of both the excluded and those who exclude. In this regard, Sen's (1982, 2005, 1993) Nobel Prize winning body of work is critical, as it demonstrated that poverty alleviation and social exclusion could be effectively addressed by enhancing the capabilities and agency of marginalised groups (Sen, 2000). As Ospina and Foldy (2009: 877) point out, leadership is 'fundamentally about agency' and leadership development appears to be an obvious way to enhance the capacities and agency of marginalised groups. Yet no scholarly attention has been specifically invested in exploring leadership development as a social inclusion strategy. This oversight is addressed in this thesis.

While the potential role of building leadership capacity for social inclusion may have been overlooked, there are scholars that have called for strategies aimed at building other capacities amongst marginalised groups. Rappaport (1981, 1987) argued persuasively that empowerment approaches to social policy were required to avoid the tendency for externally provided policy solutions to create more problems than they solved. Witcher (2003: 40-1) called for changes in the implicit social contract that devalues the capacities of marginalised groups and determines the 'terms of inclusion'. Similarly, Yosso (2005) argued that educational strategies could revalue the 'community cultural wealth' of marginalised groups, and identified a range of overlooked 'capitals' held by these groups. Ospina and Foldy (2005, 2009, 2010) and Ospina et al. (2012) explored the way marginalised groups socially construct leadership capacity at multiple levels to enable social change. These perspectives make an important contribution to the concept of collective leadership capacity developed for this doctoral research.

Social capital is foundational to the view of leadership development adopted for this study. Social capital was used by Day (2000) to distinguish leadership development from leader development, which had earlier been proposed by Rost (1993). This distinction clarified the nature of leadership development, which had been confused by the wide range of differing scholarly perspectives about the nature of leadership

(Barker, 1997, Storey, 2013a). The conceptual framework constructed in Chapter Three connects the concepts of leadership development and social inclusion by using social capital theory as a bridge. Halpern's (2005) multilevel integration of social capital provides the basis for a theoretical framework that enables analysis of the data, and allows consideration of the inter-level dynamics involved in leadership development, social capital, and social inclusion. Confusion arises when these levels of analysis are not clarified (Klein and Kozlowski, 2000, Hitt et al., 2007).

Likewise, the theoretical framework will specify the research perspective that informs this doctoral study. The study of leadership has been particularly influenced by scholarly debate over research perspectives and paradigms. Dissatisfaction with existing perspectives on leadership as a 'concrete' and finite phenomenon (Storey, 2013b) led to new approaches. Scholars such as Peters and Beck (1980), Brown and Hosking (1986), Barry (1991) and Gronn (2000) conceptualised leadership as distributed throughout organisations and groups, while others viewed leadership as constructed in social and relational processes (Bresnen, 1995, Hosking, 2002, Uhl-Bien, 2006, Ospina and Sorenson, 2006). In recent years leadership has become increasingly understood as a task of sense-making or meaning-making (Storey, 2013b) in the face of complexity and uncertainty (Uhl-Bien et al., 2007). However, while some common themes of sense-making (Weick, 1995, Pye, 2005) or meaning-making (Drath and Palus, 1994) have emerged, no overarching consensus has reconciled the various alternative perspectives on leadership (McNamee and Hosking, 2012: 22).

The traditional definitions of leadership focus on a variety of 'traits, behaviours, influence, interaction patterns, role relationships, and occupation of an administrative position' (Yukl, 2010: 20). By contrast, rather than focus on leadership as an individual attribute, **this study construes leadership as the accumulated capacity of a group to effectively collaborate by negotiating direction, alignment, and commitment amongst agents** (O'Connor and Quinn, 2004, Drath et al., 2008). Agency is a central theme, as the capacity of agents to do 'otherwise' (Giddens, 1979) contributes to notions of complexity and uncertainty and the need for adaptive leadership (Uhl-Bien and Marion, 2008, Obolensky, 2014). Yet agents do not just 'interact' (Marion, 2008: 3), they intentionally relate and organise (Hosking, 1988, Uhl-Bien, 2006). The argument that will be presented in this thesis is that relational

leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2006) allows agents to organise and cooperate to mobilise community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005), unleash human energy (Ospina et al., 2012) and enhance collective efficacy (Bandura, 2000). As Ospina et al. (2012: 274) argue, the 'source of power comes from within the community', and relational organising allows this power to be mobilised to renegotiate the 'terms of inclusion' (Witcher, 2003).

This thesis is divided into three sections. The first includes this introduction, a review of the relevant literature, the conceptual framework, and the methodology. The second part includes an overview of the Australian social, conceptual, economic, and policy context, along with three case studies covering two not-for-profit sectors. The first two case studies draw on qualitative interviews and documentary analysis to explore the leadership development practices of two not-for-profit organisations involved in social inclusion through the provision of settlement services to immigrants and refugees. The third case study uses semi-structured interviews to explore the way churches in differing socio-economic settings attempt to develop leadership capacity and encourage social inclusion. This is supplemented with a quantitative study of survey data drawn from a major study of churches in Australia. The final section compares the three case studies and discusses and analyses the findings. The conclusion then summarises the findings and this study's contribution to the stock of scholarly intellectual capital, and provides suggestions for policy makers and practitioners who seek to enable social inclusion in Australia.

The research involves a concurrent mixed methods approach, drawing on both survey and qualitative interview data to explore the three case studies (Creswell et al., 2008). This methodology aligns with both a desire to contribute to social change, and the relational critical realist perspective that informs the research. Relational critical realism acknowledges that what can be known about reality is relationally and socially constructed, and that these shared social constructions enhance communication and collaboration. As we can only apprehend reality imperfectly, a variety of perspectives provide important sources of information for the collective construction of a common understanding. This approach to research will be introduced in the conceptual framework in Chapter Three.

The lack of prior research on the relationship between leadership development and social inclusion led to the selection of a case study methodology. Case studies are particularly appropriate for exploratory and descriptive early stage research in new fields of inquiry where exemplary prior studies are scarce (Cepeda and Martin, 2005, Yin, 2009), especially where there are important temporal and contextual factors involved (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). As Chapter Five will suggest, the Australian social, political, and economic context has been subjected to dramatic changes and external shocks in recent decades, resulting in significant attitudinal shifts influencing the 'terms of inclusion' (Witcher, 2003) for various ethnic and immigrant groups. Case studies enable integration of data from a wide range of sources, allowing a more holistic consideration of the impact of macro-social shifts in comparison to other methodologies (Yin, 2009). This flexibility makes case studies an attractive approach for building theory in a new or emerging field of research (Eisenhardt, 1989b).

The organisations selected as case studies include two community organisations that provide a range of migrant and refugee services to 'culturally and linguistically diverse' (CALD) or 'non-English speaking background' (NESB) groups in Australian society. A third case study involves a collection of Uniting Church congregations, a Christian denomination with a particularly inclusive ethos (Watson, 2009). Some scholars have considered the possibility that terms such as CALD and NESB do not just denote excluded groups, but also contribute to social inclusion (Sawrikar and Katz, 2009). Nevertheless, they are used within the community services sector and will be employed within the case studies to indicate individuals and people groups that face language and cultural challenges in seeking to be included within the Australian mainstream.

Multiple sources of evidence were required to build a rich description of each case (Yin, 2009). For the community sector organisations, data was drawn from 25 semi-structured interviews with diverse staff and volunteers, and following Hosking (2002), these were drawn from a variety of geographical locations, work teams, and degrees of seniority. This interview data was supplemented by internal publications and reports.

The Uniting Church case study drew on three sources of data. First, 21 in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with a mix of regional denominational leaders, local leaders and congregants from four local congregations in differing socio-economic locales. This was further supplemented by documentary sources and denominational data drawn from the 2011 National Church Life Survey (NCLS). This data was supplemented with a quantitative study using 2011 NCLS data to analyse the relationship between collective efficacy and leadership development activities, controlling for socio-economic variation. The 2011 NCLS was the fifth iteration of an ongoing five-yearly longitudinal study of churches. The dataset used for this quantitative component drew on responses from 185,557 Protestant church attenders in 2414 local churches across 22 denominations, representing approximately 25% of Australian Protestant church attenders (Pepper et al., 2015).

In summary, this thesis draws on quantitative and qualitative data to explore the degree to which relational leadership development enables Social Inclusion by building social capital to enhance the collective agency of excluded groups. This study contributes to the leadership literature by exploring the way organisations construct social capital and leadership capacity in the face of uncertainty, and the role of agency in both creating and addressing uncertainty. The next section reviews the literature salient to this research.

Chapter Two: A Review of the Social Inclusion, Leadership, Social Capital, and Leadership Development Literature

Introduction

In this chapter, I review the scholarship pertinent to social inclusion and leadership development in the Australian setting. I also identify gaps and limitations within the scholarship, and define the scope of this doctoral research.

As noted in Chapter One, there has been little overlap in the literatures on social inclusion and leadership. While scholars working in 'developing world' contexts have connected these concepts (Kirk and Shutte, 2004, Buvinic et al., 2006; Adhikari and Di Falco, 2009; Daya, 2014), their work has received scant attention from the European and North American scholars who have been most influential in Australia. As a result, connections between the concepts of social inclusion and leadership development have been relatively neglected.

To address this gap, this study adopts the concept of social capital as a bridge between the concepts of social inclusion and leadership development. Social capital is a useful bridging concept, as scholars such as Lareau and Horvat (1999) and Narayan (1999) have linked social capital with social inclusion; while Day (2000), O'Connor and Quinn (2004) and others have connected it with leadership development. Further, leadership development scholars such as Bilhuber Galli and Müller-Stewens (2012) argue that social capital can be built through leadership development.

The scope of this research is limited to leadership development amongst marginalised groups to build their capacity to negotiate their own social inclusion in the Australian setting. The concepts of social inclusion, leadership development and social capital are international in scope, so this review includes scholarship from around the globe that has contributed to the evolution of these concepts in Australia, or assists with identifying gaps and limitations.

There are studies peripheral to this research that notionally connect leadership or leadership development with social inclusion. An example is the 'Social Change

Model' of leadership (Astin and Astin, 1996, Bonous-Hammarth, 2001, Dugan, 2006, Komives and Wagner, 2009, Cilente, 2009) which is focused on the individual leader development in educational settings (Cilente, 2009: 43). This is quite distinct from the conceptualisation of leadership development in this study. Similarly, scholarship on inclusive leadership styles in bureaucratic contexts (Muijs et al., 2007, Ainscow and Miles, 2008, Muijs et al., 2010, Angelides, 2012, Lindqvist and Nilholm, 2014, Ahmmed and Mullick, 2014) and inclusive leadership in diverse organisations (Daya, 2014, Steele and Derven, 2015, Boekhorst, 2015, Brimhall et al., 2016) does not focus on leadership development and is therefore excluded from this review.

This chapter begins by addressing the concept of social inclusion. Although social inclusion is neither the opposite of, nor the solution to, social exclusion (Silver, 1994, Levitas, 1996), the two concepts are closely related (Labonte, 2004, Silver, 2007, 2010). Social exclusion is beyond the scope of this research, but is touched on where required to clarify aspects of social inclusion. This review also does not address the way the formation of social inclusion concepts were shaped by political philosophies that are variously described as neoliberalism, globalisation, neoclassical economics (Gidley et al., 2010) or 'economic rationalism' (Mendes, 2009), as these are addressed in Chapter Five's exploration of the context.

The chapter then reviews the immense leadership literature as a necessary precursor to a review of the leadership development scholarship. As Barker (1997) once noted, you cannot develop leaders until you know what leadership is. Before moving from leadership to leadership development, social capital is addressed, as Day (2000) and others (McCallum and O'Connell, 2009, Bilhuber Galli and Müller-Stewens, 2012, Espedal et al., 2013) have identified social capital as the factor that distinguishes leadership development from leader development. Although social capital has played an important role in both the leadership development and social inclusion literature, these bodies of scholarship have generally only engaged social capital from a network perspective, leaving a gap that is addressed in this thesis.

The literature on leadership development, understood as a fundamentally social process (Hosking, 2002), is then reviewed. This study is focused on leadership development, as construed by Rost (1993) and Day (2000), who distinguish between

leader development as an individual process, and leadership development as social, relational and collective. Two bodies of literature are of particular interest. One is the *leadership development* literature that draws on social capital, including O'Connor and Quinn, (2004), Iles and Preece (2006), McCallum and O'Connell (2009), and others. The other is the *leadership* scholarship which views leadership as a collective or organisational capacity, including Drath et al. (2008), Ospina and Foldy (2010), and Ospina et al. (2012).

These bodies of knowledge guide both the research methodology and interpretation and analysis of case study data. In addition, this scholarship provides reference points for the conceptual framework developed in Chapter Three, which bridges the gap between leadership development and social inclusion.

Social Inclusion

Concepts of social inclusion and exclusion became prominent in the 1990s, introducing a perspective that emphasised the social and relational aspects of poverty and disadvantage. As Levitas (1996) detailed, inclusion and exclusion are not simply opposites. Each denotes a range of different processes and conditions (Silver, 2007) which are intertwined both conceptually and historically (Silver, 2010). The lack of consensus and precision around these definitions created problems for academics and undermined the efficacy of public policy agendas (Hick, 2012, Saunders, 2013). Strictly speaking, social *exclusion* is beyond the scope of this study, but as Labonte (2004) and Silver (2007) noted, social inclusion and exclusion are dialectically connected and intertwined, sharing causative phenomena, and interconnected social structures, processes, and identities (Silver, 1994).

Scholars such as Silver (1994), Room (1995b), Levitas (1996), Burchardt et al. (2002), Barry (2002), Burchardt and Le Grand (2002), Atkinson (1998), Atkinson and Marlier (2010), and Silver (2010) described the social inclusion perspective as broadening the earlier narrow focus on employment as a solution to poverty. While employment remained important, the quality of work also mattered, with poor conditions potentially deepening exclusion rather than enabling inclusion. These scholars developed a multidimensional view, involving intersecting disadvantages which are relative and dynamic, with complications introduced by the human agency of multiple actors.

Social inclusion involved the whole person and their social setting, which Burchardt et al. (2002: 31) construed as including the capacity to: consume at acceptable levels; to produce and contribute; to engage in decision making; and to interact with family, friends, and community.

The measurement of multidimensional aspects of inclusion was a particular theme in the literature (Room, 1995b, Paugum, 1995, Burchardt et al., 2002, Atkinson, 2003, Levitas et al., 2007, Scutella et al., 2009). Multiple disadvantages and processes of discrimination intersect and reinforce each other in 'spirals of precariousness' (Paugum, 1995). Examples of scholars that have linked the multidimensionality of social inclusion with feminist scholarship on intersectionality are Crenshaw (1991), Brah and Phoenix (2004), McCall (2005), and Silver (2010).

The problem of agency also received extensive attention. Atkinson (1998), Barry (1998), Burchardt et al. (1999), Burchardt and Le Grand (2002) and Le Grand (2003), Witcher (2003), and Hick (2012) discussed the resultant uncertainty about who or what causes exclusion, and what responsibility the marginalised have to enable their own inclusion. Silver (1994) and Levitas (1996) described the way policy was shaped by competing paradigms or public discourses which ascribe responsibility for social exclusion to differing agents. These variously allocated responsibility to the powerful, the marginalised, or saw exclusion as an unintended outcome of social structure, although Room (1999: 171) argued that social structures were also 'the product of active human agency over time'.

In regard to agency, Sen's (1982, 1985, 1993, 2000) Nobel Prize winning work on poverty, agency and relativity influenced both the social inclusion literature and the approach adopted in this doctoral research. Sen's view implies that inclusion is best enabled by expanding the agency, or capabilities, of marginalised groups to achieve 'actual freedom of choice … over alternative lives that [they could] lead' (Sen, 1990: 114). Witcher (2003) and Hick (2012) are among scholars who adopted this approach. Witcher (2003) argued that exclusion results from either a lack of 'currency' in the form of human, social, and economic capital and unfair 'terms of inclusion' through discriminatory processes. Likewise, Hick (2012) argued that building up the

capabilities and agency of marginalised individuals and groups is the preferred way to achieve social inclusion.

Critical scholars such as Byrne (2005) emphasised the interest groups and processes that exclude, pointing out that social exclusion is inherent in neoliberal capitalism. Byrne called for renewed cooperation in civil society, envisaging churches, community organisations, environmentalists, and local labour groups cooperating to restore participative democracy. As he put it, civil society could unite the 'excluded many [and] at risk most' in opposition to the 'excluding few' - that 'superclass' that controls the resources (2005: 170-1).

This notion of a role for civil society, or the 'third sector', is a significant theme in both the social inclusion and exclusion literature. However, scholars such as Geddes (1998, 2000), Geddes and Bennington (2001), Rob Atkinson[1] (2000), and Rob Atkinson and Davoudi (2000), as well as Australian scholars such as Carson and Kerr (2010) suggested that 'civil society' involvement in social inclusion policy implementation had been hampered by unequal power relations in policy implementation. These scholars argued that third sector representatives were often exploited to create a gloss of participatory decision-making and enhanced program effectiveness, to mask agendas such as the displacement of poorer residents to allow redevelopment of urban precincts.

Social exclusion began to receive significant social policy attention in Europe and the United Kingdom (UK) after 1990 (Room, 1991, 1995a, 1995b).In the following decade, social inclusion came to be described as the 'central legitimating concept of social policy in Europe and elsewhere' (Levitas, 2003: 1). Although social capital was the dominant conceptual framework for public policy in the United States of America (USA) (Daly and Silver, 2008), Canada followed a similar pattern to the UK, with a particular focus on the conceptual boundaries between overlapping constructs such as inclusion, exclusion, cohesion, and capital (Mitchell et al., 2002, Saloojee, 2003,

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[1] Rob Atkinson is a sociologist. His first name is included to differentiate him from Tony Atkinson, the economist. Both have published on issues of social inclusion and exclusion.

Omidvar et al. , 2003, Galabuzi, 2006, Oxoby, 2009, Galabuzi and Teelucksingh, 2010, Allman, 2013).

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, there is a literature on social inclusion generated by scholars working on issues of poverty and inclusion in developing countries. In these contexts, some studies linked leadership and empowerment issues with social inclusion and diversity. Examples from the subcontinent include Ghimire-Bastakoti and Bastakoti (2006), Adhikari and Di Falco (2009), Bonu et al., (2011), Nathan and Xaxa, (2012), and Dom and Aid (2012). A case study conducted by Bonu et al. (2011) noted that the effectiveness of social inclusion policies for marginalised groups depended on leadership development within those groups. In Africa, Adato et al. (2005), Grobbelaar (2009), and Daya (2014) explored the politics and power differentials of inclusion and leadership, in community, faith and organisational settings. Explicit links between leadership development and social change were made by Kirk and Shutte (2004) and Bolden and Kirk (2011). The social inclusion scholarship in Latin America has not discussed leadership development directly, focusing instead on political engagement, economic and community development, diversity, and overcoming social problems (Flórez et al., 2001, Lewis and Abel, 2002, Serageldin et al., 2004, Buvinic et al., 2006, Koonings and Kruijt, 2007, Borsdorf and Hidalgo, 2008, Perez, 2008, Arond et al., 2011).

The educational leadership for inclusion literature has already been noted, but there is also a broad scholarship concerned with leadership, inclusion, and diversity in organisational contexts. This scholarship explores a range of themes, such as benefits including greater productivity, creativity and innovation flowing from inclusive leadership (Carmeli et al., 2010, Hollander, 2012). Another broad field of scholarship explores the challenges, benefits, and motivations behind relational approaches to leadership and inclusion in the context of diversity in organisations (Kirchmeyer and McLellan, 1991, Cox and Blake, 1991, DiTomaso and Hooijberg, 1996, Hooijberg and DiTomaso, 1996, Scandura and Lankau, 1996, Chen and Van Velsor, 1996, Taksa and Groutsis, 2014, Boekhorst, 2015).

In Australia, practitioners and scholars involved in community services contributed to the conceptualisation and scholarship on social inclusion, but had little influence on

policy implementation (Hatfield Dodds, 2012, Marston and Dee, 2015). The European experience of pursuing a social inclusion agenda (World Bank, 2007) provided resources for Australian scholars to conceptualise and contextualise social inclusion for their own setting (Harris and Williams, 2003, Nevile, 2006, Hayes et al., 2008, Buckmaster and Thomas, 2009). Two scholars who shaped the social inclusion framework in Australia were practitioner-scholar Nicholson (2007a) and social work scholar, Vinson (2009b). Both saw the development of leadership capacity as part of the social inclusion process, which influenced early publications of the Australian Social Inclusion Board. Nicholson called for a human capital approach, while Vinson envisaged a systematic leadership development strategy in the community, including the enhancement of collective efficacy (Vinson, 2009a). One Australian Social Inclusion Board (ASIB) publication quoted Vinson extensively on attributes 'which in combination help to sustain effective community functioning' by referring to:

- local leadership that is systemically identified and developed;

- funding that is 'equitably employed in support of community goals';

- the integration of people, groups and community organisations … relationships, alliances and trust between local organisations and the community;

- processes that exist to bring together people with different opinions and contain tensions (Vinson 2011 unpublished, in ASIB., 2011c: 41).

However, as had happened in the UK, academics and policy makers soon diverged on both the nature of the problem (Redmond, 2015) and potential solutions (Marston and Dee, 2015). After Vinson's involvement, attention shifted away from community leaders and leadership development.

The European approach emphasised multidimensional monitoring of policy outcomes, which was also followed in Australia (Saunders and Bradbury, 2006, Saunders et al., 2008, Saunders, 2008, Coombs et al. , 2013, Saunders, 2015). For example, Wilson

(2006) attempted to map social capital and social inclusion in relation to a notion of solidarity. Yet, the diversity of social inclusion challenges made statistical measurement challenging (Vinson, 2009b) and invited qualitative inquiry. Australian qualitative studies explored the mixed impact of social inclusion initiatives on marginalised groups such as people with disabilities (Bostock and Gleeson, 2004), children with mental health challenges in low-income families (Davies et al., 2008), and refugee groups (Colic-Peisker, 2005, Correa-Velez et al., 2010).

Although multiculturalism was originally ignored in Australia's social inclusion agenda (Boese and Phillips, 2011, Collins, 2013), according to Silver (2010), one of the most cited social inclusion scholars, Australia's historical context as a penal colony, its dispossession of Aboriginal people and its immigration and multicultural diversity have all contributed to the social inclusion agenda that emerged. To address these complex contextual dimensions, Silver (2010) proposed an optimistic threefold approach including anti-exclusion and anti-discrimination policies, accompanied by nuanced group-specific positive discrimination strategies; and participation of the excluded in the process. Moreover, Silver (2010: 198) argued that intersecting multidimensional problems required multidimensional joined up solutions delivered by 'one-stop' service providers.

Since the abandonment of the Australian social inclusion agenda (Commonwealth of Australia, 2013), scholars have found little convincing evidence that its goals were achieved (Saunders and Wong, 2012, Saunders, 2013). Indeed, Redmond (2015: 115) asked whether Australian social inclusion policy had aimed more to 'accommodate people to relative powerlessness rather than challenge the hierarchies'. Like earlier counterparts overseas, Australian scholars found value in the social inclusion framework, but identified problems with policy perspectives and implementation in the cut and thrust of a polarised partisan democratic context (Marston and Dee, 2015, Redmond, 2015, Harris, 2015). The problem of agency created the same challenges in the Australian context as elsewhere (Redmond, 2015), and like their overseas colleagues, Australian scholars did not explore leadership development as a potential response. As in the UK, policy makers equated employment of any kind with the achievement of social inclusion (Marston and Dee, 2015). Redmond (2015) explicitly identified a gap *between* scholarly perspectives and actual social inclusion policy and

practice, which was implicitly also recognised in the work of scholars such as Silver (1994), Levitas (2003), Saunders (2013) and others, an issue that will be explored further in Chapter Five. As Harris (2015) pointed out, the policy vacuum left by the demise of the social inclusion framework in Australia, makes the investigation and promotion of inclusion more important than ever.

With the exceptions of Vinson et al. (2009) and Nicholson (2007a, 2007b), few Australian scholars of social inclusion have focused on leadership development amongst marginalised groups. In both the academic and grey literature, it is the Government, along with community service providers, civil society, or business that is assumed to have agency to provide social inclusion solutions, while the agency and capacities of the marginalised are de-emphasised (Carey et al., 2015, Goodwin and Phillips, 2015). Another major limitation in the social inclusion literature relates to the absence of attention to multiple levels. Scholars have tended to focus on the nature of social inclusion and exclusion, the need to measure progress, and on identifying barriers to be overcome. Attention is focused on 'what should be done' (Levitas, 2003, Byrne, 2005; Silver, 2010) rather than 'how to do it'. Saunders (2013: 697) therefore argued that while academics sought clear definitions, policy makers shunned such definitions in order to avoid accountability for policy failures. In a special issue of the Australian Journal of Social Issues, Redmond (2015: 117) suggested that the Australian Social Inclusion Agenda had, at best, made only a modest difference.

Leadership

Leadership and leaders have been of interest to scholars, philosophers and the wider public since ancient times (Terry, 1993, Hunt, 1999, Kellerman, 2005). Leadership embraces a widely pervasive set of concepts (Bennis, 2007, Storey, 2013a), and has been described as an 'enigma' that resists analysis (Terry, 1993). Many reviews cite Bennis and Nanus' (1997: 19)[2] assertion that leadership was 'the most studied and least understood topic of any in the social sciences' and Stogdill's (1974) complaint that there were 'almost as many definitions of leadership as there are persons who have attempted to define the concept' (Yukl, 2010: 20).

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[2] Bennis made the same observation in 1959 (Bennis, 1959: 259-260).

Leadership scholars who have tracked their discipline's conceptual development include Bennis (1959), Stogdill (1974, 1975), Van Seters and Field (1990), Rost (1991), Ciulla (1995), and Horner (1997). Stogdill (1974), and later Bass (1990), attempted to collate and integrate all of the serious scholarship on leadership research and practice, producing lengthy handbooks covering many disparate themes in an attempt to systematically unearth the universal principles of leadership. Similarly, Yukl (1981, 2010) and Northouse (1997, 2013) dutifully provided increasingly lengthy updates to their overviews of leadership theory and practice.

Conventionally, reviews of the leadership literature such as that presented by Van Seters and Field (1990) describe an orderly linear conceptual and methodological progression of leadership theory, although the scholarship resists such neat classification (Hunt and Dodge, 2001). In these narratives, new and better ideas replace obsolete ideas, and methodologies constantly improve. For example, Van Seters and Field (1990) describe the development of leadership theory as a Darwinian progression across ten more or less chronological eras. The early twentieth century opens with the 'Personality Era', including Great Man and personality trait theories (Bernard, 1926, Bowden, 1927), which gives way to the 'Influence Era', where scholars focused on interpersonal power relations (French Jr, 1956, French Jr and Raven, 1959), and military contexts (Schenk, 1928). During this era network theory began to be used to describe the ways influence effected change (French Jr and Raven, 2016: 251).

Van Seters and Field then proposed the 'Behavioural Era' centred on the 1960s, with followers viewed as human resources to be managed and developed, and leadership seen as a practice rather than positional authority (Bowers and Seashore, 1966: 249). Surveys, fieldwork and experiments became common methodologies. Lewin et al. (1939) described 'leadership climates', whereas the Ohio State Studies (Fleishman et al, 1955) and Michigan State Studies (Likert, 1961) traded-off 'consideration' against 'structure', and 'production' versus 'employee' emphases respectively. The methodologically innovative Likert (1967) developed a four part leadership typology, with a fifth 'bossless' category added later (Gibson et al., 1981); Bowers and Seashore (1966) proposed four leadership factors; and McGregor's (1960) Theories X & Y continued to attract scholarly attention decades later (e.g. Kopelman et al., 2008).

Van Seters and Field's fourth era aligns with what Bennis (1959) called the 'situational critique', where the leader's relational style depended upon the 'reaction of followers' (Hollander, 1979: 163 in Uhl-Bien, 2006: 671). This era emerged contemporaneously with the 'preceding' Behavioural era and overlapped conceptually with the following Contingency and Transactional eras of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The emphasis was on matching style with context. Key scholars included Stogdill (1950) and Katz and Kahn (1952, 1978), who introduced multi-level analysis. Contingency Theory (Fiedler, 1965) and Path-Goal Theory (Evans, 1970, House, 1971) blended management and leadership perspectives. Dyadic linkages (Dansereau et al., 1975) and reciprocity (Hollander, 1958, Hollander, 1979) came to the fore. Situational Leadership (Hersey and Blanchard, 1969, Hersey et al., 1979) focused on dyadic leader-subordinate interactions similar to later transactional-relational leadership theories such as Leader-member exchange (LMX) (Graen et al., 1982, Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995, Graen and Schiemann, 2013).

The next three eras became increasingly difficult to order chronologically. These included: an 'Anti-leadership Era' (Pfeffer, 1977, Kerr and Jermier, 1978) and the Organisational Culture Era (Schein, 1983, Ouchi and Wilkins, 1985), during which Pascale and Athos (1981) compared Japanese and American corporate cultures. This was 'followed' by the 'In Search of Excellence' approach (Peters and Waterman, 1982) and Self-Leadership (Manz, 1986).

The apex of Van Seters and Field's framework was the Transformational Era, named for Burns' (1978) distinction between Transformational and Transactional leadership styles, and which Bass (1996) proclaimed as a new paradigm for leadership studies. Rather than trade-offs or exchanging reward for effort, Transformational leaders were said to inspire followers to actively contribute their creativity and effort to a shared agenda, going beyond expectations and developing themselves in the process. Burns argued that followers and leaders influenced each other in a mutual and reciprocal process, rather than influence being exercised solely by leaders on followers.

Burns illustrated his theory using anecdotes and case study data. However, his concepts inspired a large quantitative research effort firmly embedded in the dominant 'positivist' or 'empiricist' research paradigm of the time. As Guba and Lincoln (1994:

106) noted, positivist scholars applied methods developed for the natural sciences to the social sciences. Reality was viewed as able to be known with a high degree of certainty. Positivist methodologies rely heavily on measurement, coupled with statistics for validation, and held sway for decades. As a result, measurable variables tended to receive more attention than less concrete phenomena (Rost, 1991).

Positivist scholars critiqued and extended Burns' concepts, adding laissez-faire leadership, and breaking each concept down into variable-constructs that could be 'confirmed' or 'validated' using survey tools and multivariate analysis (e.g. Yammarino and Bass, 1990, Bass and Avolio, 1993, Bycio et al., 1995, Lowe et al., 1996, Bennis and Nanus, 1997, Bass, 1998, Alimo-Metcalfe and Alban-Metcalfe, 2001, Antonakis and House, 2002, Antonakis et al., 2003). The result was an integrated 'full-range' leadership theory (Antonakis and House, 2002, Antonakis et al., 2003, Avolio, 2011).

A range of 'theories' blossomed within the 'transformational paradigm', including Servant Leadership (Greenleaf, 1977) which predated Burns' work. Charismatic Leadership (Conger and Kanungo, 1987, Shamir et al., 1993, Avolio and Yammarino, 2002, Antonakis and House, 2002); Authentic Leadership (Terry, 1993, Bass and Steidlmeier, 1999, Avolio et al., 2004); Visionary Leadership (Westley and Mintzberg, 1989, Nanus, 1992); and Empowering Leadership (Bolin, 1989, Conger, 1989) all emphasised different aspects of the leader's style and relationship with followers. These included vision, authenticity, charisma, change, and power, all of which pre-dated the Transformational era (Bennis and Nanus, 1975) and complementary conceptualisations of followers and followership (e.g. Meindl, 1995, Bennis, 1999, Conger et al., 2000, Carsten et al., 2010).

Questionnaire driven statistical approaches were part of the dominant paradigm of the late twentieth century (Bryman et al., 1996) with the 'Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire' (e.g. Bass, 1998, Avolio et al., 1999, Antonakis and House, 2002) a particularly popular tool. Positivist leadership researchers sought to evaluate and 'confirm' various theories, isolating the effects of different variables, through multivariate statistical analysis (Yukl et al., 2002). Scholars still pursued a master

theory through the collation and integration of all the statistically significant aspects of leadership (Wren, 2006, Goethals and Sorenson, 2006).

During the 1990s, respected scholars began to critique the value of the positivist paradigm in this field. Rost (1991: 30) argued that Burns' Transformational concept had been stripped of its emphasis on morality and purpose by psychology-oriented scholars, leaving a manipulative technique for efficient profit generation. Ciulla (1995) argued that positivist scholarship was more about fashion than science. House and Additya (1997: 409-10) criticised the fact that much leadership research was dominated by work on the North American, Western industrial context. More recently, positivist scholars such as van Knippenberg and Sitkin (2013), have called for a fresh start on the basis of internal validity problems and anomalies.

Rost (1991) drew on Kuhn's (1970) concept of paradigm shift, to argue that the 'industrial paradigm' of leadership studies was in crisis. In Rost's view, scholars had focused too much on peripheral, measurable aspects of leadership, such as traits and styles, among others, simply because they were quantifiable. He believed a new paradigm was necessary that focused on the essential nature of leadership as 'an influence relationship among leaders and followers who intend real changes that reflect their mutual purpose' (Rost, 1991: 102).

Yet even before Rost's (1991) questioning of the positivist 'industrial paradigm', qualitative scholars studying small groups (Beck, 1981, Brown and Hosking, 1986, Barry, 1991) had proposed that leadership was distributed throughout organisations. Eventually, this suggestion was endorsed by influential mainstream scholars. For example, Gronn (2002), proposed distributed leadership as a new unit of analysis for leadership studies. Distributed Leadership reprised forgotten themes of earlier scholarship around 'shared' leadership (Tannenbaum and Massarik, 1957); 'distributed' versus 'focused' leadership (Shelley, 1960: 209); and Likert's 'bossless team' (Gibson et al., 1981).

Dissatisfaction with positivism also led to the emergence of post-positivist and social constructionist perspectives (McNamee and Hosking, 2012). Both were influenced by Weick's (1969) early work on leadership as sense-making and organising as a process aimed at creating a 'workable level of certainty' (Weick, 1979: 6). The importance of

meaning-making or sense-making as part of leadership became central to both social constructionist and post-positivist approaches to leadership (Hosking and Morley, 1988, Drath and Palus, 1994, Day et al., 2004, Pye, 2005, Storey, 2013a).

An important example of a post-positivist approach is Adaptive Leadership, proposed by Heifetz (1994) and seen as a new 'learning organisation' paradigm (White and Shullman, 2010). Heifetz and his collaborators distinguished between 'technical' and 'adaptive' problems, and claimed the leader's role is to correctly distinguish between technical problems and adaptive challenges that require innovation and organisational change (Heifetz et al., 2009). While adaptive leadership is meant to be something anyone can practise, this is in tension with the emphasis on expertise, change management, and specialised knowledge.

Post-positivist approaches, sometimes described as 'entity' perspectives (Hosking, 2005, Kennedy et al., 2012, Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012c), are diverse, but tend to adopt a critical realist approach that sees reality as directly but imperfectly discoverable (Patomäki and Wight, 2000, Parry et al., 2014). Entity perspectives are thought to emphasise the actions and relationships of individual agents and may consider the context to be complex and ambiguous (April and Hill, 2000, Waldman et al., 2001, Ancona, 2005, White and Shullman, 2010, Weick and Sutcliffe, 2011).

By contrast, those who adopted constructionist perspectives argued that reality was socially constructed rather than discovered (Dachler and Hosking, 1995, Hosking, 2002). These scholars tended to employ qualitative methods, viewing leadership as temporary and locally constructed in social processes, which also involve the construction of leader and follower identities (Meindl, 1995, Hosking, 2002, Hosking, 2005, Hosking, 2006). Some constructionist scholars portrayed leadership as a collective capacity or property of an organisation (O'Connor and Quinn, 2004, Ospina and Sorenson, 2006). Contractor et al. (2012: 995) suggested a network methodology for studying this 'collective leadership paradigm', exploring 'structural patterning' as a 'topology'. An example of a constructionist approach that is important for this doctoral study is that developed by Ospina and Foldy (2005), Ospina and Sorenson (2006), Ospina and Foldy (2009, 2010), and Ospina et al. (2012). These scholars drew on mixed qualitative methods in a longitudinal study to develop a multi-level

conceptualisation of leadership as a collective capacity that is constructed at individual, organisational, and inter-organisational levels. This multi-level framework expands the more common construal of the organisation as the macro level (Yammarino and Bass, 1990, Avolio and Bass, 1995, Hunt and Ropo, 1995, Hitt et al., 2007, Liden et al., 2008). However, it is not clear how levels interact or how society-wide change is enacted in this approach.

The boundaries between entity and constructionist perspectives are blurred by complexity scholarship which applies concepts of adaptation, relativity, complexity, uncertainty and emergence, to leadership theory (Obolensky, 2014). Reed and Harvey (1992), Goldstein (1999), and Bradbury and Lichtenstein (2000) introduced complexity theory to leadership. Organisations were reframed as 'complex adaptive systems composed of a diversity of agents who interact with one another, mutually affect one another, and in so doing generate novel behaviour for the system as a whole' (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001: 390). Scholars adopting this approach rejected the heroic leader who knows what to do, instead proposing strategies to manage uncertainty arising from complexity. In this view, interactions between agents, processes and structures at lower levels of the organisation lead to emergent higher level outcomes which leaders can enable or influence, but not control. This scholarship views complexity as arising not just from external pressures, but also from internal organisational dynamics (Marion, 2008: 3), with leadership focused on influencing complex systems in organisations as they navigate external complexity (Marion and Uhl-Bien, 2001, Lichtenstein et al., 2006, e.g. Plowman et al., 2007).

Complexity scholars have proposed both qualitative (Lichtenstein et al., 2006) and quantitative (Guastello, 2007) methods for studying leadership phenomena. Lichtenstein and Plowman (2009) drew on case studies to identify four stages of emergence and suggested nine leadership behaviours for influencing outcomes. Plowman et al. (2007) drew on qualitative methods to suggest ways leaders could influence complex systems: disrupt existing behaviour patterns; encourage novelty; and assist interpretation and sense-making. Uhl-Bien et al. (2007) and Uhl-Bien and Marion (2009) applied complexity, emergence and adaptive leadership concepts (Heifetz, 1994) to real world situations where administrative bureaucracies and multiple agents interacted in complex, post-industrial environments.

A significant perspective for this doctoral study is Relational Leadership Theory (RLT), which was first proposed by Uhl-Bien (2006) who also contributed to complexity leadership theory (Lichtenstein et al., 2006, Uhl-Bien et al., 2007, Uhl-Bien and Marion, 2008). According to RLT, leadership is a relational influence process through which social systems and structures are built and changed. While not the first theory to emphasise relational processes, RLT was distinctive in bridging post-positivist and social constructionist approaches, seeking cross-paradigm cooperation. RLT focuses on the processes whereby leadership is constructed or practised, whether from an entity or constructionist perspective, and embraces two ontologies, the entity or 'constructivist' perspective, which emphasises the agency of individuals or organisations (Hosking and Shamir, 2012, Day and Drath, 2012) and the *relational* perspective, which emphasises the 'space between' entities and social processes of construction (Uhl-Bien, 2006). This perspective draws on entity scholarship such as leader-member exchange (Graen and Uhl-Bien, 1995) which explores one to one 'dyadic' relationships between leaders and followers, and also constructional perspectives such as Hosking (1988), Hosking and Morley (1988) and Dachler and Hosking (1995), to view leadership as a social construction emerging within relational processes. Instead of assuming incommensurability of alternative paradigms, Uhl-Bien joined with Ospina (Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012d) and other scholars to forge cross-paradigm collaboration and dialogue.

The Relational perspective is important for this study. However, the focus on relational processes and structuring within RLT scholarship lacks clarity on the role of the relationships and structures that result from RLT, and how relational leadership is enacted to develop leaders or build organisational capacities. Qualitative scholars with an entity emphasis, such as Fletcher (2004, 2007, 2012), have explored relational leadership practice as 'a process of social construction that is continually being negotiated in relational interactions' (2012: 95), looking for ways that individuals and groups can build 'power with' (2004: 650) to resist, and possibly change the powerful forces embedded in macro-social level cognitive and social structures. Similarly, entity scholars with quantitative or network analysis approaches such as Capello and Faggian (2005), Moran (2005), Collins and Hitt (2006), De Clercq and Sapienza (2006), Carmeli et al. (2011), Carmeli et al. (2012) have shed light on the interface between

relational or empowering leadership practices, various forms of social capital and relational capital (defined as the set of all relationships – market relationships, power relationships and cooperation – established between firms, institutions and people that stem from a strong sense of belonging and a highly developed capacity of cooperation typically between culturally similar people and institutions).

While this entity scholarship provides support for linking relational leadership theory with concepts of power along with social and relational capitals, some of the apparent discontinuities between entity and relational perspectives could also be resolved by considering levels of analysis. Apart from Ospina et al.'s (2012) framework, RLT lacks significant engagement with multi-level issues which consider the macro-social level and cross-level interactions. These gaps are addressed in the next chapter, where a multi-level social capital framework is developed.

A particularly striking interaction between the relational and entity perspectives was triggered by an apparently uncontroversial article written by noted leadership scholar, Warren Bennis (2007), who offered a simplified framework which he believed was universal:

> Any person can aspire to lead. But leadership exists only with the
> consensus of followers … Leadership is grounded in a relationship.
> In its simplest form, it is a tripod—a leader or leaders, followers, and
> the common goal they want to achieve. None of those three elements
> can survive without the others. (2007: 3-4)

Social constructionist scholars immediately challenged this construal. Drath et al. (2008), queried the implicit assumptions in Bennis' 'tripod' and offered an alternative ontology, proposing 'direction, alignment, and commitment' (DAC) as components of a leadership system. Leadership, in their view, was any process that generates common direction, alignment and organisation of effort around that direction, and encourages commitment to the collective direction. Drath et al. (2008) noted that the traditional approach to leadership research began with a focus on how leaders and followers interact to achieve shared goals, and so proceeded from a foundational assumption that some would lead and others follow. They argued that starting with the question 'what beliefs and practices enable people in collectives with shared work to produce DAC?'

(2008: 648), avoided assumptions that predefined the leadership structures to be investigated. This enables leadership to be envisaged as collective, distributed, or relational, while including the possibility of a leader with followers. Although the DAC framework was criticised for emphasising outcomes rather than processes, and for reacting to the tripod rather than constructing theory from its own evidence base (Crevani et al., 2010), the components of 'DAC theory' predate Bennis' tripod (Drath and Palus, 1994, O'Connor and Quinn, 2004). DAC theory plays an important part in the conceptual framework for this research.

The interplay of Bennis' (2007) leadership 'Tripod' and Drath et al.'s (2008) DAC Theory illustrates the gap between perspectives, whereby two theories appear to offer complete, mutually exclusive explanations of the same phenomena, yet employ no common components. The conceptual framework for this thesis will address this gap, drawing on concepts of agency and social capital to conceptualise DAC as an aspect of what Ospina and El Hadidy (2011) have called 'leadership capital'.

These various perspectives on leaders and leadership inform the literature on leadership development. However, social capital theory plays an important role in differentiating leader development from leadership development, as well as providing a conceptual bridge between social inclusion and leadership development. For these reasons, the scholarship on social capital is reviewed next before moving to the leadership development literature.

Social Capital

Social capital had a long history before rising to prominence in the late twentieth century. Economists had used the term to describe aggregated savings and investment in a society (Clark, 1889, Fisher, 1896, Fetter, 1900, Sweeney, 1930, Metzler, 1950), while others used it to describe social goods such as hospitals (Editorial, 1936). The modern usage was foreshadowed by Hanifan (1916: 130) who defined social capital in terms of goodwill and social intercourse within a social unit. Decades later Loury (1977) and Bourdieu (1977) both used social capital to explain unequal opportunity.

Bourdieu and Coleman's reconceptualisations of social capital resonated with Loury and Haniffan's earlier definitions respectively. Bourdieu (1977, 1986, 1987), a

sociologist, proposed three forms of capital: economic, cultural, and social, which largely explained the ongoing reproduction of inequality in society. For Bourdieu (1986: 48), Becker's (1962) notion of human capital was too reductionist. Accordingly, he proposed the broader concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977, 1986, 1987, 1989) to indicate the power and authority that accompanies accumulated knowledge and 'cultural competence' (1977: 186) in matters of taste, manners, class, charisma and the dispositions that constitute 'social space'. Each form of capital could be found in materialised, embodied, or incorporated forms, with social capital involving power stored in social obligations and 'connections' of reciprocity accumulated through social interactions involved in belonging to an exclusive group or network (1986: 47). Bourdieu argued that social capital exerted 'a multiplier effect' on other capitals (1986: 51), a view affirmed by other scholars (Burt, 1997, Brass, 2001, Glaser et al., 2003). Bourdieu defined social capital as:

> '… the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition – or in other words, membership in a group– which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word' (Bourdieu, 1986: 51).

This definition aligns with accepted economic definitions of capital (Robison et al., 2002). A reductionist form is often cited as 'resources in a network', with Bourdieu's more nuanced insights de-emphasised (Portes, 1998). What many scholars ignore is Bourdieu's emphasis on the political and proprietary nature of social capital, where social capital was for members only, or what Hall (1999: 458) later described as a 'club good', held within the bounds of an exclusive group formed through an ongoing investment in the maintenance of relationships (Bourdieu, 1986: 51-3). For Bourdieu, inequality and competition existed even within such a collective, as agents within the group had differing abilities to access and mobilise collective resources.

While Coleman (1987, 1988) published later than Bourdieu (1986, 1987), his was the first perspective most English speaking scholars encountered on this subject (Portes,

1998). A network theorist and sociologist, Coleman used case studies to illustrate the structural aspects of relationships and networks and emphasised the role of norms and sanctions, social cognitive structures that 'inhere … in the structure of relations between actors and among actors' (1988: 98). Norms are 'expectations about action … which express what action is right or what action is wrong' (Coleman, 1987: 135). These can function through being internalised so they shape an agent's decisions, or through the imposition of positive or negative sanctions. Although largely ignored in the literature, Coleman's (1988: 98) conceptualisation included micro and meso level aspects, as he argued that both individual and corporate actors could hold social capital.

Social capital was significantly shaped by other network theorists as well. Granovetter's (1973, 1983) analysis of strong and weak ties was widely applied to social capital concepts. Burt (1997, 2000) explored the importance of network closure – when everyone in a network knows everyone else, or there is network density, which he argued facilitates value creation, along with reciprocal trust, and which allows the exploitation of structural holes for relational brokers within networks. Network theorists also applied social capital to leadership. Brass (2001) defined leadership as getting work done through others, with social capital networks helping or hindering, depending on their configuration. Balkundi and Kilduff (2006: 421) argued that leadership itself was 'social capital that collects around certain individuals', conceptualised in terms of social relations and embeddedness, along with direct, indirect, and organisational ties which enable and constrain leadership.

However, social capital attracted attention beyond the academy due to the politically oriented work of scholars like Fukuyama and Putnam. Fukuyama (1995a, 1995b, 1999, 2001), a political economist, defined social capital as the capacity to cooperate, resulting in trust, reciprocity and networks. For Fukuyama, social capital had multi-level implications that explained local and national differences in political stability and economic productivity. Fukuyama (1999) adopted Dasgupta's (1999) view of social capital as a private, rather than public good, although with associated positive or negative externalities, depending on how outsiders were viewed. He also argued that agents are motivated by a desire for recognition and respect (Fukuyama, 1995: 359) and suggested that social capital norms could be produced in many ways, from simple

reciprocity between friends, to civil associations, or highly developed religious systems. Fukuyama's work encouraged research into the creation of social capital in voluntary and faith-based civil associations (Stolle, 1998, Tsai and Ghoshal, 1998, Cohen, 1999, Anheier and Kendall, 2000, Claibourn and Martin, 2000, Newton, 2001).

Putnam (1995, 2000), a political scientist who did the most to popularise social capital, argued that America's social capital was rapidly declining. Whereas Bourdieu focused on exclusive groups, and Coleman focused on interpersonal and network interactions, Putnam conceived social capital as 'connections among individuals' in social networks that gave rise to 'norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness' at the macro-social level (Putnam, 2000: 19). Putnam suggested that meso-level civil society associations of various types were venues where social capital was formed, bridging the micro and macro levels. Putnam backed his claims with a diverse variety of data, also drawing on network theory, particular Granovetter's (1973,1983) work on weak and strong ties. He was also a relatively early exponent of the distinction between bridging and bonding social capital.

Putnam's optimistic and populist advocacy of social capital attracted questions about the conceptual validity of his notions of the relationship between social capital and civil society (Edwards and Foley, 1998). Scholars identified circular arguments and noted the 'dark side' of social capital: organised crime, terrorism and embedded poverty for example (Portes, 1998, Portes, 2000, Portes and Landolt, 2000, Graeff, 2009, Moore et al., 2009, Rostila, 2011, Uribe, 2012). Herreros (2004), argued that it was not trust, but the formation of reciprocal obligations which should be considered social capital, while others dismissed the concept altogether (Fine, 1999).

Putnam (2000) responded to criticism of his early work with a refined conceptualisation that incorporated emerging concepts of bonding and bridging capital. Gittell and Vidal (1998), Oh et al. (1999), and Adler and Kwon (2002) introduced notions of different types of social capital. Bonding relationships that offered support, shared identity, and high accountability. Bridging relationships were conceptualised as crossing social boundaries to connect with diversity. Putnam (2000: 23) described bonding as sociological 'super-glue' that at best helped people 'get by', whereas bridging social capital was the 'WD-40' that enabled 'getting ahead', provided

opportunities, and contributed to establishing common civic values across diverse groups (Coffé and Geys, 2007a, Geys and Murdoch, 2010).

A number of scholars proposed several refinements that are important for this research. Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) distinguished 'cognitive', 'relational' and 'structural' aspects of social capital. Uphoff (2000: 220) affirmed the usefulness of this distinction, but pointed out that all forms of social capital were ultimately cognitive. In this view, relational capital refers to resources generated by relational interactions and ties such as norms, sanctions, attitudes, reciprocity and trust. Structural capital refers to the 'whole system' of relationships and cognitive capital, which is: 'shared representations, interpretations, and systems of meaning among parties' or a 'shared paradigm that facilitates common understanding' (Tsai and Ghoshal, 1998: 465). Equally important, Woolcock (1998), Narayan (1999), Oh et al. (1999), Woolcock and Narayan (2000), Szreter (2002), and Szreter and Woolcock (2004) refined the distinction between bonding and bridging by adding vertical ties across power differentials, expressed as 'linking' capital. Other scholars, such as Hooghe and Stolle (2003), Patulny and Svendsen (2007), and Kroll (2008) proposed alternative language around similar conceptualisations.

The bonding, bridging, and linking framework is implicitly multilevel. Adler and Kwon (2000, 2002) argued that bonding and bridging capital are relative, with bridging at the individual level becoming bonding at the meso-organisational level, and so forth. In Australia, Stone (2003) argued that forging bonding, bridging and linking relationships could develop capacity amongst disadvantaged groups. Leana and Van Buren (1999) resurrected a neglected aspect of Coleman's (1988) earlier conceptualisation when they proposed *organisational* social capital as a resource accumulated by an organisation in the 'character' of internal social relations, including trust and 'collective goal orientation'. Welzel et al. (2005) argued that involvement in 'elite-challenging' civil action is a form of social capital and postulated a trade-off between involvement in conventional civic associations and social action networks. However, their quantitative survey analysis found that these aspects were mutually reinforcing.

Recent quantitative studies have tended to emphasise the observable structural aspects of social capital, and as Ferlander (2007) reports, aligning theoretical distinctions with appropriate proxies is difficult. Less attention has been paid to cognitive social capital, which will be addressed by this doctoral study. Some studies assumed a trade-off between bridging and bonding social capital, with bridging often viewed as superior to bonding (Lin, 1999, Lin, 2001, Coffé and Geys, 2007b), while Geys and Murdoch (2010) found that the inclusion of bridging capital in social networks reduced feelings of political powerlessness. Other studies have found that bonding cannot be traded off for bridging capital. Leonard and Bellamy's (2006, 2010) quantitative study in churches showed that bonding capital was a necessary prerequisite for bridging capital to form, while Espedal et al. (2013) compared two multinational enterprises, showing that the benefits of bridging capital failed to materialise if bonding social capital was eroded. In their study of the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, Hawkins and Maurer's (2010) study found that bonding capital provided support and survivability after the crisis, while the ability to use or forge bridging and linking capital enabled the acquisition of resources and accelerated community renewal.

More broadly, qualitative studies have provided some empirical evidence of links between social capital, social inclusion, leadership and agency. In their qualitative study conducted in a mixed-race educational environment, Lareau and Horvath (1999) identified acts of exclusion and inclusion that determined whether social capital is built or mobilised for positive or negative outcomes. The strategies, determination, initiative, and cooperation of individual agents were a significant theme. Shucksmith's (2000) case study of the 'LEADER UK' community development program connected community capacity building with social inclusion, and critiqued the 'public good' network perspective on social capital. Shucksmith found that building regional networks did not build the capacities of individuals or redistribute power to the marginalised, and despite the name of the program, paid no attention to leadership development. Social inclusion was linked to social capital by Thorpe et al. (2013) in their study of Aboriginal school children in remote areas, which showed that the formation of bonding capital enabled bridging which then led to social inclusion. Leadership dynamics was shown to build social capital by Kirkby-Geddes et al. (2013)

who examined bonding and bridging in the complex dynamics of a UK healthy living centre, with effective group leadership enabling the formation of bridging capital.

Two perspectives are particularly useful for this doctoral research. The first is provided by Halpern (2005), who masterfully integrated the many strands of social capital theory across three levels of analysis – micro, meso and macro (Halpern, 2005: 26-27) and who identified three basic components of social capital: (i) a network; (ii) shared norms, values and expectations; and (iii) sanctions that reinforce the network norms, which are expressed in bonding, bridging and linking relationships. The resulting three by three cubic matrix, reproduced in Figure 2.1 (below), provides a basis for the conceptual framework developed in the next chapter.

Macro

Meso

Micro

Links
Bridges
Bonds

Network   Norms   Sanctions
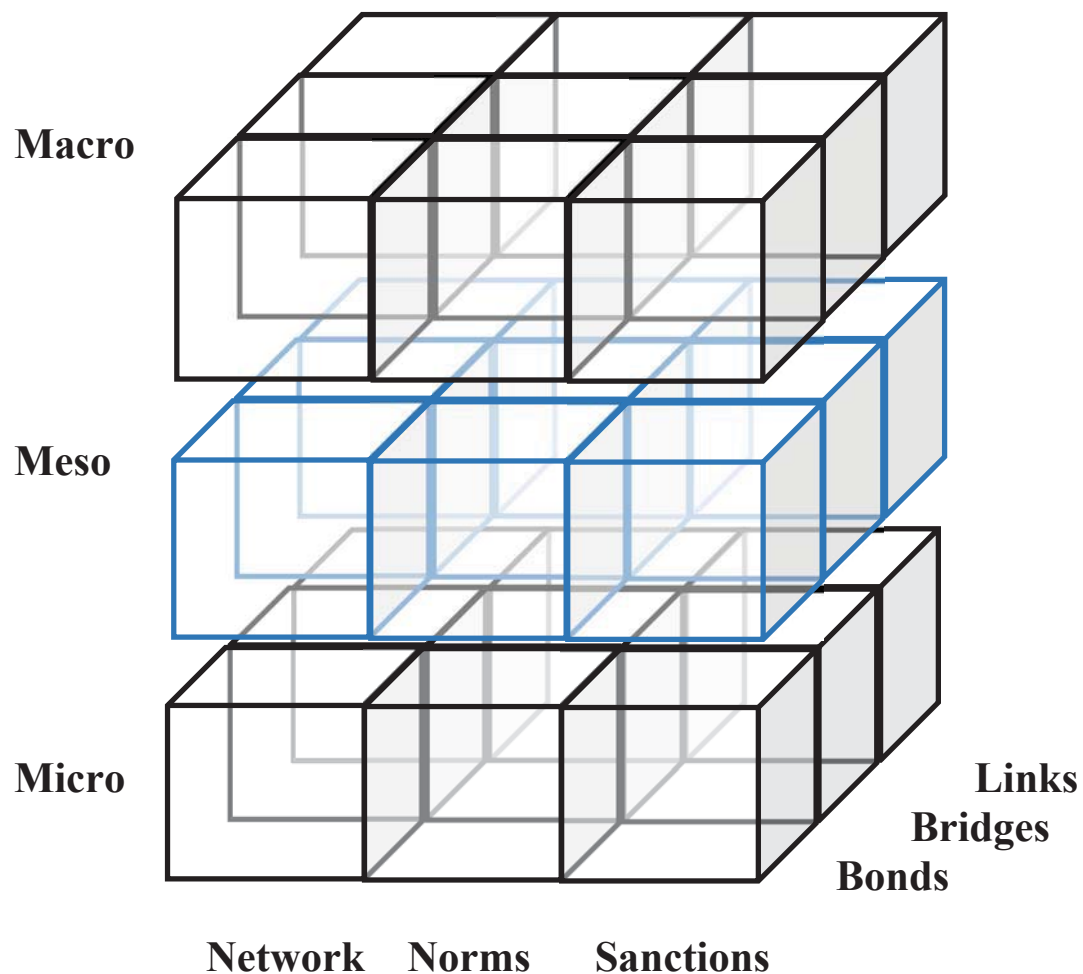
Figure 2.1 Social Capital as framed by Halpern, 2005

The other useful perspective is provided by Tara Yosso (2005), who applied a critical race theory perspective to Bourdieu's framework by connecting cultural, social and other capitals and framing them in terms of 'community cultural wealth'. These are visually represented in Figure 2.2 (below). Yosso challenged the deficit view of marginalised groups, arguing that Bourdieu portrayed some groups as culturally wealthy and others as culturally poor due to his reference point being white middle class culture. By contrast, Yosso proposed education as a strategy to mobilise, develop, and revalue the community cultural wealth (CCW) of marginalised groups to develop alternative social norms to those imposed by privileged groups (Yosso, 2005: 76). This study draws on Yosso's insights while recognising that her work focuses on the sphere of education and locates social capital at the micro-level. For the purposes of this study, her concept of CCW will be used to explore the way CCW contributes to the

development of leadership capacity amongst marginalised groups as an alternative way to enable social inclusion. In addition, from Halpern's multi-level perspective, Yosso's concept of CCW will be reframed as social capital which connects and organises cultural capital, human capital, and the other capitals she identifies.
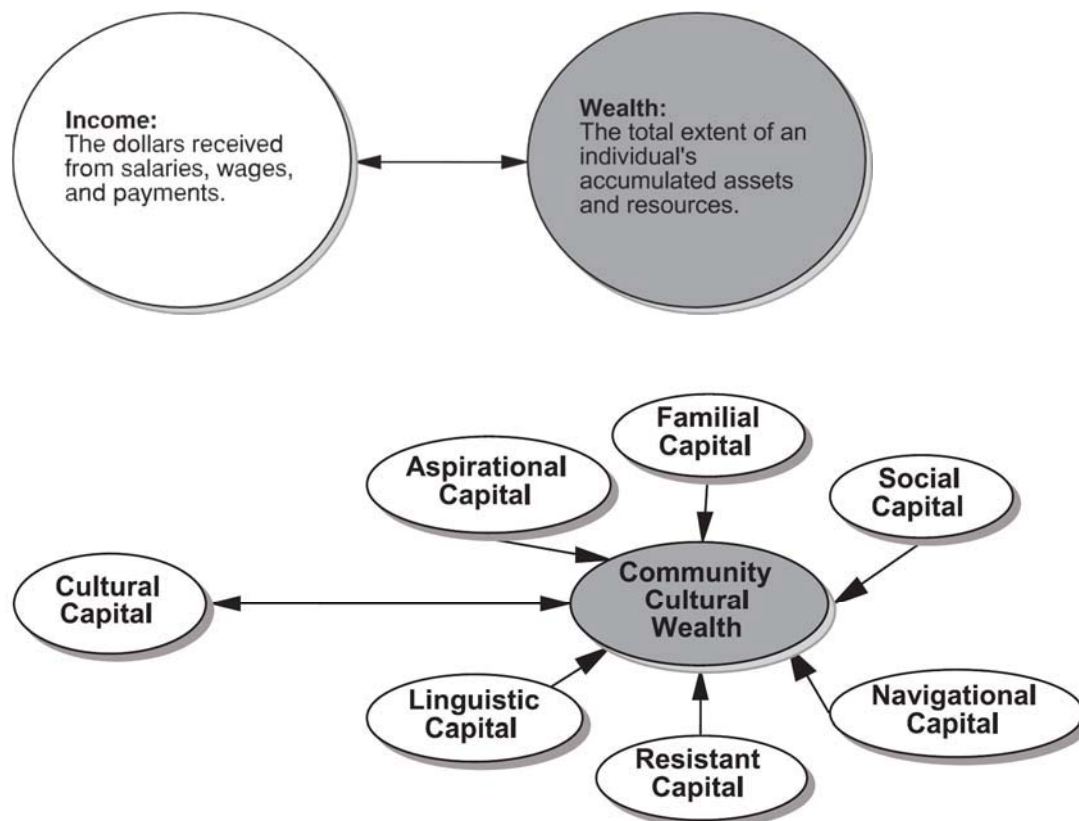
Figure 2.2 Tara Yosso's model of Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005: 78)

Leader Development and Leadership Development

The fields of leadership studies and leadership development have become more distinct in the last decade (Day et al., 2014), although Avolio (2010: 722) and Day et al. agree that leadership development remains under-researched. Day and O'Connor (2003: 11) argued that research has been constrained by the complexities of local and contextual factors, while Day (2011) pointed out that investigating the longitudinal and multi-level nature of leadership development is not straightforward.

Rost (1991, 1993) identified a paradigm shift in leadership studies, and also drew a distinction between leader development and leadership development. For Rost, leader

development focused on the leader, while leadership development included development of the followers and organisational capacities that enabled leadership to be effective. Rost drew on Hosking and Morley's (1988) social constructionist research perspective on leadership as a process of organising to describe industrial and post-industrial paradigms.

Rost's distinction between leader development and leadership development has not been universally recognised. For example, it does not feature prominently in Avolio's 'full-range' leadership development model (Avolio, 1999, Antonakis and House, 2002, Avolio, 2011). Avolio's framework is wide-ranging, with many components, including: individual leader recognition; relationships; shared and distributed perspectives; social constructionist ('co-created') conceptions (2011: 91); and full-range leadership theory itself (Avolio, 2011). Avolio drew on positivist empirical studies (2011: 49-73), supplemented with case studies (2011: 27-32) and interviews (2011: 113, 165). Despite including constructionist approaches to leadership development, Avolio ignored philosophical issues relating to research perspectives, and also neglected social capital, which had become an important concept in other leadership development literature.

Day (2000) expanded on Rost's work, drawing on Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998) to distinguish between leader development as building human capital skills and knowledge, on the one hand, and leadership development as building social capital, on the other. Subsequently, Day et al. (2004) linked individual human capital development to leadership as an organisational capacity arising from learning and cooperation within teams. Iles and Preece (2006) argued that confusion between leader development and leadership development led to misdirected and poorly planned investments in individual leader development that benefited the individuals but did not necessarily produce the desired leadership capacity for the organisation. McCallum and O'Connell (2009) developed Day's distinction further, exploring ways leaders and organisational leadership capacity can benefit from the acquisition of relational 'social capital skills'. Note that community leadership scholars such as Keating and Gasteyer (2012) have explored the potential role of other capitals, including Bourdieu's notion of cultural capital, to develop a more holistic conceptualisation of leadership

development, although without consideration of the distinction between leader and leadership development.

Espedal et al. (2013) presented two case studies of Scandinavian multinationals with leadership development programs which were intended to build social capital internationally within the corporations. One succeeded, because it adopted an approach that encouraged both bonding and bridging capital within a 'values-based corporate culture that put a premium on the benefits of inter-unit cooperation as a basis for profitability' (2013: 611). The other combined a human capital leader development approach focused on 'high potentials' with a strategy to build bridging social capital. However, this focused narrowly on efficiency and productivity and rejected an earlier emphasis on organisational culture. The evaluation of this program found that it had eroded existing bonding social capital and that as a result the hoped for benefits of bridging capital failed to emerge. Similarly, Bilhuber Galli and Müller-Stewens (2012) argued that the purpose of leadership development was to build social capital for the firm, but that leadership development practices needed to be intentionally matched to the type of social capital desired. These studies are particularly relevant to the case studies in this research, as the organisations place differing emphases on efficiency, productivity and more holistic values based approaches to leadership development.

Day's (2000) review of leadership development provided a description of what was meant by social capital which emphasised the networking functions and contribution to efficiency and productivity. McCallum and O'Connell (2009), and then Day himself in collaboration with Drath (2012), construed this as developing relational or social capital *skills* rather than social capital itself, de-emphasising the role of relationships entirely. These skills were envisaged as becoming part of the individual leader's skillset. Arguably this is a human capital antecedent for the formation of social capital, rather than social capital itself, which would be a collective property. Social capital construed in this way may be restricted to the micro-relational level, with no process for developing organisation wide cognitive capital in the form of a collective paradigm or common understanding as envisaged by Tsai and Ghoshal (1998) and incorporated into Day's (2000) framework.

Scholars connected to the Centre for Creative Leadership (CCL) also differentiated between leader and leadership development (Van Velsor and McCauley, 2004). Palus and North (2004) and O'Connor and Quinn (2004) discuss individual and organisational capacity development. O'Connor and Quinn (2004) detail a framework that is particularly important for this research, especially the notion that leadership is a *capacity*. Through an in-depth case study, they explored leadership development as a means of enhancing direction, alignment, and commitment to build organisational capacity (2004: 419). As they saw it, leadership is a systemic property, involving meaning making, and draw on network theories of social and organisational capital. Like Day (2000), they drew on Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998) construal of social capital, connecting leadership development to: *structural* capital in the form of formal and informal networks; *relational* capital as the qualitative aspects of how agents relate to each other; and *cognitive* capital as the common understandings that enable direction, alignment, and commitment.

In O'Connor's collaboration with Day, which provided an overview of leadership development (Day and O'Connor, 2003), human, social, and *systems* capital were presented as part of a multi-level, multidimensional leadership development model. In this model, *leader* development involved individual knowledge and skills, while *leadership* development occurred through the enhancement of social capital and by building the organisation's systems capital.

Drath et al. (2008), who were also connected to the Centre for Creative Leadership, drew on organisational cognition theory to describe relational leader*ship* development as reweaving webs of belief that enable the formation of direction, alignment, and commitment (DAC). Drath et al. envisaged this as involving the whole collective in 'the development of the beliefs and practices that are used to develop DAC – that is, the development of the leadership culture' (Drath et al., 2008: 649). DAC resonates with the concept of collective goal orientation proposed by Leana and Van Buren (1999) as a form of collective cognitive social capital. This understanding of leadership development was later adopted by McCauley et al. (2010), where leadership development was described as building the organisational capacity to create direction, alignment and commitment. Yet this construal of leadership and leadership development to enable DAC did not engage with the concept of social capital.

Uhl-Bien (2003) noted the importance of relationship formation and social capital within leadership development processes. In an article that appears to have paved the way for her ground-breaking articulation of Relational Leadership Theory, she argued that: leadership occurs when individuals use influence to create change; leadership is a behaviour, not a formal role (therefore, individuals not in formal roles are leaders when they use leadership behaviours); and finally, leadership influence to create change is enabled by effective relationships (2003: 133-135).

This association of leadership with change is common in the leadership literature (e.g. Yukl, 2010; Northouse, 2013). **However, leadership *development* is less commonly associated with building the capacity to enable change, as I argue in this thesis**. Further, the type of change enabled by leadership in a business setting is quite different to the *social* change required to enable social inclusion.

In the South African context, Kirk and Shutte (2004: 237) offered a study of cross-cultural community leadership capacity building as a way to 'build leadership capacity in communities of difference who are seeking effective integration'. They employ three strategies: dialogue, collective empowerment and connective leadership, building on local cultural leadership model of 'ubuntu' to simultaneously develop leadership at the 'chief' (CEO) and 'distributed' level.

Howard and Reinelt (2007) also connected social change and leadership development, arguing that successful social change requires mobilisation of a 'critical mass of leaders' around common concerns. They describe leadership development as 'identifying, selecting, supporting, and connecting diverse leaders' to build capacity for change (2007: 343). They also expand the concept of social change to include feelings and perceptions rather than structural shifts. In effect they implicitly incorporate both cognitive and network aspects of social capital in their approach to leadership development.

Another African perspective that is particularly relevant due to its Relational Leadership and social constructionist approach is that of Bolden and Kirk (2011), who described a systemic approach to developing individual leaders and networks of relationships for community-level social change. Building social capital is a key part of their framework, as it enables 'connective leadership ("seeing together"), collective

empowerment ("walking together") and dialogue ("talking together") … between different people and groups' (2011: 23).

In the North American context, Ospina is a particularly significant social change leadership scholar, who has also forged innovative and rigorous social constructionist research methodologies. Ospina and Foldy (2005), Ospina and Sorenson (2006), Foldy et al. (2008), and Ospina and Foldy (2010) developed a social change leadership framework. Ospina et al. (2012) then connected social change leadership with the relational leadership perspective initiated by Uhl-Bien (2006). Ospina and her colleagues drew on transformational, collective, and constructed leadership theory, and utilised multiple qualitative methods to gather data for a longitudinal study of organisations which emphasised relationality and collective leadership.

The collaboration between Ospina and Uhl-Bien (2012b) involved two proponents of differing research perspectives, cooperating to explore cross-paradigm dialogue on relational leadership. Relationality had become increasingly important in leadership research, calling attention to the 'interrelated, interdependent, and intersubjective' aspects of human organising (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000: 551), with leadership emerging in the relational 'space between' people (Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012a: 575). RLT brought together the entity-oriented, cognitive relational processes of individuals into conversation with notions of context, social construction, as well as collective and systemic aspects of social and relational processes.

Uhl-Bien (2006: 668-9), defined relational leadership as a social influence process whereby 'social systems change through the structuring of roles and relationships' and 'relational interactions contribute to the generation and emergence of social order'. Between 2003 and 2006, her focus shifted from relationships themselves to relational processes where relationships were structured as an outcome, rather than considered as an enabling input for relational leadership (Uhl-Bien, 2003). Uhl-Bien divided the various leadership perspectives into those that emphasise the role of individuals (entity perspective) and those that emphasise processes of social construction (relational perspective) and argued that these perspectives and the associated methodologies could be complementary and even productively mixed or combined.

Leadership development is implicit and inherent within the latest iteration of Ospina et al.'s (2012) social change leadership theory. Here, leadership is seen as a socially constructed outcome, rather than an input. Drawing on a multi-modal longitudinal study of social change organisations and networks, these scholars describe processes that build individual, organisational and inter-organisational capacity to enable social change. For them, relational leadership processes provide the means for *building* collective power relationally in an action-reflection cycle (2012: 267), as well as for *leveraging* that power for maximum effectiveness. This involves 'strategic action' (2012: 268), 'power analysis' (2012: 275) and 'creating collective capacity' at the individual, organisational, and inter-organisational levels (2012: 277). Ospina et al. (2012: 270) identified inclusion as the underlying theory of social change, where systemic change is intended to break down situations or systems that exclude some from benefits obtained and/or obtainable by others.

The relational view of leadership developed by Ospina and Uhl-Bien (2012d) and their collaborators could be described as an emerging consensus that recognises leadership 'not as a trait or behaviour of an individual leader, but as a phenomenon generated in the interactions among people acting in a context' (Fairhurst and Uhl-Bien, 2012: 1043). In fact, Uhl-Bien and Ospina argued that relationality is now the 'starting point of most inquiry' in leadership studies (Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012b: 539). This view assumes that leadership is a collectively constructed process that emerges from human interactions and enables people to 'work together in meaningful ways' (Day, 2000: 582) and to 'produce leadership outcomes' (Fairhurst and Uhl-Bien, 2012: 1043). This framework recognises Day's 'social capital skills' as 'relational leader development' (Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012b: 562).

These various approaches to leadership development as capacity building, and leadership for social change contexts, are particularly relevant to this study's aim of analysing leadership development for social inclusion. The various approaches share commonalities around the building of relationships and the importance of developing collective understanding and perceptions. There are gaps within the 'entity' perspective on leadership development within RLT due to the dominance of the network perspective on social capital and a tendency to focus on 'social capital skills' rather than actual social capital (Day, 2000, McCallum and O'Connell, 2009, Day and

Drath, 2012). There is also a tendency to consider leader and leadership development separately. The constructionist perspective within RLT also neglects social capital other than to differentiate between leader and leadership development (Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012b: 562, 564), while empirical studies have not rigorously connected relational leadership with social capital. These conceptual limitations are addressed within this thesis, beginning with the next Chapter's conceptual framework.

In summary, the most relevant leadership development literature for this study includes relational leadership theory (Uhl-Bien, 2006, Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012b); O'Connor and Quinn's (2004) approach to social capital; Drath et al.'s (2008) DAC Theory; and social change leadership capacity building particularly as envisaged by Ospina, Foldy et al. (2010, 2012), Kirk and Shutte (2004) and Bolden and Kirk (2011). These scholars have explored the building of multi-level capacity through relational and social processes and highlighted the potential of relational approaches to leadership development as a way to build capacity for social change. Together, these perspectives contribute to the conceptual framework in Chapter Three, which will be employed to analyse the empirical case study data.

Conclusion to Chapter Two

This chapter identified the gap between leadership development and social inclusion which is the subject of this research. To guide this study, the bodies of knowledge relating to social inclusion and leadership development were reviewed, along with social capital which was selected to provide a conceptual bridge between the concepts of interest. The continuing relevance of social inclusion will be further explored in Chapters Three and Five.

Despite a period where social inclusion was a public policy priority (Levitas, 2003), no sustained scholarly effort has explored the potential of leadership development amongst marginalised groups to enable their inclusion in, and contribution to society. The lack of a connection between the concepts of social inclusion and leadership development may have contributed to this oversight. Social capital is well suited to bridge these topics, as it plays a significant role in both leadership development and social inclusion scholarship. Halpern's multilevel integration of different perspectives

on social capital provides a useful multilevel, multidimensional framework for the conceptualisation of leadership development as a social inclusion strategy.

The fields of leadership and leadership development also feature multiple views, summarised in the literature as entity and constructionist perspectives. RLT was identified as an attempt to connect some of this segregated scholarship, along with Drath et al.'s (2008) focus on the beliefs and practices that enable leadership in the form of direction, alignment, and commitment (DAC). However, RLT has not yet generated either an integrated cross-paradigm perspective or multi-level framework on leadership development, while the emphasis on relational processes rather than outcomes limits the capacity to engage issues of social structure. Addressing these limitations is a core objective of this doctoral research. In the next chapter a multilevel conceptual framework is developed that will enable the analysis of the way leadership development enables social inclusion in the case studies selected for investigation.

Chapter Three: Developing Relational Leadership Capital to Enable Social Inclusion: A Conceptual Framework

Introduction

This chapter proposes Inclusive Relational Leadership Development (IRLD) as an integrative conceptual framework for the analysis of approaches to leadership capacity development in organisations whose goals include social inclusion. Critical conceptual building blocks in this framework include leadership, human capital, social capital, cultural capital and social inclusion, as well as supplementary concepts of agency, collective efficacy, and power. The conceptual framework adopts a multi-level perspective and the concept of social capital is construed as the conceptual and practical bridge between social inclusion and leadership development processes.

The conceptual framework was developed to address the following research questions:

1. What beliefs and practices inform leadership development within not-for-profit organisations in support of their social inclusion aims?

2. How do relationships and relational processes build social capital to develop leadership capacity?

3. What role does leader and leadership development play in building social and other forms of capital to enable social inclusion?

As noted in the previous chapter, relational leadership theory (Uhl-Bien, 2006, Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012d, Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012c) addresses complex cross-paradigm concepts and their epistemological origins. To develop theory around relational leadership capacity development, it was necessary to examine the assumptions informing different research paradigms and develop a cross-paradigm conceptualisation. This also provides a philosophical foundation for engaging with the cross-paradigm issues involved in the organisation and interpretation of both quantitative and qualitative case study data.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section outlines the philosophical issues that frame the research, beginning with an exploration of Kuhn's (1970) conceptualisation of research paradigms. It then proceeds to explain the relational and critical realist research perspective that informs this doctoral research. This framing section then concludes with a brief note on the approach taken to multilevel phenomena, which are an important aspect of this thesis.

The second section of the chapter outlines how the core concepts of social inclusion, capital, agency, efficacy, and power have been approached. Attention is then given to the role of different forms of capital in relation to leadership development. In this regard Rost's (1993) and Day's (2000) important distinction between leader development and leadership development is expanded to distinguish between a 'narrow' focus on efficiency, productivity and profit, as opposed to the 'broader' person centred approach which aligns both the mission and development goals of not-for-profit organisations. On this basis, a new theoretical multilevel conceptualisation of relational leadership development is presented. The chapter concludes with a theoretical proposal for conceptualising relational leadership development and its role in building capacity in the form of Leadership Capital. This integrates the preceding elements and forges a conceptual bridge between relational leadership development and social inclusion. This framework will then be used to analyse evidence assembled in the mixed methods qualitative and quantitative case studies presented in Chapters Six to Eight.

Competing Paradigms

Paradigm theory was proposed in 1962 by Kuhn (1970), a theoretical physicist turned historian of science. Kuhn studied the cases of many well-known scientific advances to describe the role of shared beliefs and practices in enabling scientific collaboration and progress. The term 'paradigm' was coined to describe the way a breakthrough scientific achievement could provide an exemplary model for conducting research. If affirmed by other scholars as valid, the new approach established shared beliefs and practices that could enable communities of researchers to coordinate and compare their efforts.

Kuhn's perspective suggested that scientific breakthroughs were more about achieving consensus than about 'actual' knowledge. The central concept of Kuhn's theory was that a paradigm created agreement about a 'fit between theory and nature' (1970: 81), where observations met 'paradigm-induced expectations' (pp. 52-3). He argued that this would facilitate a period of 'normal science' (p. 24), where the new paradigm enabled puzzle solving, and incremental knowledge expansion, as well as refinement of the beliefs and methodologies of the paradigm itself. This process would continue until the limits of the paradigm were revealed as anomalies became apparent, and observations began to diverge from paradigm induced expectations (p. 52).

Paradigm theory describes the sense-making models or theories that enable interpretation of experiences and observations. Paradigms are worldviews. Scientists operating within different paradigms observe the same reality completely differently (Kuhn, 1970: 111, 150). Indeed, because paradigms are largely invisible (p. 136), it is quite common for scientists (and laypersons) to be unaware of the essentially subjective nature of their paradigm and to believe they directly perceive the truth (pp. 170-171).

Paradigm theory is flexible and scalable (1970: 6-7) and has been applied in many contexts. Kuhn (1970: 94) himself drew an analogy between scientific and political revolutions. Silver (1994) delineated three socio-political paradigms that shaped policy debates about social exclusion. Leadership and organisation scholars such as Bennis (1986: 66) described common vision in an organisation as a paradigm, while Schein (2010) and Ouchi & Wilkins (1985) saw organisational cultures as paradigms. At the macro-social level, neoliberal values and assumptions that influence social, political and economic belief and practice have been described as the current 'dominant paradigm' by scholars such as Chomsky (1999), Harvey (2007), and Gauthier and Martikainen (2016).

The field of leadership studies has recently experienced much discussion and debate about research paradigms. To avoid confusion arising from the wide range of possible meanings for the term 'paradigm', this research will primarily use the term to refer to research perspectives. When discussing the negotiation of shared beliefs and practices that enable leadership development and social inclusion, the concept of social capital

will be deployed to deal with phenomena that could be described as in paradigm terms. An exception to this will be where the scholarship explicitly uses the term, such as in descriptions of the Neoliberal context in Chapter Five.

Table 3.1 (below) provides a range of research paradigms based on Guba and Lincoln's (1994) widely referenced paradigm framework for the social sciences. Guba and Lincoln describe four paradigms: *positivism, postpositivism, critical theory*, and *constructivism* and they delineate different paradigms by comparing foundational assumptions about the nature of reality (ontology), knowledge (epistemology), and approaches to constructing knowledge (methodology). Within Guba and Lincoln's framework, *positivism* is the 'received view' or dominant paradigm (Guba and Lincoln, 1994: 108), associated with centuries of quantitative approaches to science and a direct one-to-one correspondence between reality and knowledge, object and subject. For Guba and Lincoln (1994: 108-9), postpositivism represents a limited attempt to address the 'most problematic' aspects of positivism while preserving as much of the positivist framework as possible. *Critical theory* represents a range of alternative perspectives in Guba and Lincoln's (1994: 109) view, which seek to reveal the subjective value based motivations of the researcher and impose an alternative objective reality on the interpretation of data. Finally, *constructivism* is relational and relative, with reality understood as knowledge 'created in interaction among investigator and respondents' (1994: 111)

Guba and Lincoln's framework has been critiqued as a caricature of positivist and post-positivist positions (Morgan, 2007) and new paradigms have been proposed since they published. Accordingly, I have added new material to their Table to include an overview of the Relational and Social Constructionist perspectives that have emerged from the Constructivist tradition, drawing on Hosking (1988, 2002, 2006) and Dachler and Hosking (1995). Similarly, I have added additional material on Critical Realism, drawing on Bhaskar (1978), Morgan (2007), Maxwell and Mittapalli (2010).

These overviews of paradigms provide background material for the relational leadership literature, where paradigms are a topic of much discussion. Hosking (2005), Uhl-Bien (2006), Ospina and Uhl-Bien (2012c) and various collaborators have argued that postpositivism, constructivism, and critical realism overlap, proposing 'entity' and

'constructionist' perspectives as descriptors for competing paradigms and exploring the possibility of cross-paradigm interplay and dialogue. In the section following the table below, I describe the relational and critical realist research paradigm adopted for this study. This hybrid approach is a response to calls within leadership studies for cross-paradigm research (Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012c).

Table 3.1. Basic Beliefs (Metaphysics) based on Guba and Lincoln (1994:109)

Table 3.1. Source: Guba and Lincoln (1994:109) 'Basic Beliefs (Metaphysics) of Alternative Inquiry Paradigms' supplemented by later authors as cited.

	Ontology	Epistemology	Methodology
Positivism (entity)	Naïve realism – 'real' reality apprehend-able.	Dualist/objectivist; findings true.	Experimental/manipulative; verification of hypotheses; chiefly quantitative method
Post-Positivism (entity)	Critical realism – 'real' reality but only imperfectly & probabilistically apprehended	Modified dualist/objectivist; critical tradition/community; findings probably true.	Modified experimental/manipulative; critical multiplism; falsification of hypotheses; may include qualitative methods
Critical Theory	Historic realism virtual reality shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, & gender values – crystallised over time	Transactional/subjectivist; value-mediated findings	Dialogic/Dialectical
Constructivism	Relativism – local and specific interpreted/ constructed realities.	Transactional/subjectivist; created findings.	Hermeneutical/dialectical
Constructionism (Social/Relational)	Relational processes have ontology; Reality, Individuals and phenomena –obtain ontology via epistemological processes … i.e. no real world without social systems open/changing. (Dachler & Hosking 1995) (Hosking, 2005)	Knowing is relating. Meaning constructed through language, in relational space in multiple local realities. (Dachler & Hosking 1995) Entities constructed. (Hosking, 2005)	Content & process intertwined. (Dachler & Hosking, 1995) Theory laden, participatory, include many perspectives, co-researchers and co-subjects. Co-creation of knowledge – not researcher driven. (Hosking 1999, 2005)
Critical Realism	Reality exists & includes our ideas about reality, social constructions, unknowable structures, & agentic causation. Reality is not fully knowable. Open social ontology, social systems open/changing. (Bhaskar, 1978)	Explanatory rather than predictive. Relational - phenomena and concept. Necessarily incomplete. (Bhaskar, 1978:21)	Cautiously explanatory of causation rather than perfectly predictive. Relational rather than objective. (Maxwell and Mittapalli, 2010) Pragmatic. (Morgan, 2007)

Relational Critical Realism

This doctoral research adopts a critical realist stance. Critical realism is a particular research paradigm that was formalised after Kuhn's proposals challenged the assumptions underlying positivism or naïve realism (Michell, 2003). Bhaskar (1975, 1978) built on Kuhn's notion that scientific knowledge relied upon shared foundational assumptions (Gergen and Gergen, 2003: 4) by proposing a new critical form of realism as a basis for scientific inquiry. Bhaskar asserted the reality of phenomena and experience, but accepted that researchers have a limited capacity to interpret and know reality directly.

Constructionist and relational perspectives (Uhl-Bien, 2006) are sometimes presented as being alternatives to critical realism (Hosking, 2005). Exemplified by Dachler and Hosking (1995), and Hosking (2005, 2006, 2011), this perspective on relational leadership emphasised the relational 'space between' entities (Bradbury and Lichtenstein, 2000). In this perspective, entities themselves (whether collective or individual) are produced, reproduced, and constrained within relational processes of social construction. This contrasts with what relational leadership scholars such as Ospina and Uhl-Bien (2012b) refer to as the 'entity perspective', which emphasises the role of individual and collective actors to purposefully and intentionally exercise agency.

Rather than accept an 'either/or' choice between paradigms, this study adopts a 'both/and' approach in line with Morgan (2007), who notes the significant personal agency exercised by constructionist scholars, and who favours cross-paradigm pragmatism. In addition, this thesis accepts the call made by Ospina and Uhl-Bien (2012b, 2012c, 2012d) for relational leadership scholars to adopt multi-paradigm approaches and engage in dialogue and interplay around the roles of individual agents and relational processes of social construction. Accordingly, a **critical realist stance, informed by a pragmatic relational perspective is adopted here, which reflects an acceptance that 'there is a real world with which we interact, and to which our concepts and theories refer' (Maxwell, 2012: 3-4), but which seeks to retain the insights of relationality.**

The relational critically realist perspective that informs this research aligns well with Bourdieu's (1977, 1986, 1987, 1989) realist framework (Özbilgin and Tatli, 2005), which he developed to enable research into social structures and the machinations of agents *within* 'social space' (Bourdieu, 1989). Bourdieu's conceptualisation of social capital is significant for this thesis as the concept provides a useful conceptual bridge between leadership development and social inclusion. While not distinguishing different categories or multilevel aspects of social capital, Bourdieu (1989) did elaborate on three additional concepts that are pertinent in this regard. First, the concept of 'habitus', encompasses those 'schemes of perception, thought, and action' which *subjectively* guide and constrain the actions of agents. Second, the concept of the 'field' consists of social structures and groups or organisations. Third, the concept of 'doxa' (Eagleton and Bourdieu, 1992) was used to describe the situation where social paradigms, such as Neoliberalism, become established as 'an unquestionable orthodoxy that operates as if it were the objective truth' (Chopra, 2003: 421). By addressing the distribution of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital between agents in the field, Bourdieu's framework allows analysis of the social system and the trajectories of agents within it (Bourdieu, 1987). This thesis adopts Bourdieu's framework but at the same time seeks to bolster it with parallel perspectives, in order to address a broader constituency within the Australian intellectual and political setting.

The relational and critical realist perspective outlined above acknowledges the reality of multilevel social structures and processes. This is relevant to this study as both social inclusion and leadership development operate on different levels. The next section outlines an explicit multilevel framework to clarify the way multiple levels of social organisation are addressed in this doctoral research.

Levels of Social Organisation

The relational critical realist perspective adopted here affirms the ontological reality of relational constructions and social organisation. Consequently, this research refers to levels of organisation and 'levels of analysis' (Avolio and Bass, 1995, Chan, 1998) interchangeably, although the latter privileges the perspective of the researcher. The interplay of individual agents and social constructs envisaged by Bhaskar, parallels the

interaction between persons, social processes, organisations, and social norms involved in phenomena such as social inclusion, social capital, and leadership development.

The multilevel framework that informs this doctoral research is based on the work of Syed and Özbilgin (2009: 2436). Accordingly, it construes the macro-national level as encompassing significant national structures and institutions such as laws, social, cultural and religious norms and values, along with gender and race relations; the meso-organisational level as encompassing organisational processes, habits, rituals, hierarchies and routines that lay out expectations about gender, race, class and other types of relationship; and the micro-individual level, where individual 'power, motivation, and agency to affect change' are manifest, including gender, race, class and other expressions of identity. These levels are 'irreducibly interdependent and interrelated' (2009: 2440).

This overarching framework is also informed by the work on social change leadership conducted by Ospina and Foldy (2010) and Ospina et al. (2012), which discerned multiple levels of social organisation, including individuals, relationships, organisations, and coalitions between organisations. It has also been influenced by Tattersall (2010) who described a multilevel framework where organisations form coalitions that scale power at different levels to influence particular decision makers or opinion influencers. These multilevel frameworks provide assistance for analysing collective leadership development, social inclusion, and collective agency.

Social Inclusion

The social inclusion scholarship reviewed in the previous chapter wrestled with the complex, multidimensional and dynamic nature of the phenomena involved. Yet as Levitas (2003) noted, despite sustained attention, conceptual clarity and precision has eluded scholars and policy makers alike.

The definition of social inclusion that guides this study addresses the 'problem' of agency, which is much discussed in the literature (e.g. Atkinson, 1998, Barry, 1998, Burchardt et al., 2002). Human agency creates unique challenges in relation to social inclusion. For example, it can be argued that exclusion is only a problem when someone wants to be included, or that some forms of exclusion are unintentional

(Silver, 1994). Agency creates uncertainty about whether any particular agent is responsible for a situation, and if so, which agents should respond. Individual or collective actors can intentionally include or exclude others, or choose to exclude themselves (Atkinson, 1998, Levitas, 1998, 2005, Atkinson and Marlier, 2010: 6) so marginalised groups can be blamed for not exercising agency to better themselves (Levitas, 2005: 102). Yet as Room (1999: 171) argued, even the social norms, groups and institutions which create unintended structural exclusion are the product of 'active human agency over time'.

Further, inclusion and exclusion is spatialised (Silver, 1994), multidimensional and intersectional (Brah and Phoenix, 2004, Silver, 2010). This multidimensionality combined with the uncertainty associated with human agency makes it difficult to forge and implement effective policy responses (Silver, 1994, Levitas, 1996, Levitas, 2003, Silver, 2010) such as 'joined-up' services (Carey et al., 2015). Some of the challenges faced by marginalised groups seeking to participate in society include: the re-alignment of narrow single-issue bureaucratic processes (Atkinson et al., 2005, Carey et al., 2015); ideological perspectives and power imbalances (Geddes, 2000); and the potential unpopularity of redistributive and positive discrimination policies (Noon, 2010).

Levitas (2003: 2-3) noted three competing conceptualisations of marginalised groups within the public discourse relating to social inclusion and exclusion. In each view, the marginalised lacked something which caused exclusion. In the Redistributive (RED) discourse, they lacked money; in the Social Integrationist (SID) view they lacked employment; and in the Moral Underclass (MUD) discourse they lacked morals. However, Levitas (2003), along with scholars such as Sen (2000), Witcher (2003), Yosso (2005), Silver (2010), and Hick (2012) argued that discriminatory structures, processes, and attitudes also needed to be addressed. Further, marginalised individuals and groups have valuable resources, 'currencies' (Witcher, 2003), capabilities (Sen, 2000), and 'community cultural wealth' (Yosso, 2005) which can contribute to addressing the challenges of inclusion.

With these issues in mind, a definition has been derived from the various conceptualisations of social inclusion surveyed in Chapter Two. For the purposes of this study, social inclusion is understood as:

> *Enhancing the relative capacity of marginalised individuals and groups to voluntarily participate in the political, economic and social processes of the society in which they live.*

This definition implicitly recognises the relative nature of inclusion. It highlights the *process* of inclusion in order to enable progress toward a greater degree of inclusion and it acknowledges that marginalised people may have inabilities or 'lacks' (Levitas, 2003) which constrain their capacity to act. Yet there is an underlying assumption that marginalised people have a degree of agency and economic capital as well as a range of intangible resources such as human, cultural, and social capitals which can be controlled by individuals (Bourdieu, 1986) or communities as 'cultural wealth' (Yosso, 2005). Defining the process of social inclusion as enhancing the capacities of marginalised individuals and groups construes any activity that enables marginalised individuals to form their own intentions and 'voluntarily participate' in pursuing their own directions and goals as a social inclusion practice.

The notion of '*relative* capacity' acknowledges power differentials and the agency of others. Individuals, groups, and institutions can intentionally exercise agency to include or exclude, while social structures formed in the past may unintentionally include or exclude (Room, 1999). As Bourdieu (1986, 1989) pointed out, the relative power or capital dispositions of the various actors are important factors in determining success or failure. However, Bourdieu's argument relied on the inclusion of his concept of cultural capital within a multi-capital perspective. While cultural capital has been engaged by scholars in Australia, it has been neglected in the policy process (Jakubowicz, 2011).

The term 'relative' also acknowledges the *relational* component of agency. The success of any act intended to enhance the inclusion of marginalised groups, their supporters and Government, is partly dependent on the reaction of others. Second, human beings are not atoms that simply act and react. They also relate. Feminist scholars such as Mackenzie and Stoljar (2000), and Archer (2000), as well as Ospina

and Uhl-Bien (2012a), critique the self-interested world of atomistic individuals without relationships or social obligations envisaged by neoliberal economists and politicians. Yet they also reject the over-socialised deterministic view held by some social constructionist scholars, that agents have no autonomy and are at the mercy of predefined social structures. As Ospina and Uhl-Bien (2012a: 19) pointed out:

> [T]he relationship between the world, its actors, and the observer is also characterized by power asymmetries. Reification [of social structures] serves an ideological purpose for those in dominant positions, as it makes people "forget" that recurrent agreements sustaining structures of oppression have a social, and not a natural origin, and <u>are thus changeable</u>.

This perspective informs the analysis of relative power differentials. The relational approach involves consideration of the potential reactions of other actors, and the social processes whereby groups negotiate and coordinate action relationally, rather than envisaging individual entities setting directions and acting, reacting, or interacting atomistically. Further, as foreshadowed previously, social capital theory will provide a conceptual bridge that connects these concepts with the relational leadership development approach. Before outlining this dimension of the conceptual framework, the next sections provide a conceptual foundation by outlining the notion of capital, and then the interaction between social structure, agency, and power.

Capital

To understand the role of social capital in leadership development and social inclusion, it is important to start with the concept of capital itself as a resource which enables human agency and productivity. Adam Smith (1986: 372) first drew attention to the immense potential of the 'accumulation of stock … for … great improvement in the productive powers of labour' and the currently dominant neoliberal paradigm is derived from a revisionist construal of Smith's initial concepts (Vernon, 1998, Clarke, 2005). From Smith, Marx (1887) and others such as Weber (1978), we draw the idea that capital is an accumulated stock of resources invested in some durable form to enable production and used to leverage the capacities of labour processes to convert other resources into useful goods, including new capital.

Neo-classical economists such as Arrow (2000), depict the accumulation of capital as foregone consumption, while emphasising the efficacy of capital and de-emphasising the role of labour in the accumulation of capital, as well as in processes of production. Marx (1877) and his followers have long argued that in the capitalist system, workers forego most of the consumption while the capitalist benefits from the resulting accrued capital. Either way, capital is both an input and an outcome of a production process that accumulates the product of labour - a reification of human effort and agency (Bourdieu, 1986: 46).

Schultz (1961), and Becker (1962) introduced the concept of human capital to explain the investment in knowledge and skills that enhances productivity in the workplace. Other immaterial forms of capital followed; cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1977), social capital (Bourdieu, 1986, Coleman, 1987, Coleman, 1988), symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and other 'capitals' have been proposed. As described in Chapter Two, Day (2000) used human capital and social capital to draw a distinction between individual leader development and collective leadership development, while Yosso (2005) described several 'capitals' held by marginalised groups in her conceptualisation of community cultural wealth. These various concepts are important for this research and are explored in later sections.

Immaterial forms of capital are widely, but not universally, accepted (Arrow, 2000, Solow, 2000, Robison et al., 2002). Picketty (2014: 47) ignored social capital and dismissed human capital in his definition of capital as 'the sum total of nonhuman assets that can be owned and exchanged on some market'. He argued – from a false premise given the historic and ongoing reality of slavery (Higman, 1982, Crane, 2013)[3] - that human beings cannot be owned or exchanged, so capital must be non-human. Nevertheless, despite his reductionist definition, Picketty's central argument is persuasive. That is, capital generates average returns greater than the average rate of economic growth, and exhibits increasing returns to scale. The implication is that capital accumulated on a proprietary basis enables and sustains inequality.

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[3] Ironically, Picketty's definition of capital requires a pre-existing market, which is a form of social capital (Menzies et al., 2003: 131).

Bourdieu argued that the unequal distribution of capital was the underlying force that maintained and reproduced society and its unequal social structures. Along with others (Nitzan and Bichler, 2009), he pointed out that a blinkered focus on capital as merely a productive economic asset ignores the social and political function of capital as an accumulation and concentration of social power. Bourdieu recognised that capital has an important symbolic function, as social power, influence and respect are acquired when capital is recognised as legitimate (Bourdieu, 1986, 1987, 1989).

Bourdieu (1986, 1989) shifted the focus from the field of economic production to the social field and this distinction between the economic and the social is important for this study. Bourdieu (1977, 1986, 1989) first introduced the concept of cultural capital, then developed a capital framework that saw economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital as unequally distributed 'fundamental powers' (1989: 17) which largely explained the unequal distribution of power and agency in 'social space'. Bourdieu's capital framework will be used to analyse leader development and leadership development as relational processes that build the capacities of marginalised individuals and groups to enable social inclusion.

Despite the competitive advantages that agents with relatively greater capital holdings acquire, capital is not all powerful. A resource only becomes capital when it is accumulated and organised to enable a purpose. Human purpose gives capital its value, and at a given level of technology, capital requires *organising* to remain fit for purpose. A profitable factory can become a rusting and polluted liability if not maintained. New technology and innovation can relegate old capital holdings to obsolescence.

In this regard, Christensen's (1997) exploration of the disruptive strategies that allow innovative new firms to enter markets is helpful. Christensen (1997: 191-2) argued that the different values of start-up companies allowed them to adapt to new technologies and capture opportunities in emerging markets more effectively than established, vastly better resourced firms. Disruptive approaches leverage the agency of new entrants so they can compete and capture market share in order to accumulate capital. In the process, the accumulated capital of established competitors can be devalued and made obsolete.

Christensen suggests that disruptive entrepreneurial opportunities are as much about values and flexibility as a new technology that creates a new market niche or a new way to enter an established market. Disruption may involve a new business model, organisational culture, an approach to leading, a perspective, or a way of thinking. For the purposes of this study, it can be argued that the disruptive approach which allows an entrepreneurial firm to enter a market is a useful way of conceptualising the process by which marginalised or excluded groups can enhance their 'community cultural wealth' (Yosso, 2005) and therefore their capacity for social inclusion. During analysis, the case study data will be explored for evidence of disruptive entrepreneurial innovation that enhances human agency and the relative capacity of marginalised individuals and groups to voluntarily participate in the political, economic and social processes of the society in which they live.

Agency, Efficacy and Power

The connection between agency and capital is central to this research, as developing leaders and leadership builds human and social capital in ways that can enhance human agency. In addition, social inclusion also involves agency. Remembering that the relational critical realist perspective informing this research allows different theories and concepts to refer to overlapping phenomena, capital and agency are entwined with concepts of power. Bourdieu (1986: 47) argued that capital and social power amount to the same thing, while Giddens (1979: 92) argued that power and agency are 'intrinsically related'.

As discussed above, agency involves the capacity to be intentional about acting and reacting. The concept of agency refers to the autonomy, creativity, and self-determination that is 'synonymous with being a person' and with concepts of 'freedom, autonomy, rationality and moral authority' (Davies, 1991: 42). For Giddens (1979), agency is simply the possibility of doing otherwise, whereas Bandura (1999: 33) describes agency in personal, proxy, or collective forms. For Bandura, agency is associated with efficacy, which is belief in the power to make things happen and to organise life pursuits around meaning and purpose (Bandura, 1982, Bandura, 2000, Bandura, 2001).

Broadly speaking, there are three portrayals of agency. One focuses on autonomy and the capacity of actors to make choices and shape their destiny. This contrasts with the second view that construes choice as pre-determined and constrained by cognitive and relational social structures (Eisenhardt, 1989a). The third dialectical depiction construes agency as inherently relational, and is adopted for this study. As Emirbayer and Goodwin (1994: 1413) put it, 'social structure, culture, and human agency presuppose one another; ... intentional, creative human action serves in part to constitute those very social networks that so powerfully constrain actors in turn'. From the agency perspective, one of the most powerful constraints is the agency of others, whether actively exercised as competition or conflict, organised and accumulated in groups or institutions, or expressed in social norms. The 'organised and accumulated' forms of agency are recognisable as social capital, including social norms, which are a cognitive form of social capital which Coleman (1987, 1988) envisaged as reinforced by sanctions, often involving the active form of agency. Many of the functions enabled by cognitive forms of social capital were construed in Bourdieu's (1977, 1986, 1989) multi-capital framework as *habitus* and *doxa*. Yet in whatever construal, cognitive and relational structures do not just determine and constrain, but also enable actors (Bourdieu, 1986, Archer, 2000, Bandura, 2001). This enhances agentic capabilities (Sen, 1985), but is also problematic as it produces and sustains inequality (Bourdieu, 1986).

As noted earlier, agency creates challenges for the development and implementation of social inclusion policy because social inclusion cannot be achieved simply by marginalised agents unilaterally deciding to act differently. Pre-existing social structures (Bhaskar, 1978) and power imbalances between agents (Bourdieu, 1986) perpetuate unjust and exclusive social relations (Giddens, 1979, Granovetter, 1985, Hosking, 1988, Bourdieu, 1989). However, as Ospina and Uhl-Bien argue (2012b: 19) it is important to remember that social structures are social constructions, and are therefore changeable.

Agency is intertwined with both social inclusion (Atkinson, 1998) and power (Giddens, 1979: 91-2). Human agency is an essential feature of social inclusion because inclusion is both subjective and relational. At the same time, social *exclusion* also involves agency, whether exercised intentionally (Byrne, 2005), or unintentionally

through exclusive structures (Room, 1999). As these concepts are central to the interpretation of the qualitative and quantitative data in this study, further conceptual clarity is required.

Power is an essentially contested concept (Lukes, 1974). In the physical sciences, power is a capacity - the amount of work[4] that can be achieved in a given timeframe (Henderson, 1996-2016). In the social sciences, power is relational, and intertwined with human agency (Giddens, 1979: 91-2). Social power can exist whether or not it is used, and as Lukes (1974) argued, when it is used it may be exercised invisibly through control of the agenda or through influencing the perceptions and aspirations of dominated groups. Lukes acknowledged that power could be conceived as a capacity to achieve something, which is described as 'power to'. However, for Lukes (1974: 34), power was primarily 'power over' others, regardless of whether it was accepted as legitimate or ostensibly desired by the subject, although Lukes (2015) did acknowledge the possibility of 'power over' being used to benefit the subject.

The community organising networks studied by Ospina and Foldy (2010) and Ospina et al. (2012) define power as 'the ability to act' (Gecan, 2002, Chambers, 2003, Tattersall, 2010), which accords with the 'power to' conception. Feminist and constructionist scholars such as Teske and Tétreault (2000) and Ospina and Foldy (2005) have also proposed 'power with' as an expression of collective power where people willingly work together for a common cause. This conceptualisation aligns with Arendt's (1970: 44) perspective that: *[p]ower corresponds to the human ability not just to act, but to act in concert. Power is never the property of an individual; it belongs to a group and remains in existence only so long as the group keeps together.*

For Bandura, agency is the ability to be intentional and purposeful, while efficacy involves belief (Bandura, 2000), perception (Bandura, 2012) or confidence that the individual or collective agent has the power to achieve intentions and purposes.

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[4] Physics texts offer the following definitions of Power, Work, and Force: Power = Work/time; Work = Force X Distance; Force = Mass X Acceleration. Henderson, T. 1996-2016. *The Physics Classroom* [Online]. Illinois. Available: http://www.physicsclassroom.com. [Accessed 18 February, 2016].

Bandura's argument regarding efficacy is pertinent here insofar as it can illuminate how power can be construed as the actual capacity to carry out or achieve objectives.

To summarise these concepts that lay behind this conceptual framework: **Agency,** as exercised by an individual or collective actor, is the capacity to form intentions and be purposeful about how to act or react; **Efficacy** is belief about the ability to achieve what is intended; and **Power** is the actual capacity to act and react.

In this study, the collective 'power-with' envisaged by Arendt, is viewed as a capacity that can be accumulated through relational leader development and leadership development. To act 'in concert', as she puts it, requires more than a group. Like an orchestra, choir, or musical group, some approach to collaboration and coordination is required. Some form of organising is required, with or without a leader (Hosking, 1988). While Ospina and Foldy (2010) and Ospina et al. (2012) explore the multilevel relational processes involved in building the capacity to act 'in concert', for this study, leadership is also construed as being necessary to *sustain* power-with, which depends on the various agents' ongoing alignment and commitment to collective directions (Drath et al.).

The capacity of a collective to 'leverage' (Ospina et al., 2012) power-with in order to achieve the sort of social change involved in enabling social inclusion also depends on the degree of support and opposition encountered from other agents. The analysis of case study data will consider the way bridging social capital is forged to create allies and build power-to. In terms of dealing with potential opposition, the concepts of agency, power-with, power-to, and power-over will be used to analyse the way the case study organisations approach situations to avoid opposition where possible.

In this regard, Bourdieu's (1986, 1989) conceptualisations of social space and symbolic power are helpful. Bourdieu (1989) argued that social relations were constituted of both objective and subjective realities. For Bourdieu (1989: 17), the objective position and trajectory in social space is determined by the relative quantity and quality of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital controlled by various agents, whereas the subjective structures are determined by *habitus* (1989: 19), the cognitive schemes of perception, evaluation, and practice which evolve within groups due to their relative location in social space. Bourdieu (1986) described the ongoing

investment in relational processes to maintain the quality and quantity of economic, cultural, social, and symbolic capital accumulated within a group. He (1989) argued that the social world could be changed only by agents coming together into a group or groups that enabled them to build power in the form of symbolic capital and efficacy, which was more likely to succeed the more it was 'founded in reality' (1989: 23). This framework informs the analysis of how the case study organisations use relational leadership and mobilise social capital as they use power to pursue social inclusion objectives.

The next section outlines how Halpern's (2005) integrated social capital framework will be synthesised with Drath et al.'s (2008) conceptualisation of leadership as Direction, Alignment, and Commitment. This synthesis will be used to analyse the case study data.

Human, Social and Cultural Capital in Leader and Leadership Development

With these broad concepts in place, the elements of the conceptual framework can now be assembled. This will enable analysis of how the case study organisations use relational leadership processes (Uhl-Bien, 2006) to organise unpredictable agency - 'human energies' (Ospina et al., 2012) – to build social capital and collective power. The framework begins with a conceptualisation of individual leader development.

The starting point of this conceptual framework is to draw a new distinction between two approaches to individual leader development. Day (2000) had previously associated individual leader development with human capital to distinguish it from collective leadership development, which he associated with social capital. However, Day's (2000: 583) conceptualisation assumed a for-profit business setting, where both leader and leadership capacity are developed with a view to 'maximum return on investment'. Arguably, in the for-profit context, investments in human capital are made to narrowly enhance the skills and knowledge of staff to enable efficient production of predetermined outputs to maximise profitability for the firm. The not-for-profit case study organisations involved in this research may also seek to be efficient and generate surpluses, but they also have a broader agenda which includes the transformation and development of members, staff, clients, and society itself.

Bourdieu's (1977, 1986) notion of embodied cultural capital enables this distinction between the different motivations of the 'for-profit' and 'not-for-profit' setting to be conceptualised. Cultural capital encompasses knowledge, expertise and authority relating to such subjects as religion, philosophy, art and science (Bourdieu, 1977: 187). Embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986: 47) allows conceptualisation of a 'holistic' humanitarian focus on building up staff in an inclusive organisational culture, whereas human capital can be used to represent a 'narrow' focus on efficient delivery of outputs for profit. This is an exaggeration for the purpose of clarity, but it is nevertheless useful. Note also that Day's construal of human capital did not rule out more holistic, person-centred approaches to leader development, but for the purposes of this study it is useful to redefine his framework with the addition of cultural capital, in order to highlight the holistic approach. In this construal, notions such as 'purpose' or 'common cause' can be understood as expressions of cultural capital, which become cognitive social capital (Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998) when shared relationally between agents.

This new conceptual distinction addresses the tension between productive efficiency and concern for the workforce or the wider purpose of the organisation which has been a theme of leadership studies, noted over the decades by scholars such as Bennis (1959), Likert (1967), McGregor (1960), Burns (1978), Bennis (1986), Rost (1991), and Terry (1993). Burns, Rost, Bennis, and Terry argued that a more authentic relational approach resulted in better outcomes for all parties. Further, Rost (1991: 30) argued that Burns' notion of transformational leadership was distinctive because it was the first to include a moral and ethical dimension, but that this dimension was marginalised by later leadership scholars who reduced transformational leadership to a technique for more effective profit generation.

This construal does not assume a binary either/or, but rather allows for a mix of human capital and embodied cultural capital approaches to leader development to be conceptualised. This acknowledges Bourdieu's (1986: 48) rejection of Becker's (1962) notion of human capital as a reductionist 'economism', while retaining human capital alongside cultural capital to enable an analytic distinction between different phenomena.

With individual leader development reconceptualised, a similar distinction needs to be made between a narrow focus on efficiency, output, and profit and a holistic, values driven approach in regard to collective leader*ship* development and social capital. In Chapter Two, the description of the network perspective on social capital tended to assume a for-profit setting, with a focus on efficiency and productivity (Burt, 1997, Nahapiet and Ghoshal, 1998, Tsai and Ghoshal, 1998). Day's (2000) association of social capital with leadership development was primarily shaped by the network perspective, with social capital viewed as 'building networked relationships among individuals that enhance cooperation and resource exchange in creating organizational value' (2000: 585). By contrast, more political perspectives on social capital envisage a broader relational and social focus (Bourdieu, 1989, Putnam, 1995, Fukuyama, 1995a).

These two perspectives on leader development and collective leadership development can now be represented as a quadrant. Table 3.2 draws these four perspectives together.

Table 3.2 Human, Social, and Cultural Capital Emphases in Leadership Development

	Narrow focus on organising for efficiency and profit	*Holistic focus on building the person or collective*
Individual	Human Capital – skills and knowledge for efficient production of outputs.	Embodied Cultural Capital – consideration of the whole person.
Collective	Social Capital as network of connectivity and resources for efficient production.	Holistic Social Capital, relationality, values, vision, purpose and meaning – Cultural Capital and Community Cultural Wealth. Results in Symbolic Capital when 'recognised as legitimate' (Bourdieu, 1986).

Espedal et al. (2013) encountered the sort of distinctions envisaged here in two case studies. They used bonding and bridging social capital to represent the differing organisational emphases. Although both cases were for-profit firms with similar leadership development programs, one exhibited an inclusive, values driven organisational culture, which Espedal et al. conceptualised as bonding social capital. This was contrasted with a narrow for-profit emphasis, which emphasised bridging social capital but eroded bonding capital. Espedal et al.'s findings affirm the usefulness of the distinctions proposed for this conceptual framework but their reliance on bonding and bridging capital to conceptualise the distinction between these two programs overlooks the different motivations, values, and approaches to organisational culture in the two organisations. There are cognitive and cultural differences between the two approaches that require more nuanced conceptualisation.

One way the conceptual framework for this study will represent the distinction between approaches is to draw on Bourdieu's (1977) concept of cultural capital for the reasons outlined. This addresses the differences in motivation between the 'narrow' for-profit approach and the 'holistic' approach to collective leadership development. Cultural capital has been construed as encompassing knowledge, taste, social and cultural competence (Bourdieu, 1977: 186, 1986); as well as local knowledge, language skills, educational qualifications (Taksa and Groutsis, 2010: 83); and such notions as values and spirituality (Verter, 2003). These concepts are further supplemented with Yosso's (2005) portrayal of collective cultural capital as 'community cultural wealth', which encompasses a range of capitals including 'familial, aspirational, linguistic, resistant, navigational' resources as well as social and cultural capital (Yosso, 2005: 78).

However, the foundation of this conceptual framework is to reconceptualise social capital for collective leadership development by drawing on Halpern's (2005) three dimensional integration of social capital theory as described in Chapter Two (see Figure 2.1, p. 33). Halpern's model is reimagined as a three dimensional model of leadership social capital, or just 'leadership capital' (Ospina and El Hadidy, 2011). Ospina and El Hadidy (2011: 3) and Ospina et al. (2012: 274-276) discuss three components of leadership capacity as involving: **cognitive shifts** through 'reframing discourse'; **relational connections** that 'bridge diversity'; and 'unleashing human

energies' through a range of inclusive developmental activities aimed at eventually transforming macro-social norms and structures. This involves a **multilevel approach** to building individual, organisational, and inter-organisational capacity in the form of coalitions and collaborations with a view to leveraging power for social change (Ospina et al., 2012: 277-8).

Halpern's social capital framework already comprises *relational connections* in the form of bonding, bridging, and linking, and includes a *multilevel approach* because it includes three levels of analysis, the micro, meso, and macro level. Consequently, the only axis that requires modification is his 'network, norms, and sanctions', which needs to accommodate *cognitive shifts.* Drath et al.'s (2008) direction, alignment, commitment (DAC) framework provides a way to represent these cognitive shifts. Drath et al. described DAC in terms of organisational cognition, involving 'reweaving webs of belief' (2008: 644, 650) as ways to change practice and create leadership outcomes. This aligns with Nahapiet and Ghoshal's (1998: 244) conceptualisation of cognitive social capital as 'shared representations, interpretations, and systems of meaning'.

Day's (2000) conceptualisation of collective leadership development envisaged three forms of social capital: Structural, relational, and cognitive, derived from Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998). Uphoff (2000: 220) argued that all these forms of capital were essentially cognitive, as they all involve ideas and perceptions that are embedded in 'social structural arrangements'. Nevertheless, cognitive social capital and relational-structural capital is useful for this study, which adopts the view that all forms of social capital have both relational and cognitive aspects.

Halpern's second axis represents the relational and structural aspects of social capital, representing what O'Connor and Quinn (2004) describe as 'connectivity', and Ospina et al. (2012) describe as 'bridging difference'. This dimension draws on Nahapiet and Ghoshal (1998), and Tsai and Ghoshal (1998) who differentiated between the 'interpersonal dynamics' of relational capital and the ties and relationships themselves which constitute structural capital. Within the perspective of this study, these relational social capital and structural social capital aspects can be considered together, as interpersonal dynamics involve attitudes and values that shape relational processes,

which function within social structural relationships. Relational-structural social capital can be incorporated into Halpern's (2005) framework without further modification, as the relational and structural aspects of social capital can be encompassed within the functions of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital (Narayan, 1999, Oh et al., 1999, Woolcock and Narayan, 2000, Szreter, 2002, Szreter and Woolcock, 2004). This allows the bonding, bridging, linking distinction to represent the relational 'connectivity' (O'Connor and Quinn, 2004) and 'bridging difference' (Ospina et al., 2012) aspects of an organisation.

Halpern's (2005) three levels of analysis are also retained to complete this leadership social capital framework, providing a micro-meso-macro level structure to facilitate multilevel analysis. This provides a framework for considering Ospina et al.'s (2012: 277-8) multilevel construal of leadership capacity, while expanding Day's (2000) and O'Connor and Quinn's (2004) focus on building leadership capacity by allowing consideration of the macro-social setting. This facilitates analysis of the macro-social context which shapes the social inclusion efforts of not-for-profits at the micro-relational and meso-organisational levels. Figure 3.1 (below) depicts the three dimensions of leadership social capital, based on Halpern's (2005) integration of social capital theory, modified with Drath et al.'s (2008) 'direction, alignment, commitment' to represent cognitive social capital,
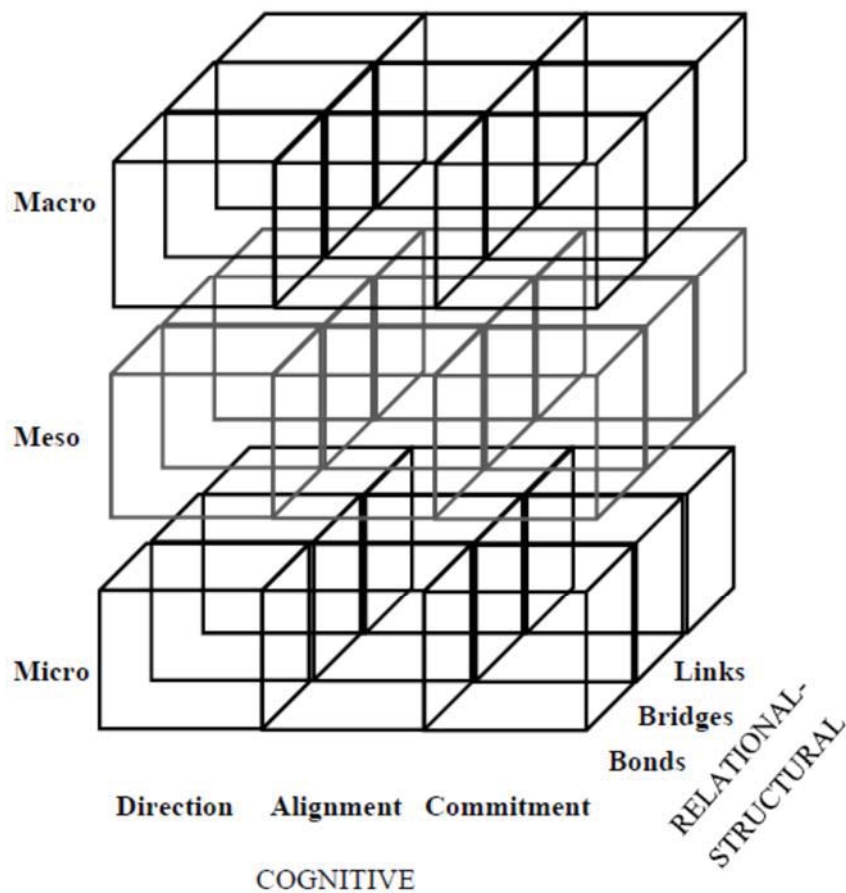
Figure 3.1 Three dimensions of Leadership Capital.

In this section of the chapter, two frameworks have been developed to compare the 'narrow' efficiency, output, and profit-focused approach with the 'holistic' inclusive, relational and purpose driven approach to leader development and collective leadership development. **Leader development** is conceptualised as either a narrow focus on **human capital** skills and knowledge, or a more holistic focus that develops **embodied cultural capital.** The development of collective leadership capital is conceptualised with a three dimensional model that involves **cognitive social capital** and **relational-structural capital** across **multiple levels.**

The next section describes the way relational leadership practice includes individual leaders in the collective, and links the practice of individual leader development with collective leadership development. In addition, the three dimensional social capital

structure within the conceptual framework provides the means to analyse the leader development and leadership development activities of not-for-profit organisations as they build and organise human capital (Becker, 1962), embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), social capital, and community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). The next section outlines how relational leadership development will be framed and incorporated into the broader conceptual framework.

Inclusive Relational Leadership Development

The 'Inclusive Relational Leadership Development' framework proposed here adopts Uhl-Bien's (2006: 655) Relational Leadership Theory (RLT) as a foundation. This theory construes leadership as an inherently multilevel 'social influence process through which emergent coordination (i.e., evolving social order) and change (e.g., new values, attitudes, approaches, behaviours, and ideologies) are constructed and produced'. RLT engages in dialogue and interplay between two perspectives, the entity perspective that emphasises individual agency and cognition, and the relational perspective that emphasises the socially constructed and inter-dependent nature of entities and shared understandings of reality. Both the RLT perspective and the practice of relational leadership (Fletcher, 2012) become useful for linking the individual and collective aspects of IRLD. As Uhl-Bien (2006: 668) puts it, RLT 'sees leadership as the process by which social systems change through the structuring of roles and relationships'.

Leadership is 'fundamentally about agency' (Ospina and Foldy, 2009: 877), which can be exercised individually or collectively (Coleman, 1988, Bandura, 2000). Attention to the practice of relational leadership enables consideration of both the micro-relational processes of individual agents and collective structuring processes involved in developing individual leaders and inviting them to commit their creative efforts to shaping and constructing the collective (Fletcher, 2012, Ospina et al., 2012).

This relational perspective enables analysis of the ways that marginalised individuals and groups build collective power to address different aspects of social inclusion in the face of systemic inequities (Ospina and Foldy, 2009). It begins with the assumption that marginalised individuals and groups are not powerless, but bring a range of capabilities and capacities to the collective. These resources may be undervalued or

unrecognised because they are compared to the norms of the dominant social groupings (Yosso, 2005). From a RLT perspective these capacities are a source of potential power, and inclusive relational leadership is required to develop strategies to revalue, reorganise, and redeploy these resources (Ospina and Foldy, 2010, Ospina et al., 2012). As Ospina et al. (2012: 270) lay it out, 'the underlying theory of change is inclusion' and 'the fundamental source of power comes from within the community, despite its perceived scarcity' (p. 274). This study will explore the way the human capital and cultural capital of marginalised individuals is mobilised to contribute to the power and efficacy of the collective. Accordingly, the concepts of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) and community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) will be used to conceptually frame these resources.

At the same time, the degree to which potential power is harnessed depends on alignment - the capacity to organise and coordinate effective collaboration between committed human agents around a collective direction (Drath et al, 2008). Ospina et al. (2012: 277) describe a multilevel process whereby human energy is organised and accumulated to build leadership capacity in the form of individual and collective efficacy (Bandura, 1983, 2000, in Ospina et al., 2012). This occurs at individual, organisational, and inter-organisational levels. For the purposes of this study the bonding, bridging, linking framework will be employed to analyse the relational structures which connect individuals into collectives to enable the creation of power-with and also to build the transmission mechanism for power-with to be leveraged as power-to (Teske and Tétreault, 2000). A simplified representation of the IRLD framework is provided in Figure 3.2 (below).
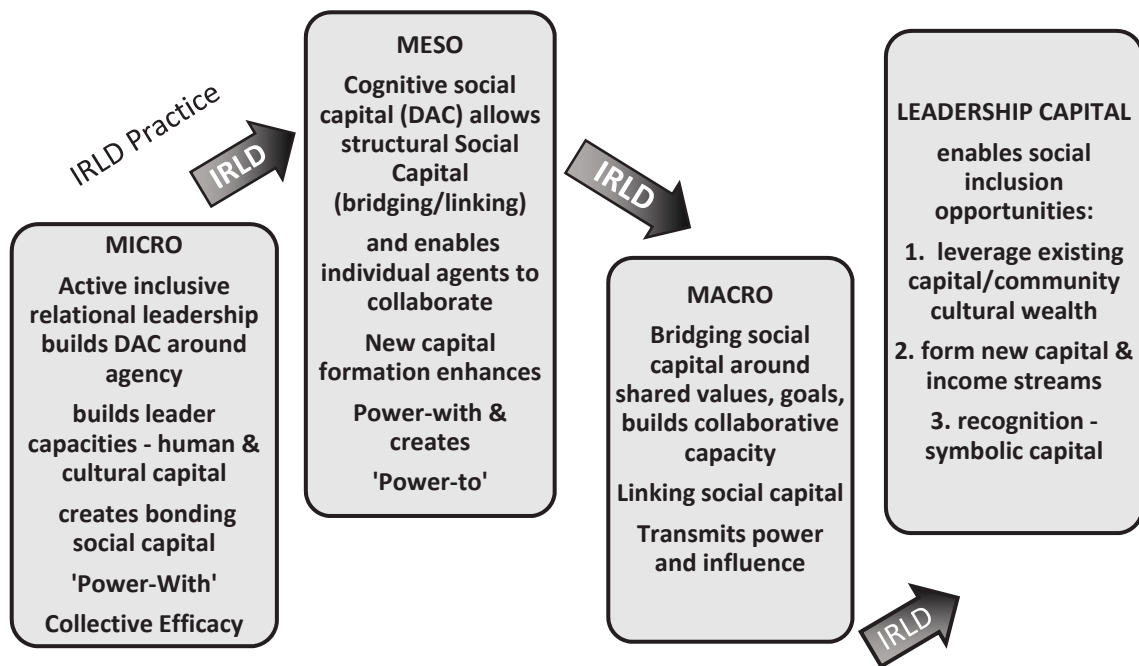
Figure 3.2 Summary Conceptual Framework

This perspective on inclusive relational leadership development (IRLD) practice will be used to analyse the interview data for evidence of relational leadership development being intentionally used to build social capital, power and efficacy. The case studies will explore the social processes, leadership and organisational cultures and structures in organisations that enable agents to collaborate and coordinate their agency with others. The accumulated capacity to create direction, align competing interests, and unleash human energies (Ospina et al., 2012) in the form of commitment (Drath et al., 2008) is envisaged in the next section where inclusion, relational leadership, and social capital are integrated in a single framework.

Inclusive Relational Leadership Development and Leadership Capital

In this section, the various concepts above are integrated into a framework to facilitate analysis of the various case studies. The Inclusive Relational Leadership Development (IRLD) framework can be used to analyse leadership development as a disruptive innovation strategy (Christensen, 1997) that can build multi-level social capital at the meso-organisational level around a common purpose and in turn contribute to community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005).

In the earlier section on capital, the argument was developed that capital is *any durable resource accumulated and organised for a purpose.* IRLD provides a framework for describing the way Inclusive Relational Leadership can be used to enable individual agents to collaborate in the accumulation and organisation of their human, cultural, and social capital to create direction, alignment, and commitment (DAC). The collective capacity which results from this meso-level structuring could be described as Leadership Capital, a term coined by Ospina and El Hadidy (2011).

Drawing on Teske and Tetreault's (2000) notions of power, bonding social capital builds 'power-with' while bridging social capital involves building DAC across difference around shared goals or values, to create 'power-to'. Enhanced collective capacity can enable social inclusion outcomes: first when collective capacity is recognised as legitimate, thereby generating symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1986); and second, as the collective more effectively participates in markets or interacts with Government which generates income streams. Further, linking social capital enables power to be 'leveraged' for social change outcomes in the form of changed policies, structures, or thinking (Ospina et al., 2012: 278). These processes alter the 'terms of inclusion' (Witcher, 2003) and revalue community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005), to enhance *the relative capacity of marginalised individuals and groups to voluntarily participate in the political, economic and social processes of the society in which they live.*

Conclusion to Chapter Three

This chapter has established the conceptual framework for this thesis. It has outlined how concepts of human, cultural, and social capital have been integrated with concepts of leader development and leadership development to enable analysis of the case study data. Within this framework, Inclusive Relational Leadership Development (IRLD) is seen to be a process that builds Leadership Capital, a designed-for-purpose multi-level form of cognitive and structural social capital in the form of organisational leadership capacity.

The IRLD framework provides a frame of reference for analysing the way the macro-social context interacts with the case studies presented in Chapters Six and Seven. This enables analysis of how pressure to be efficient and produce outputs influences the

development of leaders and leadership capacity, as opposed to the holistic development of leaders and organisations to contribute more broadly to society and social inclusion. With social inclusion and leadership development integrated within the IRLD framework, the conceptualisation offers a tool for coding and analysing qualitative interview data.

In addition, the IRLD framework informs the design of the quantitative part of this mixed-methods study, presented in Chapter Eight. This data is analysed in terms of the way individual leader development and collective leadership development create collective agency (CA) and collective efficacy (CE). CA is analysed in terms of awareness of, and personal commitment to a collective vision, while CE is analysed in terms of confidence that the vision can be achieved (Bandura, 2000). Leader development, according to this conceptualisation is viewed in terms of individual level human and embodied cultural capital, while collective leadership development is construed as enhanced structural and cognitive social capital.

Conceptually, IRLD integrates inclusion, agency, efficacy, power, structural and cognitive social capital as well as relational leadership at multiple levels of organisation. IRLD can be thought of as a set of beliefs and practices that value the potential of every human agent and relationally enable the organisation of micro-relational human energies and relationships around common directions.

The concepts discussed in this chapter provide a framework for interpreting the mixed methods case study data gathered for this study. In the next chapter, the methodology adopted is outlined to describe the way qualitative and quantitative approaches are combined in this study.

Chapter Four: Case Study Methodology and Mixed Methods

Introduction

As indicated in previous chapters, scholars have investigated leadership development and social inclusion extensively, but in isolation from each other. This thesis examines the interplay between these two phenomena. As a result, it includes some aspects of a new field of research, while utilising mature bodies of theory.

To simultaneously explore new territory while utilising established concepts and theories, this study adopted a mixed-methods, multiple case study approach. Case studies are useful for early stage theory creation. In some ways, case study research resists classification, as case studies can be used as a research method, or drawn on as a data source that contributes to qualitative, quantitative, or mixed methods studies. While qualitative methods are used for all three case studies examined here, one of the case studies also includes a meso-level quantitative study as a result of the availability of relevant survey data.

This chapter explains the rationale for adopting multiple cases, mixed methods and the selection of the specific cases and individual participants and lays out the overall research design, along with the qualitative and quantitative methods employed to gather data. Two sets of case studies are involved, the first involving two community organisations and a mix of qualitative methods, and the third of churches draws on both qualitative and quantitative data and methods.

Why Case Studies and Mixed Methods?

The importance of a good match between research questions and methodology is well documented (Silverman, 2011), although Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) and Bryman (2007) argue that the relationship between research question and methodology involves an iterative development process. Mixed methods scholars like Morse (2010: 341) affirm the primacy of the research question(s) in determining the mix of methodologies selected, as do leadership scholars such as Yukl (2010: 502).

This research began with curiosity about an overlap between leadership development and social inclusion processes and the multilevel nature of these phenomena. Initial research questions emerged from the review of the scholarship and identification of gaps in the literature. The development process was iterative, with the final form of the research questions constrained partly by pragmatic considerations of the feasibility of accessing data and the availability of data that could be adequately mastered by the researcher (Bryman, 2007).

The research questions that emerged from this development process responded to calls from Drath et al. (2008) and Fletcher (2012: 87), for research to focus on the beliefs and practices that shape the processes of leadership development. The key questions addressed are:

1. What beliefs and practices inform leadership development within not-for-profit organisations in support of their social inclusion aims?

2. How do relationships and relational processes build social capital to develop leadership capacity?

3. What role does leader and leadership development play in building social capital to enable social inclusion?

These research questions outline the different factors involved in the use of leadership development to build capacity, in the form of social capital, to enable social inclusion. This study uses qualitative case studies to explore the beliefs, practices, and relationships that shape leadership development, social capital formation, and social inclusion work. The quantitative data related to one case study is used to investigate whether and how different approaches to leadership actually build a collective sense of agency and collective capacity expressed through collective efficacy beliefs. As social inclusion involves enabling the participation of marginalised groups, the quantitative data also provides a comparison between differing socio-economic settings, exploring whether various approaches to leadership development benefit less advantaged groups as much as privileged groups.

Case studies offer the flexibility to enable exploratory and descriptive possibilities of a new field of research while allowing the testing of existing theory (Yin, 2009, Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). Case study research is particularly suited to complex phenomena in 'real life' settings, particularly when the 'boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident' (Yin, 2009: 18), facilitating exploration of the dynamics in a particular situation (Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007). The capacity to incorporate intertwined context and subject matter (Klenke, 2008, Eisenhardt and Graebner, 2007) is ideal for complex social concepts like leadership development (Hosking, 2002), social capital (Jones and Woolcock, 2007), and social inclusion (Witcher, 2003). Case studies have successfully contributed to the understanding of complexity and emergence in leadership (Plowman et al., 2007, Lichtenstein and Plowman, 2009), leadership development (Bilhuber Galli and Müller-Stewens, 2012), processes of inclusion and exclusion (Jönsson et al., 2014), and the function of social capital (Hawkins and Maurer, 2010). Pragmatically, a case study approach seemed achievable within the resources and scope of doctoral research and an approach likely to be agreeable to research participants.

A further consideration in adopting the case study approach was the capacity to address multi-level issues (Yin, 2009), since leadership development (Yammarino and Bass, 1990, Pearce, 2007), social inclusion (Atkinson and Marlier, 2010), and social capital (Halpern, 2005) are all multi-level phenomena. Such an approach makes it possible to study an organisation and also the individuals within it, through the gathering and synthesis of different types of data for each level of analysis. Kirchner and Akdere (2014) used such an approach to study leadership development in the US Army. Cepeda and Martin (2005: 852) endorsed a case study approach for 'capturing the knowledge of practitioners and developing theories'. As they argued, case studies make it possible to document the experiences of particular practices where prior research is limited, and where theory development is at an early stage, such as the relationship of leadership development and social inclusion.

A limitation of the case study approach is that unlike statistical methods or formal modelling, case studies can be perceived as having weaker external validity and limited generalizability (George and Bennett, 2004, Gibbert et al., 2008). As Ospina et al. (2012) point out, the methodological rigour of qualitative and mixed methods

approaches has been criticised by quantitative scholars. In response, it is important to ensure philosophical rigour. Yin (2009: 40-1) argued that for case study research, these concerns can be offset through selection of appropriate cases. Rigorously executed case study research ensures internal validity and reliability (George and Bennett, 2004, Gibbert et al., 2008). In general, case study research is seen as a valuable part of the mix of social science methodologies (George and Bennett, 2004). In fact, Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007) argue that theory building from case studies is comparable to mathematical modelling in terms of objectivity, as the theory is constrained by the case data.

With these advantages, concerns, and limitations in mind, a case study methodology has been selected as appropriate for this research as it offers the capacity for flexible inquiry about a new topic, with the flexibility to consider complex, multi-level and contextual factors.

Case Study Research and the Research Philosophy

As discussed in Chapter Three, the research perspective adopted for this study is relational, critical, and realist. This research not only breaks new ground in relating leadership development to social inclusion, but also by using social capital as a bridging concept. These are mature concepts. Yet despite a degree of scholarly consensus in the literature, there remain competing perspectives or paradigms in regard to each, which are often represented as incommensurable (Guba and Lincoln, 1994, Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012a, Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012c).

Mixed methods research (MMR) is thought to allow engagement with competing research paradigms and perspectives (Morgan, 2007), and responds to calls for paradigm interplay in relational leadership research (Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012b). Teddlie and Tashakkori (2010: 9) argue that MMR involves the adoption of a 'dialectic stance' that assumes 'all paradigms have something to offer and that the use of multiple paradigms in a single study contributes to greater understanding of the phenomenon under investigation'. Further, MMR rejects the binary 'either-or [construals of] the paradigm debates [in favour of] continua that describe a range of options' (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2010: 9-10).

The quantitative and qualitative methodologies which contribute to this research have all been conducted within the relational critical realist research perspective outlined in Chapter Three. This approach seeks to maintain a dialectic relationship that draws on the strengths of each paradigm (Teddlie and Tashakkori, 2010: 9). The statistical approach of the quantitative part of this study provides an alternative perspective on related data; and the qualitative investigation allows a nuanced exploration of the way practitioners reflect on 'meanings, beliefs, values, and intentions' along with the influence of their particular context (Maxwell, 2012: 40, 114).

Yin's (2009: 5) classification of case studies differentiates between exploratory, descriptive, and explanatory case studies. The boundaries between these approaches are not clearly defined, but assist in avoiding 'gross misfits' (2009: 8). As this doctoral research is focused on the previously unexplored relationship between leadership development and social inclusion, an exploratory and descriptive stance was deemed appropriate (Yin, 2009).

Generalisability is enhanced through the selection of multiple case studies and mixed methods (Yin, 2009: 39-40). This approach takes advantage of the capacity of qualitative approaches to deal with complex and multi-level phenomena, complemented by quantitative data that can support claims of validity and broader relevance (Conger, 1998). Specifically, the quantitative study provides evidence that relational leadership development enables micro-level agents to collaborate effectively to create meso-level resources.

The unit of analysis was not immediately obvious as leadership development and social inclusion are multilevel phenomena that can be studied through organisations, individuals, relationships, concepts, or other entry points. Two studies in particular assisted in defining the unit of analysis as the *beliefs and practices* about leadership development and social inclusion which informed the work of the case study organisations. The first was Drath et al. (2008) who argued that leadership research should begin with research questions about the practices that enable direction, alignment, and commitment (DAC), and the beliefs that inform and shape these practices. The second, was Ospina et al. (2012: 263), who argued that social action involves a 'dialectical relationship between humans and their world'. This led them to

focus on *practice* in organisational settings as the base unit of analysis. These exemplars informed the development of this study's research questions, design of qualitative interview instruments, and the selection of survey items for the quantitative study.

Selection of Cases

Cases were selected through purposive (Teddlie and Yu, 2007), theory driven (Eisenhardt, 1989b) sampling. Through this approach cases are selected to address the 'specific purposes associated with answering a research study's questions' (Teddlie and Yu, 2007: 7), or as Eisenhardt (1989b: 537) framed it, choosing 'cases which are likely to replicate or extend the emergent theory'. Both the selection of organisations and individual participants within each organisation were purposive.

Factors influencing these decisions included the need to facilitate a mixed methods approach to the research questions; the accessibility of data and willingness to participate; and a balance between comparability and contrast. Organisations and sectors were identified where social inclusion was a central concern, and where leadership development could be examined.

Ethical considerations meant that rather than studying marginalised individuals or groups directly, it was considered better to focus on organisations engaged in social inclusion work with marginalised groups. A range of alternatives were identified, with the migrant and refugee settlement sector selected as it met all the criteria. Two organisations agreed to participate, one large and the other small. The two organisations were formally connected to each other in a membership-partnership arrangement that will be described in the case study chapters.

Churches are also involved in social inclusion and exclusion (Putnam and Campbell, 2012) and provide an opportunity to compare and contrast. In recent times, case studies of churches have resulted in cutting edge leadership research (Plowman et al., 2007, Lichtenstein and Plowman, 2009). The availability of a large survey dataset on church attenders in Australia facilitated a mixed methods approach to the churches case study. By selecting churches that participated in the survey, it was possible to examine overlapping information through quantitative analysis of survey data using

multivariate regression and analysis of variance and qualitative exploration of churches that participated in the same survey. This allowed triangulation, where the same phenomena are considered from different research perspectives (Maxwell and Mittapalli, 2010, Olsen, 2004). It also enabled interplay between qualitative and quantitative approaches (Eisenhardt, 1989b, Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012c).

The particular faith-community selected was the NSW-ACT Synod of the Uniting Church in Australia (UCA). This is the third largest Christian denomination in Australia. For reasons that will be explained in the section on the quantitative aspect of the methodology, four congregations were selected according to their postcodes and their associated categorisation within the Australian Bureau of Statistics Index of relative advantage and disadvantage in the Socio-Economic Indices For Areas (SEIFA) (ABS, 2011b). Similar sized congregations were selected to provide meaningful comparisons along a spectrum of relative socio-economic advantage.

Methods and Data Collection

Mixed methods of data collection and analysis were selected in line with scholars such as Yukl (2010) who call for multiple methods to address leadership phenomena. Further, drawing on Mumford (2011) and Stentz et al. (2012), who argued for greater use of mixed qualitative and quantitative methods in leadership research, mixed methods were adopted to balance the challenge of researching complex phenomena with validity concerns and a desire for a degree of generalizability.

Eisenhardt (1989b: 534-8) argued that mixing quantitative and qualitative methods offered several benefits, potentially revealing relationships that might otherwise escape detection, providing a reference point for validating interpretations of the qualitative data, and potentially enhancing validity and generalizability overall. She observed that case studies typically involve a range of data collection methods, including archives, interviews, and questionnaires, which aligns well with a mixed methods approach.

Ethical considerations also shaped the selection of methods and the formation of research questions and methodology. It is difficult to design a process to study the complex interaction of institutionalised mechanisms of inclusion, individual choice and power imbalances (Elling and Claringbould, 2005), while respecting individual

dignity and rights (Daya, 2014). Ospina and Foldy (2010) and Ospina et al.'s (2012) longitudinal study on similar topics with similar types of participants, showed that a co-inquiry stance where participants were viewed as co-researchers, could be relevant for this study.

In-depth, confidential, semi-structured interviews were adopted as the main source of data for the case studies, along with analysis of publications and reports. Publicly available survey data from a large longitudinal study of Australian churches provided a quantitative dataset, which was supplemented with Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Census data. In the following sections, the qualitative and quantitative data collection methods of the research design will be laid out in detail. The case study organisations and data sources are broadly summarised in Table 4.1 (below). Following this, the mixing of methods is discussed.

Table 4.1. Summary of Case Study Sectors and Data Sources

Case Study Sector	Representative Organisations	Data Sources	Research paradigm
Migrant and Refugee Settlement Sector	SSI - Australia's largest migrant/refugee settlement services provider – Settlement Services International. MCO - One of the 11 migrant resource centres that are constitutive members of SSI.	In-depth semi-structured interviews. Reports & publications, archival documents. In-depth semi-structured interviews. Annual Reports & publications.	QUAL QUAL
Faith-community sector	2011 National Church Life Survey – Protestant and Catholic Christian Churches in Australia. Uniting Church in Australia (UCA) – third largest Christian denomination in Australia.	2011 National Church Life Survey sample (N = 185,557); Census based SEIFA. In-depth semi-structured interviews in four congregations and with denominational leaders. Reports & publications; 2011 National Church Life Survey Profiles of the four congregations and the NSW-ACT Synod; Archival documents.	QUAN QUAL

Mixed Methods Design

The separate designs of the qualitative and quantitative aspects of this doctoral research were developed concurrently and interactively. The quantitative design process assisted the design of the qualitative research, while the use of in-depth semi-structured interviews provided the flexibility to explore the leadership and inclusion dynamics in organisational settings. The logical principles employed in the quantitative paradigm to buttress an argument of causation between correlated variables designated dependent and independent, were also helpful in clarifying the central argument of this thesis about the relationship between social inclusion and leadership development.

Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) provide an eight step process for designing mixed methods research. The process they describe offers a neat linear, eight-step progression from determining the research question to drawing conclusions. However, as Johnson and Onwuegbuzie (2004) themselves admit, the actual process is non-linear and iterative, and it certainly was in this case. They note that despite the centrality of the research question, this may well evolve and be modified in the light of developments as the research progresses. The research questions guiding this research evolved over time as a range of pragmatic, ethical, and subjective factors were considered during the research design phase.

Within Creswell's (2003) typology this study is a *concurrent* mixed methods approach, as both qualitative and quantitative data were gathered and analysed independently of each other. In this approach, the mixing of methods primarily occurs in the discussion of results phase, although the design process itself and the selection of cases was interactive.

The quantitative component drew on a large existing dataset gathered from over a quarter of a million church attenders. This dataset is described in the quantitative section of the first case study chapter, but briefly it is a five yearly study of Australian churches called the National Church Life Survey (NCLS 2011). This is the second largest longitudinal survey in Australia alongside the Census, involving hundreds of questions and topics relevant to church health and the experience of church attenders, including leadership, social capital, and various aspects of inclusion.

This study is the first to use this survey data to explore a potential relationship between social inclusion and leadership development. It is also the first to link this database with the Australian Bureau of Statistics Index of Social-Economic Indicators for Areas (SEIFA), which has allowed different place-based socio-economic dimensions to be considered. The section on the quantitative research design goes into more detail.

As the quantitative Church Survey dataset was pre-existing, the design phase of the statistical inquiry linked existing questions to theoretical concepts adopted for this research. In addition, one denomination that participated in the survey was selected as a qualitative case study, allowing triangulation while directly mixing both data and methods. Apart from aggregated data, the NCLS 2011 survey team also produces individual congregational profiles for every participating church and aggregated profiles for different levels of Denominational organisation. These were examined amongst the documents contributing to the case study construction. In linking theory to survey items, a model was developed which then influenced the design of the qualitative interview questions and contributed to shaping this study's conceptual framework. Similarly, the framework for the quantitative inquiry was shaped by the development of an approach to the qualitative case studies. This in turn contributed to the evolution of the research questions guiding the process (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, Bryman, 2007).

Qualitative Research Design

The main source of data for this study were qualitative in-depth, semi-structured interviews. These aimed to explore the beliefs and practices (Drath et al., 2008) that inform leadership development and inclusion practice in the case study organisations. Participants were asked to share their experiences and perspectives on leadership development and social capital, to investigate how these factors contribute to social inclusion as defined in Chapter Three.

Hosking's (2002) argument that leadership research should include multiple perspectives from all levels of authority guided the selection of participants, which aimed to attract a variety of perspectives. In the migrant and refugee settlement sector organisations, this was achieved through the circulation of invitations to all staff, with encouragement for people at all levels of organisational seniority and all lengths of

employment to participate. In the church context, within congregations, pastoral concerns meant that research participation had to be approved by the Church Council and participants were nominated by the Council and Minister, again looking for participants with varying degrees of seniority and length of involvement.

The interview schedule was prepared following Kvale and Brinkman (2009), with reference to Wengraf (2001) and is provided in Appendix 2. This schedule was approved by the University ethics committee, along with participant information resources, consent forms and the qualitative research design. Participants were invited to participate by their organisations and made contact with the researcher by email. They were then sent a two page Participant Information and Consent Form, based on a template made available by the Macquarie University Ethics Committee (Appendix 1).

Selection criteria for participants were that they be over 18, and have exercised influence in some official capacity in their organisations. To enable consideration of the multi-level aspects of these organisations, and to capture the intersubjective aspects of leadership development (Ospina et al., 2012: 264), interviews were conducted with a mix of senior managers, board members, mid-tier leaders, junior staff and unpaid volunteers, with a mix of gender, ethnicity and experience. In addition, in the community organisations, these leaders were spread throughout the various divisions and program areas of the organisations. In the case of the NSW-ACT Uniting Church, participants were selected from four congregations and the broader denominational structures.

Forty six semi-structured interviews were conducted in mutually convenient locations over a fifteen-month period. The interviews were recorded and typically varied from 60 to 90 minutes in length. Prior to the commencement of each interview, the same two-page participant information form was provided to the participant who read and signed it in the presence of the researcher before recording commenced. They were advised that they could revoke their consent at any point during the interview, although no one exercised this option.

To enable participants to speak frankly about their experiences and perceptions within their organisation, participants were guaranteed both confidentiality and anonymity. In the case of the congregations and the migrant resource centre, the organisations were

small enough that individuals might conceivably be identified through responses or quotes. For this reason, these organisations were not identified. However, both Settlement Services International and the Uniting Church in Australia have been identified, as they are quite unique and difficult to disguise without detracting from the integrity of the data, and both organisations gave their permission to be identified. Further, to protect anonymity, interviews were not associated with the particular departments and locations in the larger organisations where they were located.

Seventeen interviews were conducted within Settlement Services International (SSI), in six different locations around Sydney. The interviews included staff involved in four different work areas, from refugee resettlement, migrant settlement, housing, and disability support, as well as senior management including the CEO and a Board member. Eight interviews were conducted within a Migrant Community Organisation (MCO), in four different locations across four different work areas, also including the CEO. The Uniting Church (UCA) involved 21 interviews with ministers and lay-members from four different congregations, along with Presbytery (regional) and Synod (state) leaders. Interviewees included the Moderator, who is officially the head of the church, as well as the Executive Director for the main ministry resourcing arm of the Church. The four congregations were chosen for their location in low, lower-mid, upper-mid, and high socio-economic contexts according to their postcodes, and each was given a pseudonym.

The data was transcribed by a reputable transcription company and by the researcher, then imported into the NVIVO 11 software package for coding and analysis. The conceptual framework detailed in Chapter 3 was used to code the data in line with the theory being developed in this study. The final coding scheme is provided in Appendix 3. The focus was on the beliefs and practices about social inclusion, leadership development, and social capital, which informed leadership development and inclusion efforts.

The interview data was supplemented with documentary evidence drawn from annual reports, internal publications, and websites. The congregational data was supplemented with congregational level survey results from the NCLS survey (which are cited but not provided here due to confidentiality concerns). This data was similarly analysed to

enhance the themes that emerged in the interview process. A final interview was conducted with a senior key-participant to discuss the preliminary findings and to further explore the influence of contextual factors. This also provided an opportunity to clarify any ambiguities that had emerged during the course of data collection. These findings are reported in Chapters Six and Seven where the qualitative case study data is assembled.

Quantitative Research Design

The qualitative research described above is complemented by a quantitative study of pre-existing survey data. The data was drawn from the 2011 National Church Life Survey (NCLS). The NCLS is a large longitudinal survey of Australian church attenders that happens every five years at the time of the National Census. The 2011 survey was the fifth iteration, involving 23 denominations, eight languages, over three thousand local churches, and more than a quarter of a million adults ($N = 256, 767$) as well as ten thousand 8-14 year old respondents. In addition, over six thousand church leaders completed a supplementary leader survey (NCLS, 2013).

The sample for this study was drawn from the 2011 National Church Life Survey Core Attender dataset. The overall survey involved 256,767 individual respondents and 2492 participating local churches, parishes, or 'multi-congregational centres', across 3103 locations (Pepper et al., 2015: 9). This represents approximately 25% of the total number of Catholic and Protestant local churches in Australia (Pepper et al., 2015: 11). Catholic parishes were excluded from this sample, as they have quite different leadership structures. The sample was also supplemented with an additional iteration of the survey amongst Pentecostal churches which was completed in 2013. This left a final sample of 185, 557 Anglican and Protestant individuals in 2414 local churches. The survey itself consisted of four-pages of multiple choice questions, which were completed during worship and are provided in Appendix 4.

Pepper et al. (2015) describes the NCLS as involving a two-step sampling process, the first being local churches, and then individual church attenders. Participating churches include Catholic, Protestant, and Pentecostal churches, largely on an opt-in basis although some denominations achieve relatively high levels of participation by subsidising participation for their congregations and parishes. The NCLS reports a

62% response rate within participating churches, which is the difference between forms ordered by congregations and forms actually returned (Pepper et al., 2015). Pepper notes that many churches deliberately over-order to ensure that enough forms are available for members, so the actual response rate may be higher.

There are some validity issues, such as the opt-in nature of the survey and denominational differences in participation. This resulted in under-representation of Pentecostal churches, which was partially offset by weighting their data. Some other denominations, and Orthodox churches, did not participate at all. However, the survey includes the responses of an estimated 25% of all Catholic and Protestant church attenders in Australia, with the capacity to aggregate data with respect to local church, denomination, district or region (Pepper et al., 2015).

Conceptualisation of Quantitative Design

Clark and Watson (1995) draw on Cronbach and Meehl (1955) to argue that investigating the construct validity of a measure requires at least three steps: (a) postulating a set of theoretical concepts and relationships; (b) developing a method for measuring the theoretical constructs; and (c) empirically testing the hypothesized relationships. In other words, theory is a necessary precondition of construct validity.

Nardo et al. (2005) described the use of composite indicators for international comparisons and longitudinal comparisons. This approach was adopted for this study, to compare differences between the 2414 congregations and to compare different approaches to leadership development within congregations.

Consequently, theoretical concepts within this study's conceptual framework were mapped to a selection of individual survey items or multi-question composite indicators constructed from within the core survey. Particular responses to these questions were aggregated at the congregational level to provide a score for each congregation, creating a distribution of scores across various dimensions for comparison. Internal consistency of composite indicators was tested using Cronbach's alpha, which Nardo et al. (2005: 45-6) argue is an appropriate measure. These are shown in Tables 4.2 and 4.3 (below), while the entire survey is provided in Appendix 4 and the conceptualisation is further explained in Appendices 3 and 5.

There were also a range of pre-existing contextual factors which were thought to impact on the dependent and independent variables, raising issues of generalisability and the third variable problem with regard to internal validity (Brewer, 2000). A strategy was developed to address these factors by dividing the dataset into five quintiles, drawing on the Census-based SEIFA index.

A statistical consultant within the National Church Life Survey team provided design advice and ran the analysis. Hypotheses were developed around the idea that churches where intentional congregational leadership development (CLD) was prioritised would tend to achieve higher levels of collective agency and collective efficacy (Bandura, 1982, Bandura, 2000, Archer, 2000, Eisenhardt, 1989a, Emirbayer and Goodwin, 1994). Figure 4.1 (below) provides a visual overview of this quantitative project.

Dependent Variables (DVs)

Chapter Three lays out the argument that social inclusion is enabled through enhancing the agency and capabilities of marginalised individuals and groups (Sen, 1985, 2000). Leadership development enables such enhancement by building up collective agency and efficacy (Bandura, 2000, Ospina et al., 2012). Accordingly, survey items were identified to act as dependent variables representing collective agency and collective efficacy.

In this study, 'collective agency' is represented as high levels of individual commitment to collective goals and directions, which indicates that individual agency was being willingly invested – rather than co-opted – within the collective (Bandura, 2000, Frost and Hoggett, 2008). The indicator for this DV was a score for each congregation determined by the proportion of attenders who were aware of, and strongly committed to the vision, goals or direction of the congregation.

Collective Efficacy is the second dependent variable, represented by aggregated levels of individual confidence that the collective could achieve its goals and directions (Bandura, 2000: 76). The indicator for this DV was a score determined by the proportion of attenders who were fully confident the vision, goals, or directions of the congregation were achievable. The survey items for the Collective Agency and Collective Efficacy DVs are detailed in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Dependent Variables

Variable	Question and response used as a statistical proxy	Theoretical concept
Dependent Variables		
DV1 - Collective Agency **(Commitment)**	• Does this congregation have a clear vision, goals or direction for its ministry and mission? [Yes, and I am strongly committed to them]	Individuals who are committed to collective directions
DV2 – Collective Efficacy **(Alignment)**	• How confident are you that your congregation can achieve the vision, goals or directions it has set for itself? [I am fully confident we can achieve them]	Belief and confidence that goals and directions are achievable – includes perceived alignment of people and resources with collective directions

```
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                      Context                         │
│                                                      │
│   Pre-existing efficacy of individuals in a          │
│   collective - due to wealth, education, contacts –  │
│   approximately represented by ABS Socio-economic    │
│   indices for areas (SEIFA) decile                   │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                         │
                         ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│   Independent Variables: Congregational Leadership   │
│                 Development Activities               │
│                                                      │
│     CLD-A Individual leader development – Q19, Q44,  │
│     Q49                                              │
│   CLD-B Bonding in congregation –Q5, Q32, Q33        │
│   CLD-C Community connections/bridging-linking – Q4, │
│   Q58 (Q34)                                          │
│   CLD-D Collective direction, alignment – Q50, Q51,  │
│   Q53, Q54                                           │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                         │
                         ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│   Dependent Variables: Collective Agency & Efficacy  │
│                                                      │
│   Collective Agency - aware/committed to vision –    │
│   Q45 iii                                            │
│                                                      │
│   Collective Efficacy - confident vision achievable  │
│   – Q47i                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                         │
                         ▼
┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│          Enables social inclusion by enhancing:      │
│                                                      │
│   Agency through collective efficacy (Bandura, 2000, │
│   Ospina et al., 2012)                               │
│                                                      │
│   Supportive Relationships/Community Cultural Wealth │
│   (Yosso, 2005, Ospina et al., 2012)                 │
│                                                      │
│   Social capital connections & resources (Bourdieu,  │
│   1986)                                              │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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Figure 4.1: Visual Representation of Conceptual Framework for Quantitative Study.

Independent Variables

The conceptual framework identified several aspects of leadership development that could serve as independent variables. These began with Day's (2000) distinction between leader development, associated with human capital, and collective leadership development, associated with social capital. As discussed in Chapter Three, individual leader development involves both human capital and Bourdieu's (1986) concept of cultural capital, in its embodied form, representing growth in faith, spirituality, and other aspects of leader development in the church setting. The framework developed in Chapter Three guided the selection of social capital variables to explore collective aspects of leadership development.

Four independent variables were proposed to represent leadership development:

1. Individual leader development involving agency, human capital and embodied cultural capital (HECC)
2. Bonding social capital (BND)
3. Bridging and linking social capital relationships (BRG)
4. Cognitive social capital (COG)

These concepts were operationalised by identifying survey items to act as proxies for these different theoretical aspects of leadership development. Individual leader development was aligned with survey responses about the individual's experiences of: being encouraged to find and use gifts and skills to a great extent (human capital); believing they had grown significantly in their Christian faith due to their church (embodied cultural capital); and strong agreement that they felt personally inspired to action by the leaders in their congregation (agency).

Survey items were identified that indicated an environment in the congregation that encouraged the formation of the supportive relationships and accountability associated with bonding social capital. Questions selected to form a composite indicator were those that related to: a strong sense of belonging in the congregation; ease of making friends in the congregation; and high levels of respondents who personally seek to make newcomers feel welcome.

Congregations that encouraged the formation of bridging social capital were expected to have higher levels of people involved in community focused activities, whether

under the auspices of the congregation or in groups outside the congregation. In addition, it was thought that congregations where bridging social capital was nurtured would have higher levels of people who valued a congregational emphasis on wider community care or social justice. Survey items selected to operationalise this concept asked respondents whether they valued the community care or social justice emphasis in their congregation, and asked about involvement in both congregational and non-congregational groups focused on community service, social justice, welfare activities, or lobby groups.

Finally, there was an expectation that congregations with higher than usual levels of cognitive social capital would be likely to have good internal communications, innovation and creativity, clear systems, and a strong focus on directions for the future. Cognitive social capital in the congregation was measured by the proportion of people who strongly agreed that these characteristics were present in their church.

Table 4.3 (below) reports the wording of questions and responses used to create composite indicators, which were then tested for internal validity.

Table 4.3 Mapping Theoretical Concepts to Survey Items - Independent Variables

Variable	Question & response(s) used as a statistical proxy	Theoretical concept
(CLD1-HECC) Individual Leader Development	*Have this congregation's leaders encouraged you to find and use your gifts and skills here?* **Yes, to a great extent** *Over the last year, do you believe you have grown in your Christian faith?* **Much growth, mainly through this parish** *Leaders here inspire me to action.* **Strongly agree**	Micro-level Leader development through building up human capital and embodied cultural capital
(CLD2-BND) Bonding Social Capital	*Do you have a strong sense of belonging to this congregation?* **Yes, a strong sense of belonging, which is growing; Yes, a strong sense - about the same as last year** *I have found it easy to make friends within this congregation.* **Strongly agree** *If you know someone who is a new arrival here do you personally seek to make them welcome?* **Yes, always/mostly**	Micro-level Leader and meso-level collective leadership development by developing bonding social capital relationships within the congregation.
(CLD3-BRG) Bridging Social Capital	*Do you regularly take part in any activities of this congregation that reach out to the wider community?* **Yes, in community service, social justice or welfare activities** *Are you involved in any community service, social action or other groups not connected to this congregation?* **Yes, community service, care or welfare groups; Yes, social action, justice or lobby groups; Yes, another kind of group** *Which of the following aspects of this congregation do you personally most value? [Mark up to THREE options]* **Yes, wider community care or social justice emphasis**	Micro-level Leader and meso-level collective leadership development through developing bridging social capital connections beyond the congregation into the community.
(CLD4-COG) Cognitive Social Capital	*Leaders here always communicate clearly and openly.* **Strongly agree** *Leaders here encourage innovation and creative thinking* **Strongly agree** *This congregation has good and clear systems for how it operates* **Strongly agree** *Leaders here are strongly focused on directions for the future* **Strongly agree**	Collective meso-level leadership development through congregational systems and focus on **DIRECTION** and

Hypotheses

In line with the way research questions, theory, and evidence are linked within the Quantitative research approach, hypotheses were developed to test the relationships between various types of congregational leadership development (CLD) and the two dependent variables.

Leadership Development (IVs) and Collective Agency (DV1)

Hypothesis 1.a: Human Capital (HECC) will be positively correlated with Collective agency

Hypothesis 1.b: Bonding Social Capital (BND) will be positively correlated with Collective agency

Hypothesis 1.c: Bridging Social Capital (BRG) will be positively correlated with Collective agency

Hypothesis 1.d: Cognitive Social Capital (COG) will be positively correlated with Collective agency

Leadership Development (IVs) and Collective Efficacy (DV2)

Hypothesis 2.a: HECC will be positively correlated with Collective efficacy

Hypothesis 2.b: BND will be positively correlated with Collective efficacy

Hypothesis 2.c: BRG will be positively correlated with Collective efficacy

Hypothesis 2.d: COG will be positively correlated with Collective efficacy

Contextual Factors: Localised Advantage and Disadvantage

Bandura (2000) points out that groups or teams of high efficacy individuals have greater *potential* collective efficacy, but actual collective efficacy relies on their capacity to cooperate. However, pre-existing relative advantages or disadvantages such as geographical factors, socio-economic status, educational levels and so forth are likely to impact on the *potential* efficacy of a congregation, i.e. congregations located in more advantaged locations will tend to have more high efficacy individuals within

the membership. However, collective leadership development that builds the capacity to collaborate was anticipated to be similarly effective regardless of the relative advantages or disadvantages of the congregation's socio-economic setting.

To compare the effect of context on collective agency and efficacy, the dataset was linked to one of the Australian Bureau of Statistics 'Socio-Economic Indicators For Areas' (SEIFA) indices (ABS, 2011b). These indices draw on data from the five-yearly Census and this was the first time the NCLS dataset had been linked to the SEIFA index. SEIFA has been used previously to identify communities with 'capacity' and 'need' (Cassells et al., 2005). Among other things, the SEIFA indices are linked to postcodes and categorised into deciles of relative advantage and disadvantage. This enabled multivariate tests of the significance of different levels of relative advantage and disadvantage on the dependent variables. SEIFA includes several indices, the particular index used for this study is the Relative Advantage and Disadvantage for Postal Area Codes (ABS, 2011b), hereinafter referred to as SEIFA.

Dependent variables and localised advantage/disadvantage (SEIFA)

Hypothesis 3.a: Collective agency will vary significantly across SEIFA quintiles.

Hypothesis 3.b: Collective efficacy will vary significantly across SEIFA quintiles.

Effect of Leadership development variables on collective agency in different contexts

Hypothesis 4.a: HECC will be positively correlated with collective agency in all SEIFA quintiles.

Hypothesis 4.b: BND will be positively correlated with collective agency in all SEIFA quintiles.

Hypothesis 4.c: BRG will be positively correlated with collective agency in all SEIFA quintiles.

Hypothesis 4.d: COG will be positively correlated with collective agency in all SEIFA quintiles.

Effect of Leadership development on collective efficacy in different contexts

Hypothesis 5.a: HECC will be positively correlated with collective efficacy in all SEIFA quintiles.

Hypothesis 5.b: BND will be positively correlated with collective efficacy in all SEIFA quintiles.

Hypothesis 5.c: BRG will be positively correlated with collective efficacy in all SEIFA quintiles.

Hypothesis 5.d: COG will be positively correlated with collective efficacy in all SEIFA quintiles.

Multiple regression was used to estimate the relative contribution of different leadership development strategies. It was hypothesised that collective cognitive social capital would be the most important contributor to both collective agency and efficacy.

Relative Importance of Cognitive Social Capital

Chapter Three outlined the central role assigned to direction, alignment, and commitment (Drath et al., 2008), which this study has framed as cognitive social capital (O'Connor and Quinn, 2004). Weick argued that cognitive processes of sense-making assist in organising human agents to reduce uncertainty to workable levels (Weick, 1979), thereby 'unleashing human energies' (Ospina et al., 2012: 274). For these reasons, cognitive social capital was expected to be the approach to leadership development most highly correlated with the dependent variables.

Hypothesis 6.a: COG will make the greatest contribution to predicting collective agency.

Hypothesis 6.b: COG will make the greatest contribution to predicting collective efficacy

Quantitative Method

The Quantitative component of this study determined the scope of the item pool available to act as proxies for dependent variables and for independent variable indicators to be constructed (Clark and Watson, 1995).

This part of the study was conducted in three phases. Once the dependent variables were selected, ANOVA was used to test the significance of social advantage and disadvantage, represented by the SEIFA ranking for postcodes. The second phase developed composite indicators to act as independent variables, testing their internal validity by calculating Cronbach's alpha coefficients. Finally, ANOVA and multiple regression were used to explore the relationship of the various congregational leadership development indicators (CLD) with the dependent variables.

Phase 1 – Relationship between Relative Social Advantage and Collective Efficacy

Phase one involved two steps. First, dependent variables were identified. Three potential expressions of collective agency and efficacy were considered.

Q. 45. Does this congregation have a clear vision, goals or direction for its ministry and mission? (c.) Yes, and I am strongly committed to them

Q. 47. How confident are you that your congregation can achieve the vision, goals or directions it has set for itself? (a.) I am fully confident we can achieve them

The conceptual and theoretical framework in Chapter Three was used to select survey items as dependent variables. For the first, high levels of commitment to a collective vision aligns with the concept of collective (or conjoint) agency, where individuals commit to a collective objective of their own free will (Gronn, 2002). Second, confidence that collective goals can be achieved was adopted as evidence of collective efficacy beliefs (Bandura, 2000).

The dataset was then linked to the ABS SEIFA Index by postcodes, to provide a way to represent differences in individual efficacy due to social advantages and disadvantages, such as wealth differentials and education. The dependent variables

were plotted against SEIFA and analysis of variance tests were conducted to confirm statistically significant relationships.

Phase 2 – Construct Congregational Leadership Development Indicators

Based on the theory that congregational leadership development (CLD) should enable collective agency and enhance collective efficacy, composite indicators were constructed for different forms of CLD. These included encouragement and development of gifts/skills; bonding and bridging relationships; and organisational direction and alignment (Drath et al., 2008). The wording of survey items and responses employed in these indicators are outlined in Table 4.3 (above).

Variables were tested for skew and distribution, and unmodified variables were adequate in all cases. Levels of inter-item correlation were checked. Variables within composite indicators were analysed to ensure that levels of co-variance were minimised, with Cronbach's alpha calculated as a guide to internal reliability.

Phase 3 – Multiple Regression and ANOVA

The four independent leadership development variables and two dependent variables (collective agency and efficacy) were now prepared. To create a more manageable number of regressions, SEIFA deciles were collapsed into quintiles.

ANOVA and multiple regressions were then conducted using the independent variables (CLD-1-4) to determine that there was a correlation and estimate the degree of collective agency and collective efficacy predicted. Separate regressions were run for each SEIFA quintile and for each dependent variable.

Figure 4.1 (above) provides an overview of the conceptualisation and implementation of the entire quantitative component of the study.

The findings from the quantitative study were then incorporated into the construction of the Faith Community Sector case study. The results are detailed in Chapter Six as part of the Faith Community case study.

Mixing of Data and Methods in the Case Study Approach

There is now a sizeable community of scholars who argue that mixed methods offer a research paradigm distinct from quantitative and qualitative approaches (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, Morgan, 2007, Sale et al., 2008). Although paradigms are arguably incommensurable, Ospina and Uhl-Bien (2012a) have advocated cross-paradigm interplay and dialogue for relational leadership research. The exploratory and descriptive case study approach adopted here allows for triangulation of leadership development and social inclusion activity in different not-for-profit settings that offsets concerns about validity and generalisability.

The results of the analysis of the qualitative and quantitative parts of this study were not directly mixed. The analysis of qualitative data contributed to case study chapters, and then was further reported in the analysis and discussion sections. The faith community case study has separate quantitative and qualitative sections, so the results were not mixed. However, the faith community case studies drew on both sources of data, as the congregations had participated in the NCLS survey and had summary results. This enabled triangulation, as the same data was examined as part of the quantitative research and within the case study. The results from all of the studies were then mixed in the analysis and discussion.

Conclusion to Chapter Four

The mixed methods case study methodology described here provides an opportunity to explore and describe a previously neglected relationship between leadership development and social inclusion. The case study methodology enables examination of the way existing theoretical constructs pertaining to leadership, inclusion, and social capital are enacted in organisations. This methodology makes it possible for new theoretical framework to be developed that links social inclusion to leadership development.

By adopting a multiple case study methodology involving a range of organisations in the context of two different sectors, this research aims to achieve several goals. First, the mixed methods approach, drawing on in-depth semi-structured interviews, documentary sources and statistical analysis of an extensive survey dataset, enables

consideration of a wide variety of data sources and complex social dynamics. Second, the case study method allows incorporation of the context and its role. Third, this methodology brings empirical data and a focus on leadership *development* to relational leadership theory and Drath et al.'s (2008) Direction, Alignment, Commitment leadership model. The mixed methods approach provides a means of employing a range of perspectives on the beliefs and practices that shape leadership development and social inclusion processes in church and community organisations in the refugee settlement and faith-community sectors. Finally, this methodology allows the possibility of some generalisability in relation to the building of collective capacity to enable the social inclusion of marginalised groups.

The multi-level nature of the phenomena under investigation is a challenge for researchers. In this study, this challenge is addressed by considering the organisations within the case study sectors as multi-level structures within the broader Australian socio-economic and political context. Multi-level and cross-level effects and geographic factors for one case study are considered by using the SEIFA index to provide an approximate control for variations in local context. These effects are also available for exploration in the qualitative study, as participants at all levels of the organisation were purposively selected to provide different perspectives, and the semi-structured interview format allowed for some exploration of the interaction of organisations and individual participants with their wider context.

The next chapter describes the macro-social context that shapes the social inclusion and leadership development activities of the case study organisations. Following the contextual chapter, the empirical data is then analysed and reported in case study format.

Chapter Five: Australian Social and Political Context

Introduction

This chapter outlines the macro-social context for the case studies examined in the following chapters. As noted previously, the macro level encompasses national structures and institutions, including the legal framework, social organisation and norms, along with gender, religion, and race relations (Syed and Özbilgin, 2009: 2436). Accordingly, this chapter presents an overview of the policies and institutions that frame the social and cognitive structures of inclusion and exclusion that provide the setting for leadership development and social inclusion processes in Australia.

The discussion begins with the Australian political system along with the civil and not-for-profit institutions and associations that interact with formal governance structures to represent different interest, civil and cultural groups. It then outlines the cultural and religious diversity that has characterised Australian society since European colonisation, before exploring the neoliberal ideology which has become a critical feature of the macro-level policy environment in Australia (Beeson and Firth, 1998, Quiggin, 1999, Mendes, 2003, Western et al., 2007, Stratton, 2011). The chapter concludes with an overview of the Australian Social Inclusion Agenda (Gillard and Wong, 2007), which was introduced by the Labor Government in 2007 to enable a more collaborative approach for increased participation by marginalised groups in Australian society.

The Australian Political System and Civil Society

Australian is governed by a Constitutional Federal Parliamentary democracy, and various tiers of government at the Federal, State and Territory, and local levels (Galligan, 1995). The Constitution defines a separation of powers between the Parliament; the Judiciary, or court system; and an Executive comprising the Prime Minister and Cabinet of senior Ministers, and a Governor General selected by the Prime Minister and formally appointed by the Queen of England (Commonwealth of Australia, 1900, Patapan, 1999). Since the mid-twentieth century, the Executive has primarily been shared between two competing political parties (Ward, 1991). These are the Australian Labor Party (ALP), a social democratic party with formal institutional

ties to the trade union movement, and the long-running coalition between the Liberal and National parties, an alliance of centre-right and conservative interests. Various minor parties and independent politicians compete for influence on the margins.

During the twentieth century, the Australian political system developed a welfare state model that encompassed a highly regulated industrial relations regime, addressing income equality through wages policy and the taxation system (Saunders, 1994), with civil society and non-government organisations supplementing Government services, and also influencing policy formulation (Mendes, 2008). McDonald and Charlesworth (2011: 86) describe these aspects of the welfare state as a 'mixed economy' of welfare and regulated employment, with not-for-profits and voluntary organisations providing a safety-net for the needy and excluded.

The rise of neoliberal ideology has led to a sustained critique of these welfare state arrangements, with an increasing emphasis on deregulation, productivity and competitiveness, as Mendes (2003, 2008) chronicles. Since the election of the conservative Howard Government in 1996, these changes have accelerated, with attempts to deregulate wages policy, the formation of a Productivity Commission in 1998 (Productivity Commission, 2016), and greater influence granted to employer groups.

The next sections explore Australia's civil society by outlining the not-for-profit community sector and religious setting of the case studies in this research. This is followed by a description of the neoliberal philosophies that have shaped public policy decisions and impacted on social inclusion work of these organisations.

Civil Society, Not-for-profits, and the 'Community Sector'

Civil society is defined in many different ways, but as Edwards (2004) argued, it is not necessary to have a consensus definition for the concept to be useful. Edwards identifies three perspectives on civil society, including the normative view of how a society should be civil, and a perspective that associates civil society with the public sphere, as distinct from the realm of the private. However, it is the depiction of civil society as the 'third sector' between Government and market which is most relevant to this research. For Edwards and scholars such as Calhoun (2011), this includes a wide

range of associations between family and state, excluding for-profit firms but embracing churches, charities, voluntary associations, and self-help groups.

Bryce (2006) argued that not-for-profit organisations are important localised hubs of social capital and collective agency, which can compete with for-profit firms and ensure that the voices of those they represent are amplified within the public policy process. Similarly, Giddens (2013) viewed civil society organisations as playing a central role between Government and market in his espousal of a renewed social democratic 'third way' forward in a neoliberal world.

There is an ongoing debate about the power relations involved in the relationship between civil society, Governments, and market forces (Cox, 1999, Fukuyama, 2001, Welzel et al., 2005, Keane, 2013, Castells, 2008). Calhoun (2011) argued that a vibrant and pro-active public sphere is necessary within a democracy in order to balance the potential excesses of the state and market so that society is at least partly organised for the benefit of 'the people'. Likewise, in Australia scholars have argued that not-for-profits play an important role in ensuring that a diversity of views are considered in the democratic process (Dalton and Lyons, 2005, Phillips, 2006, Onyx et al., 2008, Boyd-Caine, 2016).

The nature of neoliberalism is addressed later in this chapter, however the neoliberal critique of the Australian welfare state has led to reductions in the direct provision of community services by Government. Increasingly, these activities have devolved to churches and charities (Mendes, 2008: 59-60), in what Mendes described as an ideologically driven privatisation of welfare. This accords with a broader pattern of privatisation of other public services (Hodge, 1999). As community and welfare services were put out to competitive tender, this provided opportunities for rapid growth in the church and not-for-profit (NFP) sector (Van Gramberg and Bassett, 2005).

Yet only a small number of organisations have grown large in this competitive funding environment. In 2015, less than three percent of NFPs in NSW had revenues greater than 50 million dollars per annum, in contrast to the many small to medium sized organisations, with more than a quarter (26.2%) having five or less staff and more than half having less than 20 staff and revenues under a million dollars (Cortis and

Blaxland, 2015). As Cortis and Blaxland (2015) reported, the State and Federal Governments were by far the most important sources of revenue for NFPs. But this dependence on public funds has been a source of vulnerability, with around 40% of NFPs in NSW experiencing a loss of funding from State or Federal Government sources in the previous year, with even higher rates of defunding for organisations that provided Aboriginal services (Cortis and Blaxland, 2015: 51).

According to Van Gramberg and Bassett (2005), Phillips (2006), Wallace and Pease (2011), and Baines and van den Broek (2017), Government's monopoly control of welfare funding has allowed Government bodies to increasingly control the community services agenda for political ends, with increased pressure on both agencies and employees. NFPs have been pressured to restrain advocacy and justice work (Phillips, 2006, Onyx et al., 2008), along with requirements to reorganise on a more 'business-like' footing to meet contractual service delivery and reporting obligations (Melville, 2003). Funding recipients have also been limited in their ability to contribute their knowledge and expertise to policy development, or to shape contracts for service delivery around the actual needs of clients, whether through service delivery or social change (Onyx et al., 2008: 634). As Governments have increasingly determined the agenda and sought 'efficiencies', they have become more and more prescriptive, while at the same time funding for advocacy related work has declined or vanished (Onyx et al., 2008: 643).. Government departments have also used control of funding and reporting requirements to engineer amalgamations between agencies, or defined the scale and scope of contracts so that only larger organisations could compete for tenders (Van Gramberg and Bassett, 2005). At the same time, scholars such as Casey and Dalton (2006) have suggested that the changed environment could create opportunities for new approaches to emerge, although they acknowledged the perception of a loss of autonomy and advocacy capacity.

In 2010, the Government's own Productivity Commission (2010) acknowledged that funding relationships with NFPs were one-sided, and characterised by deliberate under-funding of services with short term contracts that retained control by Government. Further, the Productivity Commission acknowledged that one of the sector's core contributions was working for social change and advocacy (2010: 7, 17-8, 37), included advocating for policy change. However, Government funding was

rarely available for these activities, which were much more likely to be funded by philanthropy or self-funding through union dues, member donations or offerings (2010: 37, 73). Despite acknowledging the expertise of the NFP sector and the importance of advocacy work, the Commission never questioned the underlying premise that the funder should control the service despite having limited expertise and knowledge of the field.

The fundamental nature of the NFP sector has been changing and dynamic for decades and the rise of neoliberalism has shaped the way these developments have been perceived and interpreted. As Dalton and Lyons (2005) discuss, at times the advocacy activities of NFPs are accused of illegitimacy. The neoliberal view of NFPs as economic units portrays advocacy as an act of self-interest rather than a contribution to democracy. Further, the influence of neoliberalism can be discerned in the increasing emphasis on the economic functions of NFPs (Lyons and Passey, 2006). A comparison of the Productivity Commission report (2010) with other publications such as Cortis et al.'s (2015) report on charities in NSW, or the views of the Australian Charities and Not-For-Profits Commission (2014), confirms this tendency to justify the existence of NFPs on the basis of their economic outputs. The non-market functions of NFPs include the aforementioned contributions to participatory democracy, and also such intangible effects as encouraging health, happiness, well-being and developing leaders (Edwards et al., 2012), as well as enabling social inclusion. These are largely disregarded within the neoliberal worldview, where all organisations are assumed to be driven by self-interest and the profit motive, leading to an increased emphasis on the services they provide in market transactions rather than the values they espouse or their accumulated social and cultural capital. These competing perceptions influence the nature of NFP relationships with Government.

The relationship between NFPs and Government also faces bureaucratic challenges. Changes of government and shifts in policy priorities are reflected in departmental restructures, along with changes of personnel and procedures. This impacts particularly on smaller NFPs, as access to decision makers or bureaucrats can be an important factor in advocacy and funding strategies, while gaining access to decision makers and maintaining networks is costly (Casey, 2002, Onyx et al, 2010). For example, the key Federal Government funding and policy body for migrant and refugee settlement

agencies is the Department of Immigration and Border Protection. This Department was created in 1945 as the Department of Immigration, but has periodically been restructured since 1974 as ideology and policy priorities of various Federal governments have shifted (Mence et al., 2015: 92). The Abbott Coalition Government introduced the most recent focus on Border Protection by combining the Department of Immigration with the Australian Customs Service. This shift was accompanied by a new emphasis on import and export control and facilitation. At the same time, in an extraordinary and under-reported move, the Department's 'settlement and multicultural affairs functions were transferred to the Department of Social Services, while the Adult Migrant English Programme was transferred to the Department of Industry' (Mence et al., 2015: 84). Each of these structural shifts has created significant adjustment costs and lost relationships for those tendering for contracts or engaged in advocacy, along with uncertainty for funded programs and employed staff.

Nevertheless, NFPs are not simply passive recipients of Government decisions. Over time, NFPs have been creative in finding new ways to gain recognition, access and exercise influence on Governments (Onyx et al., 2010). While some NFPs will continue to protest and adopt a confrontational stance when they disagree with Government policy (Casey, 2002), neoliberal shifts have also elicited creative responses from NFPs (Casey, 2004, Onyx et al., 2010). Although increasingly under pressure to compete for tendered funding opportunities, NFPs also build coalitions, and collaborate through peak bodies, which are a notable feature of the community sector in Australia. In 2010, the Productivity Commission noted that larger religious and community service organisations had the capacity to offer both community services and engage in advocacy, while also participating in peak bodies. Melville (2003) identified signs that NFP peak bodies were under pressure to serve the agenda of the Government of the day. At the same time, there was evidence that these structures allowed some coordination of advocacy activities and policy engagement with Government (Productivity Commission, 2010: 229).

The community sector is organised into an Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS) and a range of state bodies such as the NSW Council of Social Service (NCOSS). Some of the largest organisations within ACOSS are church based organisations which participate in ACOSS advocacy strategies and also have their own

denominational profile beyond the community sector (Mendes, 2008). In addition, there are a whole range of smaller peak bodies for particular service activities and ethnic communities such as the Federation of Ethnic Communities Councils Australia (FECCA) with corresponding state bodies such as the Ethnic Communities Council of NSW (ECC NSW).

The not-for-profit setting in Australia continues to be dynamic. Neoliberal critique of community organisations, peak bodies such as ACOSS, and the churches periodically accuses these organisations of serving their own interests rather than those of the poor and marginalised (Mendes, 2008: 51-3, 242). Competitive tendering arrangements have put pressure on the capacity of not-for-profits to collaborate, and Government funding has constrained advocacy activities. Nevertheless, there is evidence of creative responses within the sector, while the scale, scope and professionalism that has been achieved by some of the larger organisations provides a potential voice for marginalised groups in the diverse and unequal Australian setting.

Diversity and Inequality in Australia

Australia is one of the most diverse and multicultural developed countries in the world, with more than 28% of the population born overseas (ABS, 2016). Australia's Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures are thought to be part of the world's oldest living cultures (Dockery, 2010), but make up less than three percent (3%) of the population. The balance of the population is the result of various waves of immigration (NSW Government, 2015).

The Australian story of inequality since 1788 began with the establishment of a penal colony in Sydney. Australia became a place to transport Irish Catholic political prisoners, early unionists (Evatt, 2009), and convicts who had committed petty crimes. Expansion of the fledgling colony through exploration, land grants to free settlers and pardoned convicts accelerated displacement and dispossession of Aboriginal peoples (Clark, 2006). This was not formally acknowledged until 2008, when Prime Minister Rudd apologised to Australia's Indigenous peoples for injustices since European invasion, although not for the invasion itself or subsequent dispossession (Australian Government, 2008).

Australia's colonial past has influenced immigration patterns, with the UK and New Zealand still the two leading places of origin for Australians born overseas. More recent immigration from other parts of the world is reflected in the culturally and linguistically diverse makeup of the current Australian population. According to the Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) Australian Social Trends Report (ABS, 2014), amongst OECD nations, only Switzerland (28%), Israel (31%), and Luxembourg (42%) have higher proportions of immigrants than Australia (26%), and Australian immigration is particularly culturally diverse. More than 300 languages are spoken in Australian homes, and Australian's identify with a similar number of ancestries (ABS, 2012a, 2012b).

Leigh (2013) charts the evolution of a culture of egalitarianism in Australia, alongside economic inequality driven by land ownership. Inequality steadily increased throughout the nineteenth century, peaked in the 1920s and then declined as Government wage policy and a redistributive tax regime contributed to reducing inequality throughout most of the twentieth century, especially following World War II.. This occurred in the context of rising incomes amongst low and middle-income earners, high levels of employment overall, affordable, accessible education, and mass migration. Since 1990, inequality has risen again. Western et al. (2007) describe a situation where both major parties were committed to neoliberal policy frameworks that allowed increasing inequality, despite voter attitudes shifting increasingly toward a desire for more equitable approaches.

In recent years Australia has continued to exhibit relatively high levels of economic growth when compared to other developed countries (Markus, 2015: 7). The 'mining boom' has ended and unemployment is rising, but is still at lower levels than other OECD countries. Inequality is increasing, but is not yet as pronounced as the USA or UK (Bliss, 2013, Austen and Redmond, 2013, Richardson and Denniss, 2014). Yet some groups are missing out on the opportunities afforded by a healthy economy and recent Government policies have tended to further disadvantage low income groups (ACOSS, 2015). Single parent households, the young, disabled, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islanders, and immigrants from non-English speaking countries are at the highest risk of poverty (ACOSS, 2014). ACOSS (2015: 32) reports that the wealthiest quintile in Australia holds 70 times the wealth of the poorest quintile.

Immigration is a significant aspect of the story of inequality in Australia. Newer arrivals tend to be at an economic disadvantage when compared to established groups. Language and ethnicity provide additional challenges, with new groups facing active discrimination, or simply not being able to access networks and services. The earliest waves of immigration from Ireland and Britain were soon supplemented with Chinese, Continental European, and North American gold miners, Pacific Island cane workers, and Islamic Afghan-Pakistani camel drivers. This introduced both ethnic and religious diversity before Federation in 1901 (Clark, 2006). Employers welcomed cheap foreign labour, while unions resisted immigration to protect wages that were suitable for 'white men' (Zappala and Castles, 1998: 274).

One of the first acts of the new Government after Federation was to block non-European, and particularly Asian immigration, with the 1901 *Immigration Restriction Act*, known as the 'White Australia Policy'. However, after World War II it became clear that Britain could no longer be relied upon to protect Australian interests. Australian governments embarked on a mass immigration program after World War II, designed to build up both the population and the workforce (Zappala and Castles, 1998). Government subsidies were used to prioritise British immigrants, but over time the source nations became increasingly diversified, partly assisted by post-War refugee migration (Price, 1986). Zappala and Castles (1998: 275) reported that Eastern and Northern Europeans arrived from the late 1940s, Southern Europeans during the 1950s and 1960s. Australia had received 4.3 million immigrants, including an estimated 500,000 refugees (Price, 1986: 81).

The White Australia Policy was finally abandoned altogether in the 1970s. This was accompanied by ratification of the UN International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) and the introduction of the Commonwealth Racial Discrimination Act in 1975 (Taksa and Groutsis, 2010). Government policy shifted to a new emphasis on multiculturalism, followed by an influx of immigration from south-eastern Asia (Zappala and Castles 1998).

Although briefly interrupted by debate about 'Asianisation' in the 1980s (Jakubowicz, 1985), Australian multiculturalism appeared to progress relatively smoothly into the 1990s (Bailey, 1995), although Jakubowicz (1985) argued that public discourse

describing Australia as a tolerant and multicultural society was more ideological than factual. Racist elements in the Australian community came to the fore with the rise of Pauline Hanson and her anti-immigration One Nation political party in the late 1990s (Leach et al., 2000). Schweitzer et al. (2005) and McKay et al. (2012) report that between 1999 and 2001 the arrival of 12,000 mostly Afghan and Iraqi refugees led to heightened levels of public concern, media sensationalism, and politicisation. Manne (2009) describes the events of August 2000 when a Norwegian freighter, the M.V. *Tampa,* rescued 438 asylum seekers who were *en route* to the Australian territory of Christmas Island, and was then refused permission to deliver them to Australia. The Prime Minister and senior government figures alleged that refugees had threatened to throw their children overboard in an attempt to force the Government to accept them. These claims were only shown to be false after the Liberal Party had comfortably won Government in the 2001 election, which had looked like certain defeat only months previously (Manne, 2009: 245). McKay et al. (2012) argued that the proximity of the Tampa incident and the events of September 11 forged a link between issues of national security, terrorism, and irregular maritime arrivals for many Australians. Since 2000, sporadic events such as the Cronulla riots in 2005 (Collins, 2007), violence at a protest over an anti-Islamic film in 2012 (ABC, 2012), or occasional criminal acts blamed on Islamic radicalisation (ABC, 2015) have contributed to ongoing concerns around Islam and terrorism (Chong, 2016, Colic-Peisker et al., 2016, Dunn et al., 2007). Recently Pauline Hanson's One Nation Party, having shifted its concern from Asian immigration to Islamic immigration, has again been successful in Federal elections, gaining a platform for attention and influence (ABC, 2016). It appears the desire to grow the population, but only with people of the 'right colour' (Colic-Peisker, 2005) continues to be a theme of Australia's immigration story.

Despite Australia's apparent diversity, a recent demographic analysis of 'the average Australian' conducted by the Australian Bureau of Statistics (2013), revealed a large established group of mono-cultural Anglo-European Australians. Three in four Australians were born in Australia, and for more than half of them, so were their parents. Nine in ten Australians claim British or Australian as part of their ethnicity, and over 80% speak only English at home. This stable core of Australians of British

and European descent largely defines the national identity. Other groups are defined against, accepted within, or excluded from this identity, depending on circumstances.

This Anglo-centric backdrop defines the setting for non-European immigration. According to the ABS (2014), overseas born immigrants are significantly more likely to live in a capital city than other Australians (82% to 66%), and tend to settle in capital cities, with Sydney, Melbourne, and Perth accounting for close to 60% of Australia's migrants. Sydney is home to the largest population – and proportion – of immigrants, with nearly one and a half million, or 39% of residents being born overseas (ABS, 2014). Particular ethnicities tend to cluster in suburbs that offer opportunities such as proximity to universities, employment opportunities, transport hubs, and affordability (ABS, 2014). In some suburbs of Sydney and Melbourne, more than 60% of residents were born overseas and more than three quarters speak languages other than English at home (Markus, 2015: 11). While the UK and New Zealand are still the origins of the two largest groups of immigrants, recent arrivals are more diverse, with large groups from China, India, other Asian locations, the Middle-East, and Africa (ABS, 2014).

With the rise of neoliberalism after the collapse of the Bretton-Woods consensus (Harvey, 2007), immigration policy became more focused on linking migration to employment. Despite ratifying ICERD, Australia refused to sign or ratify United Nations Conventions on the rights of migrant workers and their families. As Taksa and Groutsis (2010) document, the protections available for Australian workers and citizens were not extended to include immigrant workers and their families, who lacked cultural capital and were viewed as a docile workforce happy to fill undesirable low-paid, low-skilled jobs. Multicultural Australia was increasingly represented as an asset to be exploited by business, while unions often supported a regime that was discriminatory to new migrants. From the 1950s, migrant workers were subject to multiple disadvantages due to a lack of cultural capital in the 'form of Australian educational credentials and English language' skills (Taksa and Groutsis, 2010: 83). Similar patterns were apparent for later waves of immigrants. Colic-Peisker and Tilbury (2006) presented Census data as evidence of active discrimination against recently arrived African migrant groups, who had far higher unemployment rates than the average, despite having significantly higher levels of education than the Australian

average. The situation was even worse for Muslim African groups, who were identifiable by both racial and religious characteristics. As Collins (2013: 144) recently argued, '[i]nstitutional and individual racism [remains] a key barrier to immigrant integration'. These dynamics continue to shape the social inclusion work of the case study organisations, as employment remains central to the Australian approach to welfare and both the migrant and refugee settlement agencies and churches are involved in supporting and advocating for disadvantaged immigrants and refugees.

The Scanlon Foundation has surveyed Australian attitudes on a variety of indicators, including asylum seekers, immigration, and since 2013, multiculturalism. These studies were conducted in 2007, 2009-2015 (Markus, 2015: 1) and also drew on earlier polls and studies to provide insight into the dynamic and volatile nature of attitudes to immigration and multiculturalism (Markus, 2015: 34), which appeared to be particularly influenced by the political prominence given to immigration, and the unemployment rate. Whereas in the 1990s, polling suggested that 70% of Australians thought immigration levels were too high, by 2009, this figure had dropped to 37%. Yet just one year later when immigration became an issue in the 2010 federal election, concern about immigration had risen to 47%.

Similar volatility is evident in attitudes to asylum seekers, which have become more negative over the five years from 2011 (Markus, 2015: 62) and also the actual experiences of discrimination by immigrant groups. Markus (2013: 18) noted that in 2012, 12% of respondents reported experiences of discrimination on the basis of their 'skin colour, ethnic origin or religion'. In the 2013 survey, following a Federal Election campaign that featured the constant repetition of three word slogans such as 'stop the boats', this climbed dramatically to 19%. In 2014, reported experiences of discrimination remained high at 18%, while in 2015 a statistically significant fall to 15% was recorded (Markus, 2015: 23).

Despite this increase in discriminatory behaviour, the Scanlon Foundation study also found that 85% of Australians see multiculturalism as positively contributing to economic development and 'success in facilitating integration' (Markus, 2015: 42). A majority of Australians appear to have a generally positive view of immigration and

cultural diversity. In fact, these views are most positive in the capital cities where the majority of immigrants are located (Markus, 2015: 52).

This setting of diversity and growing inequality in Australian society provides the context for the social inclusion efforts of Government and organisations such as those considered in the case studies of this research. However, the shifting religious landscape also contributes to this setting, with immigration contributing to growing religious diversity. These developments are outlined in the next section.

Religious diversity and norms

From Federation in 1901 until 1971, more than 80% of Australians were affiliated with a Christian denomination (Henry and Kurzak, 2012). Since then, church attendance has declined while religious diversity has increased, due largely to more varied immigration patterns since 2000.

The Australian Constitution forbids the establishment of a State church or religion, while protecting religious freedom. Catholic, Anglican, Methodist, Presbyterian, and other Protestant traditions were present in Australia from the earliest days of the colony (Bouma, 2006), with sectarian tensions between Catholics and Protestants evident until the latter half of the twentieth century (Henry and Kurzak, 2012). Jews arrived with the First Fleet, while Buddhist, Hindu and Muslim immigrants established a presence during the nineteenth century. Recent immigration patterns have increased religious diversity in Australia, although Christianity has long been the norm and non-Christians, particularly Muslims, have experienced significant discrimination in recent decades (Stratton, 2011).

Despite increasing multi-faith and multicultural diversity, Christianity remains numerically dominant in Australia, as Figure 5.1 (below) demonstrates. The 2011 Census found that 61% of Australians identified with a Christian denomination, with 25% of Australians being Catholic, 17% Anglican, and the third largest denomination being the Uniting Church with five percent of the population (Powell, 2011). Although not formally a denomination, if all Pentecostal churches were treated as a single grouping they would be larger than the Anglican Church (Powell, 2014: 9). All non-Christian faiths together account for just over seven percent of the population. These

include Buddhist (2.5%), Islamic (2.2%), Hindu (1.3%), Jewish (0.5%) and Sikh (0.4%). Yet of all the major religious groupings noted in the census, the fastest growing are those that claim 'no religion', which has become the second largest group apart from Catholics (Powell, 2014).

Although Christian affiliates have been a majority of Australians since Federation, this proportion has been declining since the 1950s (Powell, 2013). Recent Morgan Polls (Morgan Poll, 2014) suggest that disaffiliation has accelerated since 2011. Powell (2013) differentiates affiliation from membership and participation, noting that affiliation has fallen more rapidly than church attendance, with some Christian traditions in decline, some stable, and others growing. Immigration patterns have supported stability in Catholic Church attendance and contributed to growth amongst Orthodox and ethnic religious traditions. Conservative Pentecostal and Evangelical churches are among those that have experienced numerical growth (Powell, 2011). By contrast, the Uniting Church, which provides case studies for this research, is a progressive church with a strong activist tradition (UCA National Assembly, 2016), however it is aging and experiencing more rapid numerical decline than other denominations (Bouma, 2006).

In Sydney, the religious context is complex. There are several powerful religious organisations of national and even global significance. In recent times, the Catholic and Anglican Archbishops of Sydney have been significant leaders of conservatism within their denominations internationally. Unlike many expressions of Anglicanism in Australia, the Diocese of Sydney is conservative, growing strongly and thought to be the wealthiest and most powerful in the world (Porter, 2011, Powell, 2017). Sydney is also home to Hillsong, a mega-church boasting tens of thousands of members and global influence within Pentecostal Christianity and beyond (Riches and Wagner, 2012). Other large churches include the C3 Church network, another Pentecostal movement founded in Sydney with international influence. Sydney also hosts a large and ethnically diverse range of Islamic groups; significant Buddhist and Hindu populations; and a well-connected Jewish community (ABS, 2012c).

In recent times, various Christian lobby groups have emerged, some conservative such as the Australian Christian Lobby (ACL) (Maddox, 2014), and others more focused on social justice, such as Micah Challenge or UnitingWorld (Clarke, 2012). Beyond this, Gauthier and Martikainen (2016) and Spickard (2016) describe a range of ways that neoliberalism has led to a privatisation of faith, reduced credibility for churches, and scepticism of the motives of churches, which undermines their advocacy capacity. Spickard (2016: 51-2) has also noted division and inconsistency within faith communities themselves. Demographic profiles of church attenders reveal a largely conservative constituency (Bevis et al., 2013b, Mollidor et al., 2013, Powell and Pepper, 2014), with an active minority that advocates for social justice and supports the marginalised and oppressed (Pepper et al., 2013a, Powell et al., 2014a).
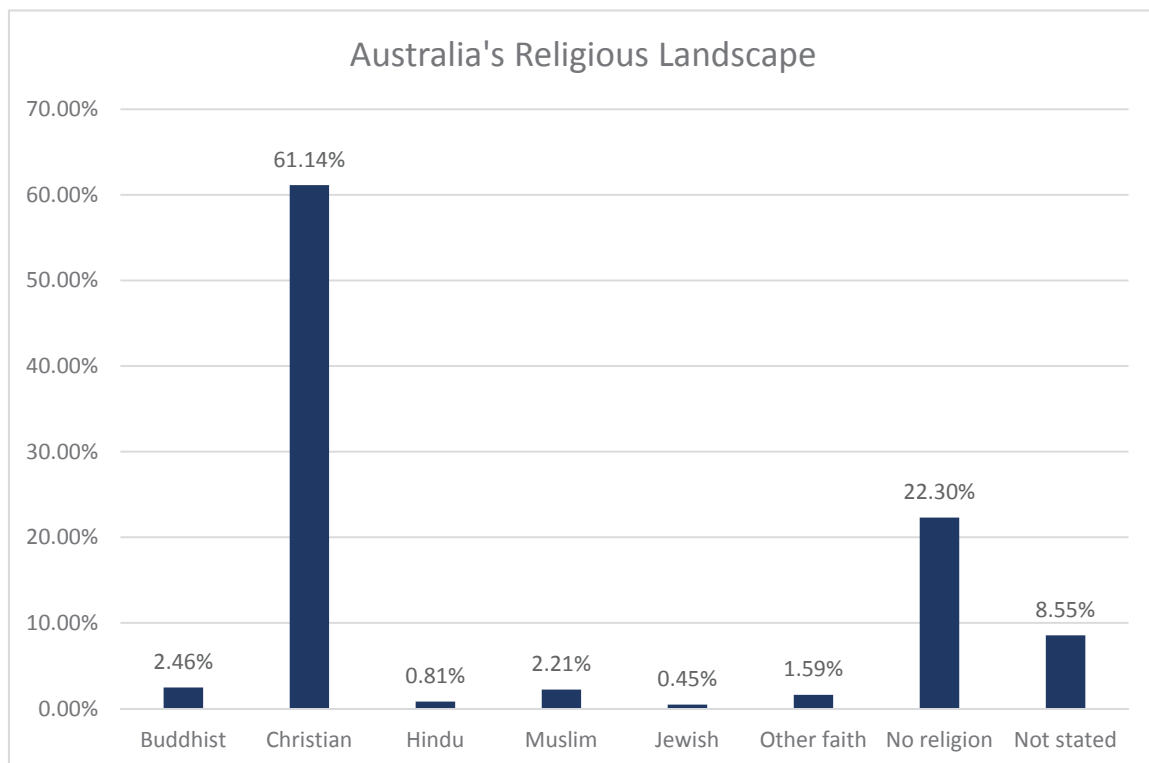
Figure 5.1 Australia's Religious Landscape (Powell, 2011, 2011 Census)

Churches and other faith communities have a long history of involvement in education, health, aged care and other community services in Australia (Bouma, 2006). These activities are the public expression of a religious vision of the world, which has become increasingly fractured in the face of cultural and religious diversity, competing

visions and public policy dilemmas (Bouma, 2012). Faith based organisations are among the largest community services organisations within the not-for-profit sector (Knight and Gilchrist, 2015). These organisations have grown rapidly thanks to increased outsourcing of Government funded community services under the influence of neoliberalism (Van Gramberg and Bassett, 2005). However, faith-based community service providers are subject to the same dynamics of Government control through funding as other funding recipients (Melville, 2003, Van Gramberg and Bassett, 2005), as discussed in the section on not-for-profits.

The churches themselves are at arms-length from their community service provision agencies and in theory have more freedom to participate in advocacy than the agencies themselves. Churches and other faith communities have a mixed record of involvement in advocacy, being heavily involved in international development (Ferris, 2005, McDuie-Ra and Rees, 2010), but on the domestic front, scholars such as Maddison and Denniss (2005) dismiss churches as not really public policy players and often more supportive of the conservative view than the progressive side of a debate. At the individual level, church attenders themselves support public comment and advocacy by churches and individual Christians, as Figure 5.2 (below) shows. Further, a significant proportion of attenders are involved in issue-based advocacy relating to social justice, environmental (Pepper et al., 2009, Bevis et al., 2013a, Pepper et al., 2013a, Pepper et al., 2013b) or moral issues (Maddox, 2005, Maddox, 2014), although on all sides of the debate.

However, neoliberal assumptions inform the perspective of both right and left wing Governments (Lyons and Passey, 2006), and within a neoliberal framework the lack of economic outputs makes the existence of churches difficult to justify. Spickard (2016) documents a range of different neoliberal arguments that represent churches as irrelevant, and obsolete remnants of the past. While scholars such as Byrne (2005) saw churches as allies in opposition to neoliberalism, many progressive commentators portray the motives of churches as self-interested and untrustworthy, and distrust of the churches has been amplified by recent revelations of child sexual abuse in religious institutions (Royal Commission, 2017). Some scholarly perspectives do seek to evaluate the positive contributions of faith communities, suggesting they provide social support for members, mobilise volunteers for charity and community service

(Mollidor et al., 2015), and develop social capital (Leonard and Bellamy, 2010, Putnam and Campbell, 2012). Research in the UK also suggests that faith communities are more effective agents of 'social integration'[5] than other organisations (SIC, 2014a, SIC, 2014b). These attempts to demonstrate the non-economic value of the activities of churches appear to have little credence within a neoliberal framework which justifies the existence of not-for-profit organisations through their economic outputs (Australian Charities and Not-For-Profits Commission, 2014, Cortis and Blaxland, 2015, Productivity Commission, 2015).
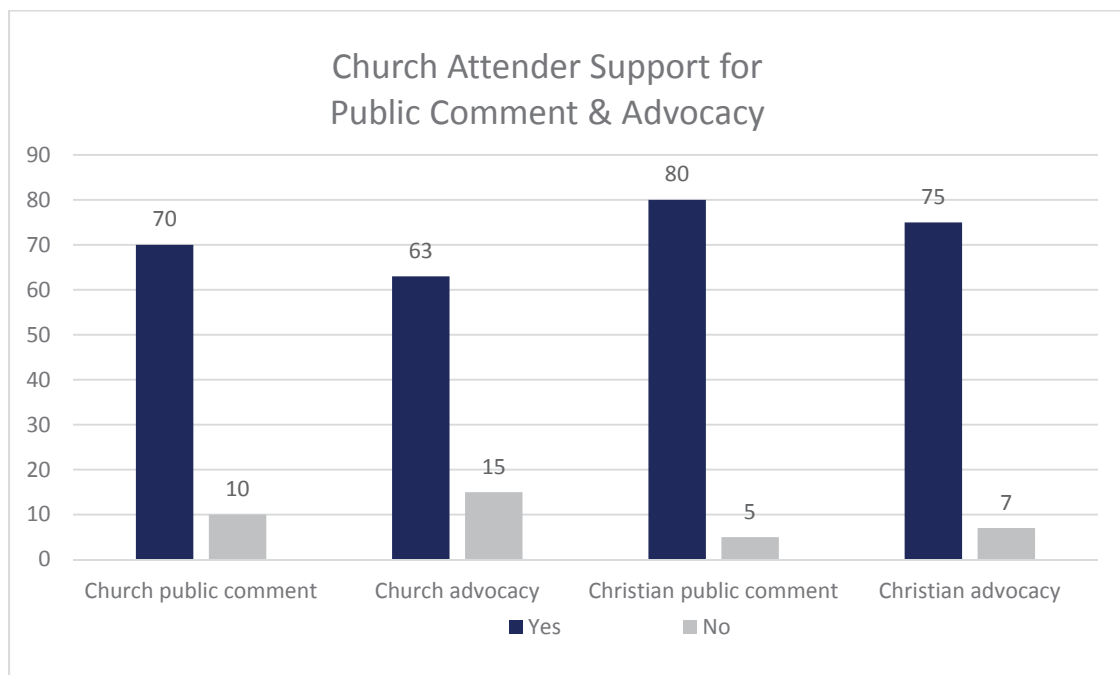
Figure 5.2 Church Support for Advocacy and Comment (Pepper et al., 2013a)

Source: 2011 NCLS Attender Sample Survey O (n=1,409).

Neoliberal influences create stress in faith communities. The young Muslim radical strikes out at 'the system', while Islamic leaders struggle to manage internal dynamics while external contextual forces seek to impose stereotypes (Faris and Parry, 2011). The progressive Uniting Church advocates on climate change issues along with the treatment of refugees, aboriginals, the poor, and LGBTIQ people, but cannot bring its

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[5] Social integration here is defined as the extent of social interaction with others in different age, class, and ethnic groups SIC, S. I. C. 2014a. How integrated is modern Britain? London: Social Integration Commission.

full influence to bear because its own attenders are divided and the denomination's community service arm relies on government funding (Bentley, 2004, Hatfield Dodds, 2012, Docherty, 2013, Tanton et al., 2014). Hillsong's emphasis on prosperity and self-reliance may be a response to 'neoliberal subjectivity' (Wagner, 2014: 11), but the neo-conservatives of the Catholic Church or Sydney Anglicanism are equally shaped by the prevailing neoliberal worldview – and increasingly associated with political conservatism (Maddox, 2005).

The discussion above explores some of the cognitive and relational structures within the diverse, but largely Christian Australian religious community. The influence of neoliberalism has already featured prominently in the discussion of faith, and earlier discussion of the 'third sector'. The next section outlines the main themes of neoliberalism in order to understand how this pervasive influence has shaped the perspectives and relationships of Australian political and social life.

Neoliberal Ideology

Bourdieu (1998, 2003) described neoliberalism as a systematic attempt to dismantle collectives and Chopra (2003) described it as an imposed '*doxa*', an ideology established as unquestionable orthodoxy. Others have documented the global rise and nature of neoliberal ideology (Chomsky, 1999, Stiglitz, 2002, Duggan, 2003, Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005, Ong, 2006). Chomsky (1999: 7) described neoliberalism as:

> the defining political economic paradigm of our time - it refers to the policies and processes whereby a relative handful of private interests are permitted to control as much as possible of social life in order to maximize their personal profit ... the dominant global political economic trend adopted by political parties of the centre and much of the traditional left as well as the right.

In Australia, a range of scholars have argued that neoliberalism has exercised increasing influence on social, political, and economic systems in Australia (Beeson and Firth, ne1998, Quiggin, 1999, O'Neill and Moore, 2005, Western et al., 2007, Cooper and Ellem, 2008, Hall et al., 2013). Stratton (2011) has argued that neoliberalism is an important factor in determining which groups are included and

excluded while Gidley et al. (2010) and Deeming (2014) have argued that while the Australian approach to social inclusion softened the worst excesses of neoliberalism, it was itself shaped by a neoliberal perspective that emphasised individualism and economic outputs. Peck (2001: 445) also argued that the neoliberal agenda included an emphasis on inclusion:

> Purge the system of obstacles to the functioning of 'free markets'; restrain public expenditure and any form of collective initiative; celebrate the virtues of individualism, competitiveness, and economic self-sufficiency; abolish or weaken social transfer programs while actively fostering the 'inclusion' of the poor and marginalized into the labour market, on the market's terms.

The various doctrines of neoliberalism rose to prominence – along with Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher - in the 1980s as part of the aftermath of the stagflation that followed the OPEC oil price shocks and the breakdown of the post-WW2 Keynesian Bretton-Woods consensus in the 1970s (Harvey, 2007: 12). In the following decades, Australian attitudes and approaches to government were profoundly reshaped (Marsh, 1995), with one result being an increase in inequality, accompanied by an increased tolerance for inequality (Western et al., 2007, Cooper and Ellem, 2008, Stratton, 2011). Scholars have identified neoliberal shifts in values, beliefs, and practices in diverse aspects of society, ranging from education (Davies and Bansel, 2007), environment policy (Coffey and Marston, 2013), housing (Beer et al., 2007), racism (Stratton, 2011), religion (Chong, 2016), and literally the price of milk (Richards et al., 2012). Neoliberal 'reforms' (Quiggin, 1999) have also been applied to the operation of community services and not-for-profits (Melville, 2003, Van Gramberg and Bassett, 2005).

At the macro-social level, neoliberalism impacts on significant national structures and institutions, laws, social, cultural and religious norms and values, along with gender and race relations (Goldberg, 2009). As Duggan (2003: 14) argued, the rhetoric of privatisation, competitiveness, and personal responsibility promises the attainment of economic goals, and panders to middle-class aspirational values of self-reliance and personal responsibility. There is a morality (Clarke, 2005) or even a 'theology'

(Voyce, 2004) built into the neoliberal paradigm. Tax cuts that benefit the wealthy are justified by the claim they will provide jobs, while attacking public expenditure for anything except law and order, reinforcing hierarchies of race, gender, sexuality, class and nationality. However, the moral rhetoric of competition, self-dependence, self-esteem (Duggan, 2003: 14, Gauthier and Martikainen, 2016: 11) freedom, and faith in market forces (Deranyiagala, 2005) obscures a 'market fundamentalism' (Stiglitz, 2002) that justifies oligopolistic predatory capitalism. The market is 'not just an economic, but also a moral force, penalising the idle and incompetent and rewarding the enterprising and hard-working' (Clarke, 2005: 51). Power imbalances are treated selectively. The market power of monopoly, oligopoly, and multinational corporations - which are anathema to classical liberal economists – are affirmed. Bourdieu (2003: 26) named it 'the invisible hand of the powerful'.

Harvey (2007) described the role of government under neoliberalism as minimal: protecting property rights, markets, and reinforcing contracts. Unequal monopolistic or oligopolistic competition is completely permissible within a neoliberal worldview (Crotty, 2000, Kotz, 2002, Crotty, 2005, Chester, 2010, Chester, 2012, Richards et al., 2012), even if it erodes those forms of social capital such as trust and reciprocity which enable an efficient, unregulated free market (Fukuyama, 1995a, 1995b, 2001). Instead, neoliberalism reinforces those social norms and sanctions, including expenditure on law and order, which enable non-trusting, non-relational transactions (Lapavitsas, 2005). Large firms exercise market power over employees, suppliers and customers, reducing individuals to self-centred atoms conducting impersonal exchanges calculated solely on beneficial utility (Vernon, 1998). The rhetorical emphasis is on individual over group, individual market exchange over relationship and social contracts, the profit motive over any sense of purpose, and competition over cooperation (Saad-Filho and Johnston, 2005).

The moral dimension of neoliberalism makes it resilient. At its very core there is a blame shifting morality that transfers responsibility for anomalies away from beneficiaries and onto those suffering from the results (Byrne, 2005). As a result, this ideology survives despite the very obvious anomalies between the promised outcome of prosperity for all, and the observed and experienced reality of rapidly increasing inequality (Quiggin, 1999, Western et al., 2007, Picketty, 2014).

When viewed from a multi-level perspective, Harvey's (2007) portrayal of neoliberalism describes a set of beliefs and practices that constrain the collective agency of marginalised groups, eroding social capital and community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). Some critical scholars see social capital as part of the problem, arguing that it is a neoliberal construct intended to mollify marginalised groups while distracting attention from the accumulated power of economic capital (Munck, 2005, Veltmeyer and Petras, 2005). However, the multilevel Bourdieuan conceptualisation that informs this doctoral research views social capital as a form of power. From this perspective, neoliberalism operates to divide and dismantle the collective power of marginalised groups by eroding social capital, apparent in attacks on unions, identity groups, not-for-profits and third sector organisations (Palley, 2005, Van Gramberg and Bassett, 2005, Clarke, 2005, MacGregor, 2005, Johnston, 2005, Cooper and Ellem, 2008).

This outline of the neoliberal agenda portrays a *doxa* (Bourdieu, 1977: 166) that has been internalised as unquestionable truth even by those who do not benefit. This aligns with what Lukes (1974) described as the 'third dimension' of power, when the oppressed adopt their oppressor's agenda as their own. The next section explores the Australian approach to social inclusion in a neoliberal setting.

The Australian Social Inclusion Agenda

During the late 1990s, public policy in Europe and the UK shifted from an emphasis on poverty, to a multi-level reformulation of the relational and social aspects of poverty and exclusion. Social inclusion and exclusion were conceptualised as multi-level, multi-dimensional phenomena experienced in interactions with institutional structures, and in relation to society as a whole (Atkinson et al., 2002, Atkinson and Marlier, 2010). In 1997, the UK Government created a Social Exclusion Unit (SEU, 2004), while several universities and public foundations invested in research initiatives. The Rowntree Foundation, for example, began to publish an annual report monitoring poverty and social exclusion (Howarth et al., 1999) which it continues to the present.

Developments in the UK were replicated in Australia some years later (Saunders, 2008, Buckmaster and Thomas, 2009). The incoming Rudd Labor government

announced its Australian Social Inclusion Agenda (SIA) with great fanfare (Gillard and Wong, 2007). An Australian Social Inclusion Board (ASIB) and a social inclusion unit were established as part of the Deputy Prime Minister's office (Gillard, 2007). As in the UK, Australian universities and not-for-profit organisations such as Jesuit Social Services (Vinson, 2007) invested in social inclusion research, while the Brotherhood of St Laurence, a large Victorian community services agency, initiated a 'social exclusion monitor' in 2003, which also continues today (BSL, 2016).

The SIA was an attempt to initiate a new approach to poverty, disadvantage, and inequality (Hayes et al., 2008, Vinson, 2009b, Buckmaster and Thomas, 2009). This was thought to have strong potential for bi-partisan support (Nicholson, 2007b). However, in the increasingly polarised and volatile political environment that characterised the Rudd-Gillard-Rudd Labor and Abbott Conservative governments from 2010 onwards, this possibility evaporated (Saunders, 2015). In 2013, the incoming Liberal Prime Minister abolished the Australian Social Inclusion Board on the same day he was sworn in (Commonwealth of Australia, 2013). The swiftness of this action appears to suggest an urgency and antipathy toward the social inclusion agenda which is hard to reconcile with the alleged ineffectiveness of the Board (Fifield, 2012).

In fact, the SIA was not an expensive investment. Following the Global Financial Crisis, the 2008 budget allocation was only $14.6 million *over five years* for the entire project (2008). The 2009 budget barely mentioned social inclusion (Quinlan, 2009), beyond a 'partnership strategy' whereby state governments, not-for-profits, faith communities and civil society were expected to work with government toward social inclusion.

Scholars and practitioners also judged the SIA and the Australian Social Inclusion Board to be ineffective, weighing modest achievements against significant shortcomings, and little evidence of real influence over government and the departments which implemented the agenda (King et al., 2010, Boese and Phillips, 2011, Saunders, 2013, Carey et al., 2015, Marston and Dee, 2015). King et al. (2010) found little evidence of progress for marginalised groups in Sydney. Boese and Phillips (2011) reported to a symposium on social inclusion and multiculturalism that

little had been achieved, particularly for migrants and refugees. Scholarly analysis of the achievements of the SIA suggested possible progress toward goals, but these were not found to be statistically significant by most indicators (Saunders, 2013). One of the least successful aspects of the SIA was the lack of cooperation from state and federal governments and their departments, which changed language but not practice, and incorporated programs under the SIA that had nothing to do with social inclusion (Saunders, 2013, Carey et al., 2015). Others criticised the disconnection between the scholarly multidimensional conceptualisation of social inclusion and the employment focus of policy makers (Marston and Dee, 2015, Redmond, 2015). Attempts to create 'joined up' (Dunleavy, 2010) or 'coordinated' (Hatfield Dodds, 2012) approaches to government policy were also of limited effectiveness. Carey et al. (2015) concluded that some efforts were made to implement new approaches, with social inclusion coordinating teams established in government departments, but these were ineffective precisely because they were peripheral and relatively powerless.

Most of the shortcomings with the SIA that were identified by scholars can be framed as different expressions of the problem of agency. Before the SIA, Governments had exercised agency in prescriptive and authoritarian ways that over-ruled the expertise and autonomy of community service agencies (Melville, 2003). The ALP government was more open to advocacy and critique from the not-for-profit (NFP) sector, but changed little in relation to the degree of control over policy goals and service delivery (Mendes, 2009: 34). Despite the greater expertise and knowledge of needs in the community held by NFPs, these were consigned to deliver predetermined services (Carey and Riley, 2012). In addition, specified services were required to be delivered in ways that constrained the agency of marginalised groups, applying a deficit view that cast recipients as passive problems rather than active agents and holders of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). The previous Coalition government had accused job seekers of being 'job snobs'. Labor Governments were also capable of implying that unemployed people should not be too choosy, while ignoring the problem that a key driver of social exclusion was, and continues to be, low-paid work, unsociable hours (Mendes, 2009) and a lack of prospects for improvement (Atkinson, 1998).

The Australian Social Inclusion Board may have been ineffective at influencing government policy and practice. Despite this, the not-for-profit sector embraced the concept of social inclusion and the social inclusion agenda (ACOSS, 2008). In Sydney, a coalition of 49 not-for-profits including the case study organisations involved in this doctoral research, prioritised social inclusion in their 'agenda for the common good', after consultation with thousands of members (Martin, 2011). In fact, NFPs largely shaped the social inclusion agenda (Goodwin and Phillips, 2015) through foundational research commissioned by organisations like Jesuit Social Services (Vinson, 2007) and the Brotherhood of St Laurence (Nicholson, 2007a). Large NGOs such as Catholic Social Services (Quinlan, 2009), St Vincent de Paul's (Falzon, 2009), Anglicare (King et al., 2010), and UnitingCare (Hatfield Dodds, 2012), all supported the social inclusion agenda, but also expressed concern at the lack of commitment and resourcing for the agenda.

Arguably, for less than three million dollars per year, the Australian Social Inclusion Agenda (SIA) delivered a significant degree of common direction, alignment, and commitment (Drath et al., 2008) in the not-for-profit sector (ACOSS, 2008), which in theory should have enhanced the collective agency of the not-for-profit sector and their clientele. Regardless of the actual motivation, the incoming Abbott Government's swift dismantling of the social inclusion infrastructure diminished the capacity for the not-for-profit sector to organise itself around the concept of social inclusion.

The Australian Social Inclusion Board did not understate the magnitude of the task. As the Board put it:

> A social inclusion agenda recognises that addressing problems of entrenched disadvantage is among the most complex issues that a society faces. It is hard to define, has many causes and interdependencies, involves unforeseen consequences and is beyond the responsibility of any one actor or organisation to solve. A social inclusion agenda also recognises that traditional policy approaches have had limited success addressing the problems faced by the most disadvantaged. The bureaucracy's traditional siloed and top down approach is not well adapted to supporting the kinds of processes

necessary for addressing the complexity and ambiguities of
entrenched disadvantage (ASIB, 2011c: 3).

A comparison of thirteen Australian Social Inclusion Board (ASIB) publications
between 2008 and 2012 does reveal inconsistencies: in definition; construal of
causation; approaches to measurement; monitoring; and proposed policy responses.
However, it is the inconsistency in the treatment of leaders, leadership and leadership
development that is relevant to this doctoral research. Of the thirteen documents, eight
touch on leadership in some way, with just two publications paying leadership
development significant attention. Leadership development and social capital were
core strategies in a 2009 brochure on building resilient communities (ASIB, 2009), and
were also a major theme of the report exploring Governance Models for Location
Based Initiatives (ASIB, 2011c). Yet most publications barely mentioned leadership,
with major reports using the term exclusively to describe members of the Social
Inclusion Board (ASIB, 2010b, 2012) or political leaders, as *Breaking Cycles of
Disadvantage* (2011d) and *Foundations for a Stronger, Fairer Australia* (2011b)
illustrated[6]. The 2010 Annual Report (2011a: 26) did touch on leadership
development, but portrayed community leaders as important resources to 'enlist to the
cause', presumably in support of the professionals who would implement the SIA.
Inconsistency was also evident in the way the Board envisaged Government partnering
with the community and working with volunteers. In most of these publications,
agency and resources were implicitly envisaged as something exercised by government
and community sector experts, rather than by knowledgeable and competent
community leaders and groups in control of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005).

Inconsistencies are understandable, given the sparse resources available to the Board
and the magnitude of the challenge of social inclusion in Australia. The Board had
little genuine authority to require changes of government or government funded
processes and services (Saunders, 2013) and relied on a shifting array of experts and
advisors. Whatever the reason, the result was unstable and inconsistent policy
(Marston and Dee, 2015, Redmond, 2015). The removal of social inclusion from the

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[6] Some case studies in *Foundations for a Stronger Fairer Australia* do mention community leadership
and youth leadership development programs.

public policy arena left the $25 billion per annum community services industry (ABS, 2010, Productivity Commission, 2013) without a cohesive conceptual framework to guide policy implementation. Despite this, Harris (2015) argued persuasively that social inclusion remained as important as ever, although it may be necessary to find new language to address the same set of problems.

Conclusion to Chapter Five

This Chapter provided an overview of the context for social inclusion work in Australia. The long history of immigration has resulted in cultural and religious diversity alongside a majority group whose values and norms assume British and Christian heritage (Stratton, 2011). In recent times, neoliberal influences have both constrained and enabled faith and community organisations in their social inclusion efforts. Neoliberalism also shapes the 'common-sense' (Bourdieu, 1989) views of the broader public, along with political agendas and commentary on inequality, racial and religious issues.

Community sector and faith based organisations have played an important role in Australian society, as a source of social capital and support, as well as a representative voice for marginalised groups. There is evidence that the increasing influence of neoliberal philosophies has dramatically increased the funding of not-for-profits. Yet this has been accompanied by increased dependency on Government funding, which some Governments have used to control or 'gag' (Productivity Commission, 2010: 375) the important advocacy aspects of the mission of not-for-profit organisations.

Finally, the Australian Social Inclusion Agenda (SIA) has been critiqued for a perceived failure to further social inclusion in Australia (Marston and Dee, 2015, Puddy and Dunlevy, 2012). However, this ignores potential benefits from the alignment and coordination that the SIA enabled within the community sector. Regardless, social inclusion remains important in the diverse and inequitable Australia of the twenty first century (Harris, 2015). This research seeks to contribute to this important goal by investigating alternative approaches to social inclusion in a neoliberal environment.

Chapter Six: Case Studies: Two Refugee and Migrant Settlement Organisations

Introduction

According to Cortis and Blaxland (2015), 30% of not-for-profits in NSW have 20 to 99 staff, and only 13% have more than 100 staff. This chapter presents case studies of two not-for-profits, one with more than 400 staff, the other with between 40 and 80. Both organisations are involved in refugee and immigrant settlement services within the NSW community sector.

Multilevel dynamics are important parts of these case studies, as there are individual, relational and organisational aspects within the case study organisations. The social inclusion work of these not-for-profits intersects with Government funding bodies and policies, as well as attitudes and events in the wider society and beyond. These complex interactions are investigated from the perspectives of senior leaders such as executives and board members, mid-level managers and team leaders, and junior staff in the form of case-workers.

Both practical and ethical concerns precluded direct research with refugees and recent immigrants, for whom social inclusion would be a major focus. However, the case study organisations are highly diverse, and several interviewees were refugees themselves. To describe the diversity within these organisations, the phrases 'non-English speaking background' (NESB) and 'culturally and linguistically diverse' (CALD), will be used. As outlined in the introduction to this thesis, NESB and CALD refer to individuals and people groups that face language related challenges as well as barriers to inclusion that arise from differences in culture, ethnicity and religion (Sawrikar and Katz, 2009). Within the case study organisations considered in this chapter, a majority of interviewees were culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) and born overseas, so had first-hand experience of negotiating their own social inclusion in Australia. Length of time with the organisation, age, and seniority are provided as indicators of likely influence within the organisation.

The first case is a not-for-profit immigrant and diversity services agency referred to here as Migrant Community Organisation (MCO). MCO is one of the eleven migrant and diversity agencies that collaborated together to found Settlement Services International (SSI), which is the subject of the second case study. Each case provides a range of data to explore the beliefs and practices that shape the social inclusion and leadership development processes for staff, clients, and at the meso-organisational level in relationships with other not-for-profits, Government, and other organisations.

This chapter introduces the two case study organisations, then the two case studies are presented consecutively, each following the same general structure. The meso-organisational level is addressed first, using data drawn primarily from organisational publications and some senior leader interviews. The following section then draws more heavily on qualitative interview data to investigate the micro-relational level beliefs and practices which shape social inclusion and leadership development efforts in these organisations. Each case study concludes with a brief description of the organisation's engagement with macro-social factors.

Part One: Migrant Community Organisation

Migrant Community Organisation (MCO) is a not-for-profit community services agency providing a diverse range of migrant, refugee and other services, and a founding member of SSI (SSI, 2013: 32). This case study presents evidence of the beliefs and practices that shape social inclusion and leadership development work in Migrant Community Organisation (MCO).

With between 40 and 80 staff and revenue typically between one and three million dollars per annum (MCO, 2014), MCO works with refugees, providing settlement services as part of the NSW Settlement Services Partnership, which is headed up by SSI. MCO also provides more general immigrant settlement services, assisting recent arrivals to access services and connect with migrant-ethnic or faith networks. In addition, they provide family support services and early intervention where family problems emerge; a range of tenancy advice and advocacy services; and employment and employment readiness services (MCO, 2016b). MCO also provides youth and

children's services (Sandra, 20 February 2015) and seeks to support and partner with a variety of marginalised groups and the Aboriginal community (MCO Board, 2011).

In the interest of maintaining anonymity for research participants, only general information is provided here. MCO is one of a network of organisations spread across Sydney, with decades of involvement in the migrant, multicultural, and refugee services sector. As with all organisations in this sector, staffing levels vary with funding, but typically involve 40 to 60 employees, with a significant number of contracted and part-time staff, as well as volunteers. Sources of funding are diverse, ranging from small grants from private donors such as banks and Clubs, mid-sized grants from various NSW Government departments, federally funded settlement services provided as a sub-contractor within the SSI led Settlement Services Partnership, and direct funding from the Federal Government.

As a smaller organisation, the hierarchical structure at MCO is relatively compressed. Levels include the Board and CEO, program managers, case workers, and some administrative support. Volunteers also feature in some parts of MCO's service delivery with 15 to 30 active volunteers involved in particular programs.

Sources of Data

Eight interviews were conducted with MCO staff, encompassing senior, mid-tier, and junior staff within the organisations, including the CEO. All of the interviewees were culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD), and only one was born in Australia, with all others being from a non-English speaking background (NESB). Indicative demographic data is presented in Table 6.1.

Table 6.1 Overview of Interviewees

Alias	Interview Date	CALD	NESB	Position	Age>35	Time in role*	Born
Con	17-Nov-14	Y	Y	Jnr	Y	S	OS
Sera	18-Nov-14	Y	Y	Snr	Y	L	OS
Fiona	10-Jan-15	Y	Y	Snr	Y	L	OS
Colin	10-Jan-15	Y	Y	Mid	N	M	OS
Sandra	20-Feb-15	Y		Mid	Y	M	OS
Roberta	27-Feb-15	Y	Y	Jnr	N	M	OS
Bernice	21-Nov-14	Y	Y	Jnr	Y	M	OS
Kim	4-Dec-14	Y		Snr	Y	L	

* S < 1 year; M 1-3 years; L > 3 years

Other data was drawn from fifteen publications, including six annual reports; two online media articles and a Government press release; promotional material about three MCO programs; two publications of joint-venture partner organisations; a Board resolution; and the MCO website. Annual reports provided the primary source of information on organisational structure and revenues, as well as statements relating to the vision, values and strategic directions which guided the organisation over time.

History and Structure

At the time of this research, MCO was in its third decade of operation in the migrant and multicultural service area. This period was a time of adjustment and change for MCO. As a founding member of SSI, the successful establishment of SSI in 2011 had changed several aspects of the operational setting. Significant resources had been invested in establishing SSI, and settlement services were now conducted in partnership with SSI. Government regulatory changes had also triggered the initial phases of a restructure of corporate governance and reporting requirements which were completed by the 2015-16 financial year (MCO, 2016a: 4). As this research was being conducted, MCO was also facing funding uncertainty, with fifteen staff in the family services area – a significant percentage of the organisation – waiting to hear whether their programs and jobs would be funded beyond 2015 (Sera, 18 November 2014). At the same time, MCO itself was gearing up to introduce a new program (Kim, 4 December 2015).

As Figure 6.1 (below) indicates, during the period when SSI was emerging and growing rapidly, net assets at MCO were declining. From a level just under one and a half million dollars in net reserves in 2011, net assets fell to just under fifteen thousand dollars in the 2013-2014 financial year. This low point occurred during a period of restructuring and staff shifts in the period after SSI was established (Kim, 4 December 2015), and net assets have since recovered, approaching levels similar to 2011. There was also some decline in the overall number of clients served between 2011 and 2013, but since 2014 there has been steady growth, with the implementation of new programs resulting in higher numbers of clients in 2015 and 2016.

MCO Net Assets & Total Clients 2011-2016
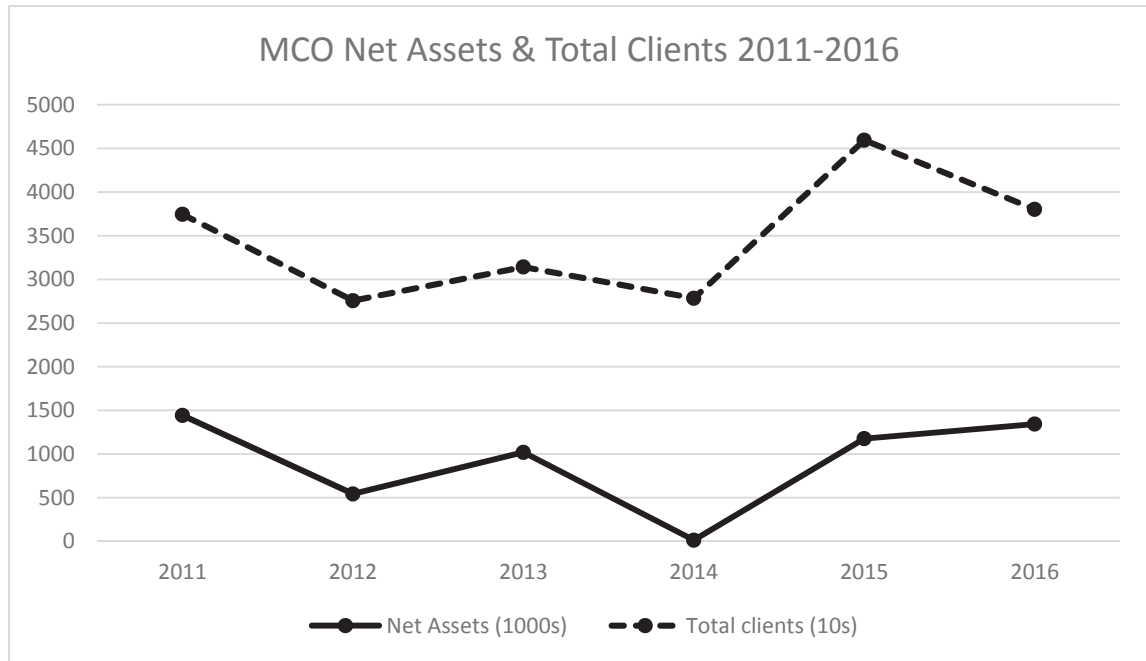
Figure 6.1 MCO Net Assets and Total Clients (MCO Annual Reports 2011 to 2016)

NB: Net assets measured in thousands, total clients in tens to allow comparison.

As Figure 6.2 (below) shows, shifts in Government funding opportunities related to shifts in policy, as well as periodic post-election departmental restructuring as described in Chapter Five, which contributed to volatility in individual programs. Potential reductions in revenue were offset by the development of new projects and program growth. Overall, by 2016 MCO had recovered from a period of instability and was on a steady growth trajectory (MCO, 2016a: 4).

Migrant Community Organisation Programs 2011-2016
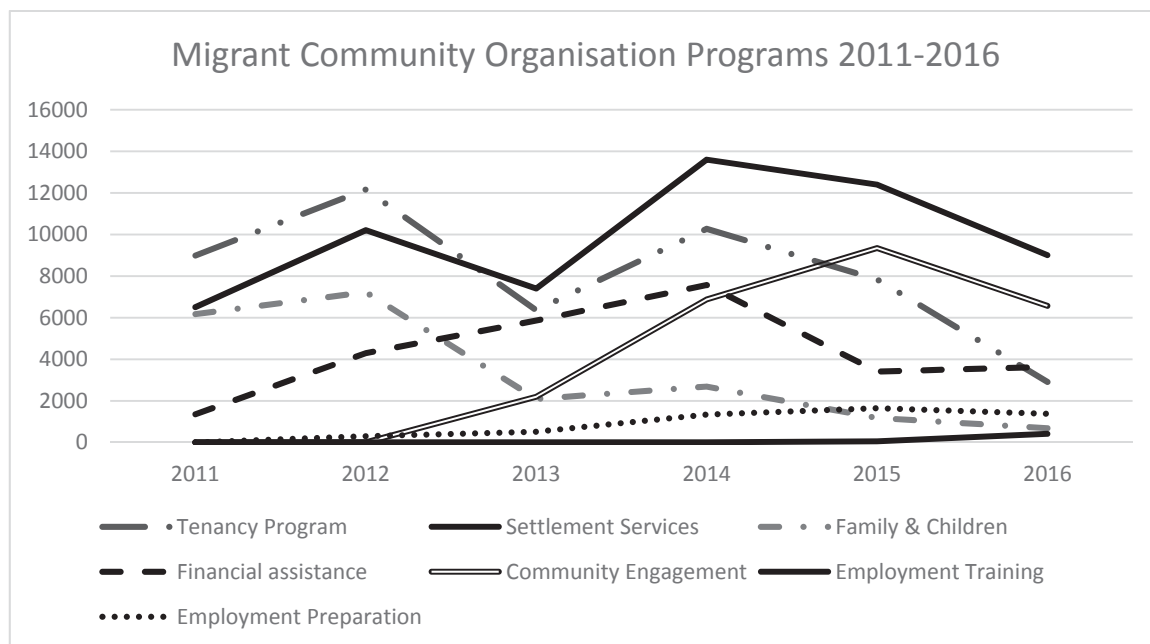
Figure 6.2 MCO Program Volatility (MCO Annual Reports 2011 to 2016)

MCO Policies, Guidelines and Goals

MCO has a main office and a range of community hubs in surrounding suburbs. Staff are organised into small teams around different areas of work, rather than divisions or departments. The hubs build relationships with local government, sports and community organisations, and beyond service provision, also run regular events to encourage community participation.

At the time the research was conducted, the organisational vision, mission, and values, were under review (Kim, 4 December 2015). The work of MCO had typically been guided by a mission statement that evolved over time. Comparisons of Annual Reports (MCO, 2007, 2012, 2014) reveal the common themes of serving and representing diverse people groups through the provision of high quality services. The most recent iterations of these guiding statements include several new features. To protect anonymity these have been paraphrased from MCO's website below.

The MCO vision was for:

> a diverse society characterised by justice, respect and dignity for all,
> and opportunities for fulfilment and self-actualisation.

The mission had shifted from 'to be a leader in the … sector' (MCO, 2014), to:

> empowering diverse individuals, groups, and communities through
> the provision of professionally delivered and innovative services
> (Withheld, 2016).

The values included:

> concern for clients, staff, and the surrounding community; respect
> for diversity; customer focus; integrity and ethics; and constant
> innovation and improvement.

The MCO has several partnerships with business and other community organisations, an example being the partnership between MCO's employment ready service and a large law firm, to train and equip refugees and new immigrants to transition to the Australian workplace (MCO, 2013). MCO introduced programs to support humanitarian entrants after their Government funded settlement services were complete, as significant housing, employment and family reunion challenges still faced these groups. Social activities that built skills, confidence and community networks to support employment seeking were a key feature of these programs, with men's community groups, sporting teams and other programs a feature of the post-humanitarian settlement services (MCO, 2012).

Employment is a major challenge for immigrants and refugees, but Government funded service contracts are typically narrow in scope, with separate organisations funded by different departments to provide specific services. Historically, MCO has been restricted to settlement and support activities for migrants and refugees, with limited scope to address employment needs. However, at the time interviews were conducted, MCO was in the process of negotiating a collaboration between an employment service, training organisation, and employers (Ajaka, 2016). Significantly, this collaboration was initiated by MCO to more effectively deliver

services which had already been funded, but were not effective when delivered separately by each of the participating organisations (Kim, 4 December 2015). Since this research, this new project has been funded by the NSW Government, with MCO leading this major new approach to CALD employment. As the next case study will demonstrate, this multi-party collaboration is a very SSI approach. However, many of the successful projects at SSI have their roots in earlier innovations developed at MCO and other founding partners of SSI. This new employment initiative shows that MCO was now also modelling new programs and activities on the SSI approach. There was a two-way transfer of intellectual capital at work.

MCO Approach to Social Inclusion and Leadership Development

The phrase 'social inclusion' is used infrequently on the MCO website and in recent annual reports (MCO, 2014, Withheld, 2016, MCO, 2015, MCO, 2016a). Yet the guiding statements, processes and principles of social inclusion are implicitly embedded in the values and practices of MCO. These documents and statements demonstrate that MCO has paid attention to the multiple intersecting challenges of marginalised groups, including human, social, economic, and geographic dimensions.

Leadership development of staff is rarely mentioned explicitly in annual reports or other MCO publications, although since this research was conducted, there is reference to enhancing the skills of employees in line with the organisation's objectives (Website Withheld, 2016, MCO, 2016a). The mission changed over time, but at one stage was expressed as an aim to become a leader in the sector (MCO, 2014, MCO, 2015). Annual reports always refer to 'community leaders' that MCO worked with, and leader development has been an explicit part of youth work for years (MCO, 2007, MCO, 2012). Both individual and collective leadership development are explicit parts of descriptions of MCO work with newly arrived cultural groups (MCO, 2007, MCO, 2009, MCO, 2012). 'Enhancing organisational capacity' was part of a five year strategic plan developed in 2013 (MCO, 2013: 4), although this was not conceptualised as leadership development. In fact, building capacity, understood in various ways but primarily as community development, is a recurring theme throughout the MCO material, just as the community hubs aim to build community capacity (Withheld,

2016). There are also several features of the MCO stories that demonstrate attention to the support and development of both individual staff and organisational capacity.

Social Inclusion Beliefs and Practices of MCO Interviewees

MCO has a compressed internal hierarchy. Although there were only eight interviews to compare, there appeared to be some differences in attitude between senior, mid-level, and junior staff, and also age-related variations. Amongst case-workers, there were younger interviewees who tended to be particularly idealistic, and older more experienced workers who expressed cynicism about Government policy, but still believed the work they were performing was important.

For example, Colin (10 January 2015), one of the younger case-workers, echoed Levitas' (2003) concept of a utopian ideal when he envisaged social inclusion as:

> No discrimination. No prejudices or anything. Getting the underprivileged communities or underprivileged individuals into the mainstream where we are not discriminating [or] separating them.

By contrast, an older case-worker, Bernice (21 November 2015), dismissed social inclusion as a 'buzzword' used by consultants and policy-makers with little connection to the down-to-earth practices of getting along with diversity. Nevertheless, she displayed a deep understanding of the processes of social inclusion that included themes of human agency and relativity. As she put it:

> To be socially inclusive, we need to think about how we are approaching [people] – and how they feel they can approach us and … are included in mainstream society, notwithstanding some people don't want to be included in mainstream society; and that's fine … To break it down, I guess, it's about how people feel that they are connected socially to … what they want to be connected to.

Bernice's view on social inclusion was more or less similar in scope to that of the CEO, Kim (4 December 2015), whose perspective emphasised participation and touched on the social change required to enable social inclusion. In Kim's view:

Social inclusion is people being able to participate in broader society at all levels, that is … social activities among their neighbours, right through economic participation in terms of having a job, operating a business, being … part and parcel of the broader community without fear of danger, bigotry, discrimination, all those forces that are opposed to social inclusion.

Social inclusion beliefs, reinforced by personal experiences, have shaped the practices of MCO staff. Roberta (27 February 2015), another younger case-worker, demonstrated a high level of commitment to being inclusive, even when this required her to go beyond her specific duties, when she said:

We have to be inclusive… we cannot say sorry we won't see this client [or] that person. We see people at times who are not in our work plan, because we are community workers … [regardless of whether they are part of our KPIs] whoever comes we have to see them. We cannot exclude people, even if we cannot do anything for them.

Despite different conceptualisations of social inclusion held by MCO interviewees, most were confident that social inclusion was a core aspect of their work. Sera (18 November 2014) was very clear that social inclusion was part of MCO's core business, despite the word itself no longer being in the mission statement. As she noted:

[Social inclusion is] part of our core business… although the word itself is not there [in our mission statement]. What we are saying is we work with different communities … with whatever the needs and issues are … Every community needs to be inclusive, whether it's CALD community or aboriginal community or people from an Anglo background, [although] "inclusion" the word itself is not there.

Sera also noted a Government driven shift in emphasis over time, from working with people, to efficiency in service provision. She described a shift from reporting on outcomes, to 'process-oriented goals' that removed measures of effectiveness from reporting, effectively shifting the emphasis from serving clients to fulfilling

Government contracts. However, other staff did not identify this dynamic, and focused on the importance of the community services delivered by MCO. As Sandra (20 February 2015) reported:

> A way for people to come together. It doesn't matter what background. Being able to access you know, services – being able to access community programs, mental health services, a range of things I look at it as a way – a holistic approach to servicing our community. And if we don't do that, there is a possibility that people will end up doing things like petty crime and not engaging with the whole community, so yeah (laughs).

The extremely diverse staff of MCO routinely drew on their individual experiences and cultural backgrounds to inform their work. Two senior leaders, Sera (18 November 2014), and Fiona (10 January 2015), both first generation immigrants, reflected on the way they had chosen to distance themselves from their immigrant communities in order to pursue their own objectives. As Sera put it

> There are too many organisations [from my culture] now. Everyone is from the organisation. It's not that I wanted to disconnect with them, but for me I want to find out what I want to do and what is my priority. So in a way I am not really connected with them.

Fiona related that many communities, including her own, tended to reproduce the same controlling cultural structures which had first motivated many of them to emigrate. For her, social inclusion included a degree of loosening internal barriers within cultures that had accompanied immigrant groups. 'You ask them why did they go to Australia? It is mainly to break down - to get away from those [barriers] – but it's funny because they come here then they rebuild it!'

Although when asked about the organisation's mission and vision, most MCO staff were vague about the specifics, many interviewees reported a strong sense of shared mission and values. For example, Sandra (20 February 2015) talked about the way her sense of purpose and team sustained her in work:

> It's so easy to get … jaded. I think it is just being in a group where
> we are passionate about what we do… the relationship with people
> that have the same mission and values and the fact that you can talk
> about world issues together and then local issues and from that work
> out how we can make … a positive impact on our communities. It is
> our shared passion and drive that makes us feel like we belong in the
> same team.

Older or more senior staff such as Bernice (21 November 2015), Sandra (20 February 2015), Sera (18 November 2014), Con (17 November 2014), and Kim (4 December 2015) did display a mild degree of 'jadedness'. There was a sense that the work was important and needed to continue, but the goal would never be reached. This was most obvious when discussion turned to the central role of Government, which enables social inclusion work as the main source of funding, yet simultaneously detracts from the effectiveness of the work through bureaucracy and Departmental demarcations. Fiona (10 January 2015) provided an example:

> It's always very politicised. For instance, my program is funded by
> the Department of immigration or it used to be – but every time there
> is a change of government or a change of policy, it is reflected in the
> grants that we get … A big issue is to get their skills recognised …
> [and] to overcome the language barrier … that will give them the
> language training that is relevant to their field. We were never
> allowed to do that ... [because] 'this is not an immigration issue'…
> and [family problems] … because there is a separate department of
> youth, you cannot address it as a settlement issue … We are the
> people in the front line who have to deal with that because we are
> there with the clients. They don't understand all of this politics that
> you cannot come to me and expect me to help you with getting your
> skills recognised because I'm funded by a department who doesn't
> look after that.

Despite calls for joined-up services to address joined-up problems under the Australian Social Inclusion Agenda (Carey et al., 2015), funding conditions remained narrowly

focused. Fiona described the way MCO staff used creativity, entrepreneurship, and often had to draw on voluntary effort to achieve the social inclusion aims of Government funded projects within restrictive bureaucratic requirements. She went on:

> A Migrant Resource Centre is supposed to be a hub for your migrant or your newly arrived migrant or refugee who comes into the country, so they don't have to go all over the place. You come to one place and you get everything from there but because of the structure of the funding they still need to do that. (Fiona, 10 January 2015)

There were several stories of entrepreneurial ventures and projects that went well beyond the official work plan and KPIs in attempts to 'join up' services to address multidimensional problems. Roberta (27 February 2015), as one example, ran weekly workshops with her clients, well beyond the requirements of her work plan, because she could see how these activities developed their confidence and abilities. She attributed this to her own experience of being unemployable, despite having two master's degrees and English competency when she arrived in Australia. It was through volunteering with not-for-profit organisations that she eventually found her way to full-time employment. This led her to establish a weekly multicultural support group, over and beyond her work plan commitments, which typically brought together Chinese, Nepalese, and Indonesian people, especially women. Activities included craft, art, cooking, Yoga and workshops on the Government welfare system, law, police, parenting. These gatherings addressed a range of needs from communication skills, to overcoming social isolation, and in Roberta's words (27 February 2015) 'leadership qualities, building confidence, so at least they have the confidence to go to the market and sell themselves'. Several participants had gained the confidence to volunteer in other settings, or found employment.

Although this willingness to go beyond the call of duty partially offset problems with narrowly defined Government funded services, Sera (18 November 2014) felt that it was not enough. Competitive tendering had reduced the capacity for not-for-profits to collaborate on fixing the system, while also addressing client's problems. As a result, Sera thought that staff were working harder and experiencing increasing stress but becoming less effective. She commented that:

There is a widening gap and it is a worry … We have a contract to provide a service and we try to bring in [what is really needed], but we have limitations because we have to provide what government asks us to provide. We can't provide more – we can do a little. But we can't provide more ... There is a gap in terms of institutions who can influence government and media and big business, especially business.

Leadership Development Beliefs and Practices of MCO Interviewees

The interviewees demonstrated that MCO is composed of a talented and passionate team of individuals with a strong commitment to advocacy and social inclusion. This was also demonstrated in the existence of a sense of common direction, although not clearly defined, and high levels of commitment. Yet each individual developed their own approach depending on their skillset.

As noted earlier, some of the successful projects at SSI, such as business partnerships and refugee sporting teams, mirrored earlier initiatives undertaken by organisations like MCO (Sera, 18 November 2014). However, the SSI approach was now influencing MCO, with Kim, the CEO, relating how MCO was offering leadership to explore a possible collaboration between employment agencies, training organisations, and employers, to address the intersecting problems of language and unemployment for refugees and immigrant groups (Kim, 4 December 2015). Kim reflected that the positional authority that came with being CEO was critical for this sort of innovative joint-venture to materialise. As CEO, there was:

more freedom to explore and to engage at another level … something I might not have been privy to had I not been a leader or a manager because you may not be talking to the right people … who have some authority. Unfortunately not all our staff have access to that level.

This revealed a core belief that the practice of leadership at the senior level was not about managing an organisation, but about negotiating the relationships and influence to make a difference. Kim expressed it as: 'If you connect at a high level and nothing

flows from that then you're not a leader, you're … a vapour trail that disappears over time.' Although at the time of this research, Kim acknowledged there was no explicit leadership development strategy or leadership training in place at MCO, Kim thought the example set by senior leaders could provide a model for other leaders within MCO:

> I would like to see … our own team go out there as leaders in their
> own right … and start working in much the same way that we did
> with [the joint-venture program]. Again, [its leadership by]
> demonstration … having involved some of the staff in that process,
> they can see how you make the contact, how you engage another
> service or another agency in dialogue, how you develop those
> relationships … how you structure something.

This exemplary approach to leader development was accompanied by occasional social and relational gatherings, including 'discussions, team meetings, and staff forums'. In addition, as Kim (4 December 2015) explained:

> [The leadership team at MCO] are in the process of looking at doing
> some team building early in the New Year, but making it purposive
> around our work, our work basically. I think the last team building
> exercise we did was having a walk in the Southern Highlands and
> playing games [for the sake of developing relationships] … and I
> don't think anybody came away from that feeling okay, suddenly I
> feel more engaged.

Nevertheless, he felt that leaders were also developing through task focused training and discussions, forums and skills development. However, staff did not experience this as leader development. Junior staff such as Roberta (27 February 2015), Colin (10 January 2015), Con (17 November 2014), and mid-tier leaders such as Sandra (20 February 2015) and even senior leaders like Sera (18 November 2014) felt the training emphasis was on acquiring the necessary skills to fulfil their work plans rather than professional development. As Con put it, 'the leadership course that we took … was how to write email communications, internal communications, and writing grants.' Sera commented that Government pressure to find efficiencies meant there was no time for intentional leader development and that increasingly, not for profits found

themselves under pressure to work for Government rather than the community. In her words:

> Everyone is doing things quite frantically … there is a lot of conflict in the organisation … It is the pressure from so many clients … competition … and tight deadlines. Government has a lot of power. The not-for-profit becomes the service provider, I am not sure that they still have that notion of not-for-profit and community organisations working for the community … It's more professional development [to fulfill the contract by the deadline]. We haven't really done leadership development in the past. Maybe in the future … we have to develop people's leadership … the pressure [means] you can't be strategic.

Con (17 November 2014) agreed, stating: 'They don't develop leadership. It is all about the work plan'. Sandra expressed similar sentiments: 'There is no professional development other than the work plan that you are currently working on' (Sandra, 20 February 2015).

Nevertheless, staff were developing as leaders. Sera (18 November), Con (10 January), and Bernice (21 November 2015) found development opportunities in other contexts, whereas Colin (10 January 2015) and Roberta (27 February 2015) felt that their supervisor, Fiona, very intentionally developed their leadership capacities through mentoring and providing opportunities to take additional responsibilities. This included giving Roberta a role representing MCO in interagency settings, while Colin was given the opportunity to develop a policy group. Interestingly, Fiona played down the humanitarian and relational aspects of this process:

> In a way [my leadership development of my staff is] a bit selfish because it makes my life easier when people are able to think on their own two feet! So today, a major part of my work is being able to have something out there which encourages other people to be able to work on it themselves and show results and to repeat that for people in the communities that they are working with.

Yet both Colin and Roberta expressed loyalty to their supervisor Fiona, who obviously worked very relationally to get to know and develop her staff. Roberta talked about how fortunate she felt to be given a 'platform' to make a contribution to an important cause, and gave much of the credit to her supervisor:

> The CEO and the board does the decision and we have a work plan and we just have to get that done … But we collaborate, we take initiative. Like my boss – she is a very lovely person. I have to say – very kind, so she is very flexible. So when I say I want to do this she always says, go ahead and let me know how you go. And if you have any issues or problems we can go back and reflect on it. We can debrief it and work out with anything you are struggling with or that you feel is not correct. So I very much like my boss. She is very good boss very flexible … she knows when to say and when to put restrictions or say no.

Colin was also passionate about his work with MCO, to the point that he volunteered to do more of the same work in his spare time. Colin had recently achieved success with a new responsibility Fiona had allocated to him. He had supported new migrant-ethnic communities in preparing nine grant applications, which were: 'successful in all of the applications. So that credit I will not take it. That credit I will give to my supervisor because she identifies the various levels of the skills we have' (Colin, 10 January 2015).

MCO had experienced staff growth over the previous decade (Fiona, 10 January 2015) and was a large enough organisation for staff to be unaware of the roles, challenges, or progress of other staff members. Quarterly staff forums had been introduced which were beginning to build a sense of awareness across the organisation. Staff at MCO were organised into small teams, and primarily worked to individual work plans rather than on collaborative projects (Con, 17 November 2014, Roberta, 27 February 2015). There were also periodic gatherings for staff working in the same locations (Sera, 18 November 2014). Occasionally all staff would gather with an external consultant for team building or strategic planning, but the purpose was not always clear (Roberta, 27 February 2015).

At the time of this research the CEO was working towards development of a strategic plan, vision, and mission. The mission statement at the time was judged to be inadequate (Kim, 4 December 2015) and there were few intentional and consistent strategies to build common understandings or intentionally build networks.

Links Between Leader Development and Social Inclusion in MCO

A high proportion of interviewees identified linkages between inclusion and leadership development. Both Colin and Roberta could demonstrate leader development or leadership development aspects of their work with clients. In both cases, this was over and above the funded work specified in their work plans. Yet these leadership development aspects of their work appeared to deliver the most effective outcomes.

For instance, Roberta's (27 February 2015) case-work approach with clients could be described as individual leader development. Through a range of activities, which allowed her to gradually build her client's confidence and communication skills, she assisted her clients to become more employment ready. For some, these skills included basic English, understanding work-related terms such as weights and measures, and understanding aspects of the Australian workplace such as Occupational Health and Safety. Some of her clients were highly qualified, but needed opportunities to develop higher level English skills and confidence. Roberta ran a weekly multicultural social support group which assisted different individuals to help each other build confidence and capacity in these settings.

Colin's (10 January 2015) work was more focused on groups. He described the processes involved in building trust and understanding within Muslim Rohingya communities, as well as Sierra Leone and Sudanese groups, identifying barriers and developing strategies to overcome them. He described the dynamics with this group, where low education and low confidence worked against participation in Australian society. He thought that young people within the group had the capacity to act as bridges, but this required careful culturally sensitive negotiation to develop acceptance for a strategy where young people could 'lead and guide their associations and groups'.

In addition, Colin felt that the way MCO supported various migrant and cultural community associations in their applications demonstrated a leadership capacity building approach, as he described it:

> we are giving them a broader scope in making their own grant applications. So rather than doing it for them. We are just providing support. We want to give them the scope of developing their own applications making a bid and then trying to implement their own programs, according to their needs. So what we are seeing over a period of time, these community groups are strengthened and their capacities are built so that they become self-reliant and they work for themselves.

Both Colin and Roberta provide an example of another link between inclusion and leadership development. Both reported that as they personally developed as leaders, and acquired greater responsibility, their own sense of inclusion and belonging to their organisation also increased. As Colin (10 January 2015) put it:

> The more leadership opportunities or whatever the opportunities the organisation is providing, we tend to more own up the organisation - we feel more ownership and more sense of belongingness. [My belonging] grows. Because obviously when you have more and more things to do it grows. And it makes you more responsible for things - like more accountable, more responsible more taking initiatives more leadership … doing more things knowing more people.

Kim (4 December 2015) was optimistic about the future and focused on building the capacity of MCO to continue progressing the interests of marginalised groups.

> It is a vibrant organisation, we're not perfect by any stretch of the imagination … we've got our internal problems, there've been a few ups and downs in the last couple of years, but these are things that … myself and the leadership team … have to address … This notion of the workplace culture is a critical one, try and get people to refocus on who we are, on what we do and how we do it … There's some

people who see their role as something different to what it should be,
but I think also … there's pressure on us from our funding bodies as
well in terms of the environment that we're working in ... But
[we're] being strategic in the interests of the people that we work
with.

MCO Engaging the Macro-social level

The role of the Federal Government was discussed by older and mid-level staff as a
significant source of frustration and anxiety. Some staff were passionate about the
importance of their work, but frustrated that there were so few opportunities for
advocacy to address the causes of underlying problems. As Con (17 November 2014)
expressed it:

The government gives you a grant and in the grant they create a
work plan for you. It's preconceived for you. Your creativity comes
in how you go to fill in the brackets … [It can feel as if] the purpose
[of MCO] is to get money from the government to work with the
migrants [laughs] … But the reality is to help migrants settle and to
work with aborigines and to bring about social change - in a sense
social inclusion … But if you want to change the system, you can't
just trim the leaves of the tree, you have to uproot it and build a new
tree.

Sera (18 November 2014) and five other interviewees agreed that Government power
and the need to meet funding requirements created difficulties that undermined the
capacity for relational and collective leadership development. Yet despite the pressure
from Government funding and competition, MCO at the organisational level was
responding strategically, as Kim's initiative in forging a joint-venture to address
employment services demonstrated. But a more important strategic response was the
formation of SSI itself. As Sera (18 November 2014) noted:

The whole market driven economy is pushing people towards how to
become more competitive than how to build relationships … [yet]
we are collaborating *because* of the competition - we are

collaborating in coming together within SSI in order to beat the competition. There is competition which is constructive.

However, Sera (18 November 2014) also felt that ongoing uncertainty about Government decisions around future funding was creating anxiety and fuelling conflict within MCO. At the time of these interviews, fifteen staff faced the possibility of losing their jobs within six months as the Department had not communicated the results of a prior round of grant tenders. She felt this had led to low-level conflict between some staff about some aspects of the work, including how political the organisation should be. In one instance these issues required formal mediation (Con, 17 November 2014). Sera (18 November 2014) noted that a response to this had been:

> Team building with a special focus on hearing issues, working with each other, respecting each other building that trust, so you know we have that environment where people can feel more connected and not like we're working against each other (Sera, 18 November 2014).

Bernice (21 November 2015), Fiona (10 January 2015), Sera (18 November 2014) and Colin (10 January 2015) all discussed the importance of being authentic in the way they worked, and drew a distinction between authentic and self-appointed leaders. There was also a sense of frustration with Governments who rarely took advantage of the grassroots expertise of organisations like MCO when preparing contracts for competitive tender. Part of the problem was that Government Departments failed to discern the 'authentic' from the 'self-appointed' community leaders by assessing credentials or consulting with organisations like MCO which could identify those community leaders that represented a genuine constituency to provide feedback about 'community needs' (Sera, 18 November 2014). Colin (10 January 2015) described a situation where one such 'self-appointed' leader had diverted Government funding for several years, which had only been uncovered because he had built relationships with members rather than just the self-appointed leader, so he noted discrepancies where grants had been received but the funded activity hadn't been implemented.

Sandra (20 February 2015) and Fiona (10 January 2015) raised the issue of the radicalisation of Muslim youth. This is a high profile macro-social challenge with high levels of concern from Government, Police, the media, and the general public. Funding

was made available for anti-radicalisation programs, but while agreeing that radicalisation was a real issue, Sandra (20 Feb 2015) argued that in her work with young people, the cycle was more about leaving school and being unable to get a job due to discrimination, because since 9/11 employment was scarce 'if your name is Mohammed'. This discrimination led to young people seeking other opportunities, in some cases petty crime led to organised criminal activity, in other cases religious radicalisation. Fiona (10 January 2015) described a situation where NSW Police took over an early-intervention program designed to build relationships with Islamic youth, but through either a lack of cross-cultural awareness or prejudice, the name for the program was offensive and demeaning for the intended recipients. This was a situation where MCO had expertise and knowledge, but no real way to effectively leverage that expertise and knowledge in a way that might make a difference to the decision makers and influencers that could make a difference at the macro-social level.

As the next case study will reveal, the scope of operations for MCO was naturally more localised than SSI. SSI developed joint ventures with national community service agencies, whereas MCO also developed joint ventures, but with other local organisations (MCO, 2014, MCO, 2015, MCO, 2016a). SSI had built strong relationships with the Premier and his Department in the NSW State Government, and with both Federal and State funding bureaucracies. MCO was effective at tendering for State and Federal funding, but the relationship with Government was primarily with the relevant State Government Minister, local members of State Parliament, and the local Government level (Kim, 4 December 2015). Although MCO had valuable local knowledge and strong relationships with migrants and refugees, there were limited channels for this information or these individuals to be connected with decision makers or other influential figures.

Conclusion to Case Study One

This exploration of Migrant Community Organisation began with the meso-organisational structures, policies, and evolving vision that has guided MCO's leadership development and social inclusion work. The interview data provided insight into the beliefs, practices and experiences of individual leaders within MCO. Key themes that emerged again included the multidimensional nature of social inclusion

challenges, and the similarly multidimensional 'joined up' processes required to address them, along with frustration that Government funding restrictions make this difficult. Nevertheless, MCO staff displayed creativity and commitment, often going beyond the requirements of their job descriptions to find solutions for their clients.

The interviews also revealed themes relating to leadership development. Authenticity and commitment were common themes, with MCO staff often going beyond the requirements of their work plans, either in their work with MCO or in voluntary capacities with other organisations. At the time of this research, MCO had some programs which explicitly involved leader development or leadership development amongst MCO clients, in relation to youth, women, and recently arrived cultural groups. However, there was no explicit leadership development strategy. Leader development for staff was largely limited to developing the skills and knowledge which would assist with effective delivery of predetermined work plans. Explicit leader development activity at MCO accords with the human capital emphasis of leader development described in Chapter Three.

Part Two: Settlement Services International

Settlement Services International (SSI) is a newcomer to the settlement services sector, but already the largest organisation of its kind in Australia. SSI has over 400 staff and over 70 million dollars annual revenue (SSI, 2016a: 40). As Chapter Five outlined, the immigrant and refugee settlement sector is politicised and contested, with tensions between competitive tendering processes and the pressing need for advocacy work around issues facing migrants and refugees (Boese and Phillips, 2011). These case studies gather evidence of the beliefs and practices that inform social inclusion and leadership development work in this setting.

Sources of Data

Seventeen interviews were conducted with SSI staff. Interviewees encompassed senior, mid-tier, and junior staff within the organisations, including executive and board members, and including a range of diverse cultural backgrounds and length of tenure. Fourteen participants were culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD), meaning they were not of the Anglo-Celtic heritage which makes up approximately two-thirds of

Australians (ABS, 2013). Seven of these CALD interviewees also had a non-English speaking background (NESB). Some indicative demographic data is presented in Table 6.2.

Table 6.2 Settlement Services International Interview Schedule

Alias	Interview Date	CALD	NESB	Position	Age>35	Time in role*	Born
Fred	9-Sep-14	Y	Y	Snr	Y	L	OS
Bernard	10-Sep-14	N		Jnr	Y	S	
Danelle	10-Sep-14	N		Mid	Y	S	
Melania	12-Sep-14	Y	Y	Jnr	N	M	OS
Aaron	12-Sep-14	Y	Y	Mid	N	M	OS
Suzie	18-Sep-14	Y		Mid	Y	L	
Helena	18-Sep-14	Y	Y	Mid	N	M	OS
Abdul	19-Sep-14	Y	Y	Jnr	N	M	OS
Petra	22-Sep-14	Y		Snr	Y	L	
Ernest	24-Sep-14	Y		Mid	Y	M	OS
Petal	25-Sep-14	Y	Y	Jnr	N	M	OS
Rihanna	4-Nov-14	Y		Snr	Y	L	OS
Megan	12-Nov-14	Y		Mid	N	M	
Rhonda	8-Dec-14	Y		Snr	Y	L	
Reese	5-Feb-15	N		Mid	N	M	OS
Patricia	4-Sep-15	Y	Y	Snr	Y	S	
Senior	12-May-16	Y		Snr	Y	L	

*L – long term, involved before April 2011; M – medium, involved since 2011; S-short term, involved for less than 2 years.

Other data was drawn from 19 publications, including four SSI commissioned research reports; five SSI induction documents; five annual reports; the SSI strategic plan and an internal report on staff demographics; two newspaper articles; and multiple articles on the SSI website. Annual reports provided the primary source of information on organisational structure and revenues, but also provided evidence of the vision, values, and other aspects of cognitive social capital utilised by SSI to align staff with organisational directions.

SSI History and Structure

SSI originally formed in 2000 as the state-wide umbrella organisation for eleven Migrant Resource Centres and Multicultural Services across NSW, and co-delivered services with these organisations. Staffing at SSI increased from just one in April 2011 (SSI, 2016b), to 76 in 2012, then peaked at 515 staff in 2015 (SSI, 2015: 9). These staff spoke 98 different languages, assisted by a diverse network of approximately 250 volunteers speaking 41 languages (SSI, 2015: 21). In 2015, three quarters of SSI

volunteers were themselves from a refugee background and 73 former volunteers had become employees of SSI (SSI, 2015: 9).

At the time of this study, these staff were delivering several major programs, which were supplemented with a range of smaller projects. Programs were delivered across Sydney in a range of SSI offices, and through co-delivery with each of the eleven member Migrant Resource Centre and Multicultural Services agencies (SSI, 2013b). This arrangement included SSI staff being housed in the member agencies offices. Administration of these programs was initially at Auburn, then as the organisation grew, an administrative centre was added in Parramatta, as well as a new main headquarters in Ashfield (SSI, 2014).

As Annual Reports (SSI, 2013b, 2014, 2015, 2016a, SSI, 2013a) convey, the main programs included a Humanitarian Services division providing support for the majority of people in NSW on refugee visas or asylum seekers with bridging visas; and a Housing Division supporting refugees, humanitarian entrants, and asylum seekers living in the community. SSI also began a multicultural Foster Care program, which in June 2015 was providing care to more than 100 children from 38 culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) backgrounds. In July 2014, SSI began delivery of the Ability Links NSW service for people with disabilities, in partnership with Uniting Care[7] and St Vincent De Paul's[8]. In the first year of this program over 4500 people were supported, 43% of these from CALD backgrounds. Since July 2015, SSI has been involved in delivering employment services for job seekers in Sydney's East. SSI is also the lead partner of the NSW Settlement Partnership (NSP) which involves twenty-two organisations, including the eleven member Migrant Resource and Multicultural Services Organisations. The partnership offers settlement services across NSW within the Department of Social Services Settlement Services Program (SSP), which provides

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[7] UnitingCare NSW-ACT, since renamed 'Uniting', has a staff of 8000 and dates back to 1910. UNITING. 2017. *Burnside history* [Online]. Sydney: Uniting. Available: https://uniting.org/about-uniting [Accessed 1 March 2017].

[8] St Vincent de Paul's is a Catholic lay mission society with 40000 members across Australia.

core settlement support for humanitarian entrants and migrants in their first five years in Australia.

Smaller projects included a range of entrepreneurial initiatives proposed by motivated staff and volunteers, including Community Kitchens, Zumba classes, Playtime programs, events and festivals, and organising teams of clients to participate in sporting competitions (SSI, 2014). The Ignite Small Business StartUps program assisted refugee entrepreneurs to establish 58 small businesses over a three year period (SSI, 2016a: 8). These various initiatives provided many positive stories, such as the success of the Newington Gunners, an SSI soccer team made up entirely of refugees and asylum seekers, winning a premiership in their first season with wide community support (Hogan, 2014).

SSI was the result of an initiative to establish an association of urban Migrant Resource Centres in 2000-01, when initial Federal government funding for humanitarian settlement was secured (Fred, 9 September 2014). After a setback where the first round of Government funding was not renewed, the founders regrouped, restructured and relaunched the organisation in 2010-11 (SSI, 2015). New branding and a reworked mission and vision were developed with a five year strategic plan that aimed at diversification. This was a successful strategy. As an indicator, in 2011-12, almost all funds were drawn from a single government contract to provide a humanitarian settlement services program for refugees and asylum seekers, with revenue just over $9 million (SSI, 2014). By the 2014-15 financial year, revenue was over $71 million. Besides Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) the organisation provided housing, disability, youth, children's and other services. Government reductions in the HSS Program saw revenues fall from a peak of $90 million in 2013-14. The drop in revenue would have been much more substantial except for new sources of revenue developed through diversification (SSI, 2015).

Staff levels grew extraordinarily rapidly from start-up, with rapid recruitment seeing the organisation grow from one staff person to 294 between 2011 and 2013 (SSI, 2013b), then up to 515 staff in 2015 (SSI, 2015). According to Fred (9 September 2014), who was involved in the early envisioning process and was now a senior staff person, at the time of this research SSI was a larger organisation in NSW than long

established major service providers such as the Smith Family[9] or St Vincent de Paul's[10]. Figure 6.3 (below) shows the general growth trajectory of SSI staff numbers, volunteer participation, revenue and net asset growth from 2011 until 2016.

SSI Growth Trajectory 2011-2016
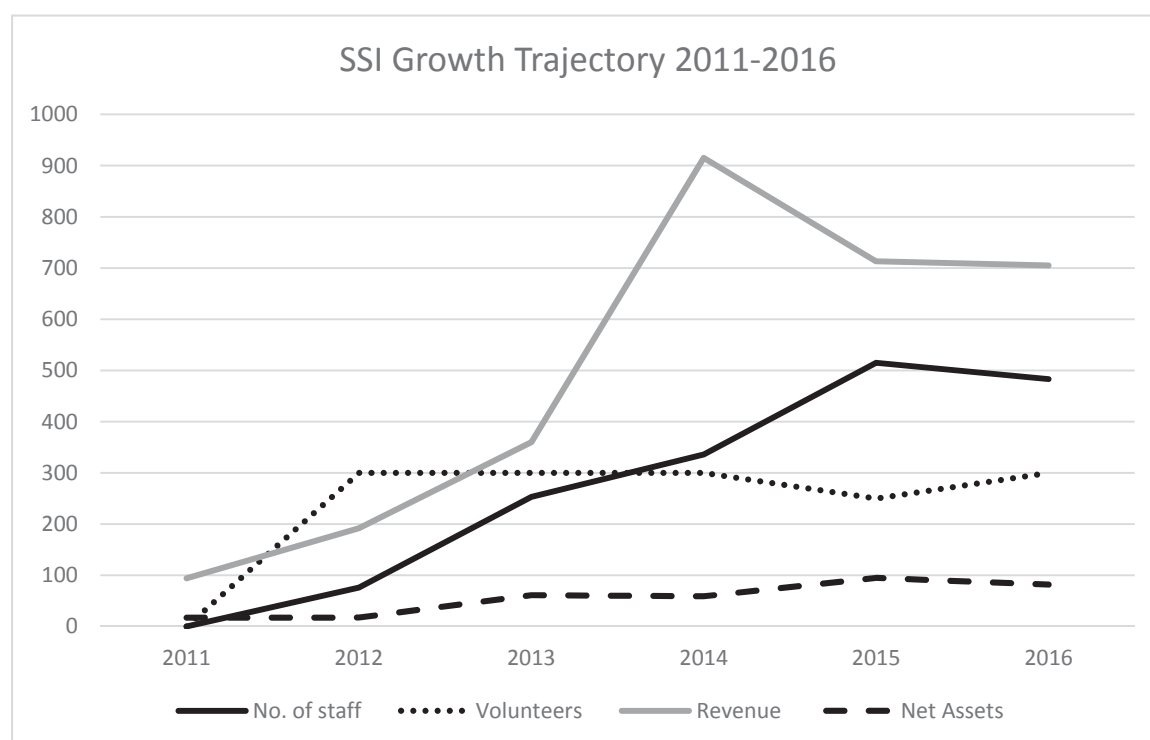
Figure 6.3. SSI Growth Patterns: Revenue, Staff, Volunteers and Net Assets (SSI Annual Reports: 2011 to 2016)

N.B. Revenue and Net Assets in $100 000.

After the earlier experience with de-funding, SSI leadership implemented a very intentional diversification strategy to avoid over-reliance on one source of funding (Senior, 12 May 2016). So in 2011, although almost 100% of funding was derived from a Federal Humanitarian Settlement Services (HSS) contract, the organisational structure reflected intentions to broaden the base. In 2011, SSI became an Incorporated Association, with a CEO and General Manager reporting to a Board of six, drawn from the founding Migrant Resource Centres. The second tier of authority included nine

[9] The Smith Family, founded 1922 SMITH FAMILY. 2017. *Our History* [Online]. Sydney: The Smith Family. Available: https://www.thesmithfamily.com.au/about-us/our-story [Accessed 1 March 2017].

[10] St Vincent de Pauls, founded in Sydney 1881 ST VINCENT DE PAUL SOCIETY. 2017. *History* [Online]. Sydney: St Vincent de Pauls. Available: https://www.vinnies.org.au/page/About/History/ [Accessed 1 March 2017].

section managers, supported by Finance and Administration and a special projects officer. This structure laid the foundation for rapid diversification, which was already emerging in the first eighteen months of operation, with a Community Support Program (CSP) in place to supplement the HSS program, specialising in youth and women at risk (SSI, 2013b: 16). New programs were enabled by investing in and leveraging partnerships with other organisations both large and small, including businesses, community services groups, churches and other faith groups, while building a volunteer network (SSI, 2013b: 16, 19). Figure 6.4 below displays the sustained growth trend achieved through the diversification strategy in terms of net assets and total clients. Figure 6.5 (below) breaks down the overall performance to reveal the way the addition of new services has contributed to the overall trend, offsetting the significant volatility in Government funding of services.
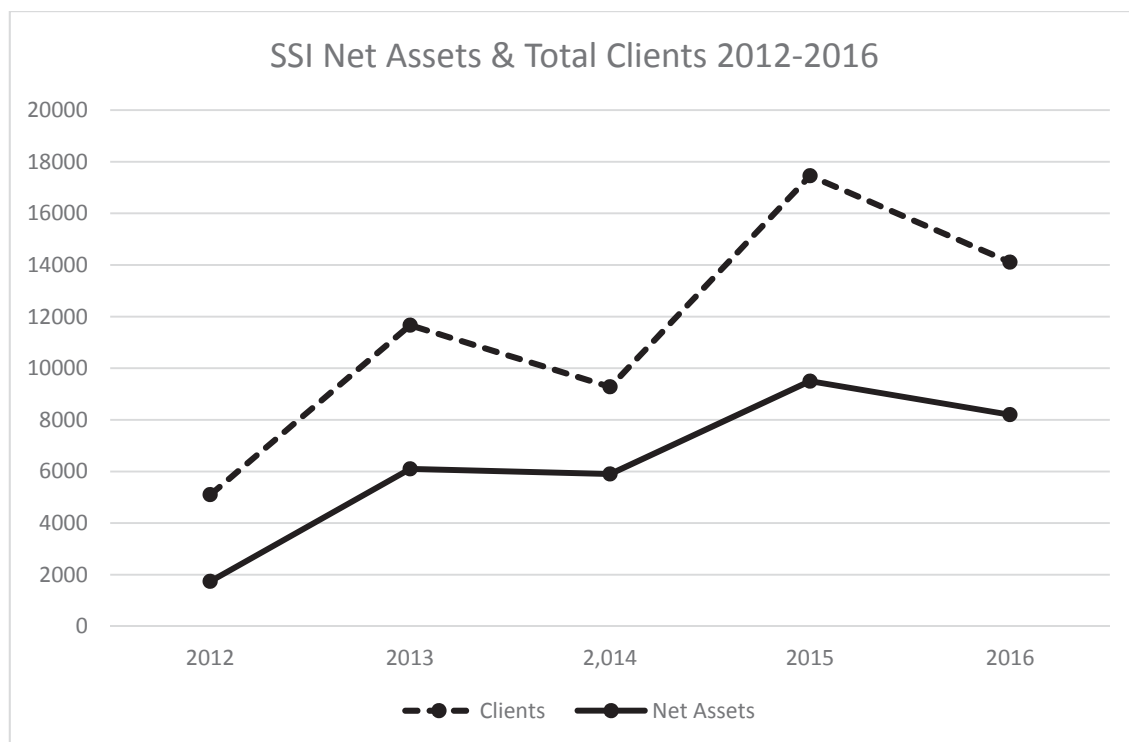
Figure 6.4 SSI Net Assets and Total Clients (SSI Annual Reports, 2012 to 2016)

N.B. Net Assets measured in $000.
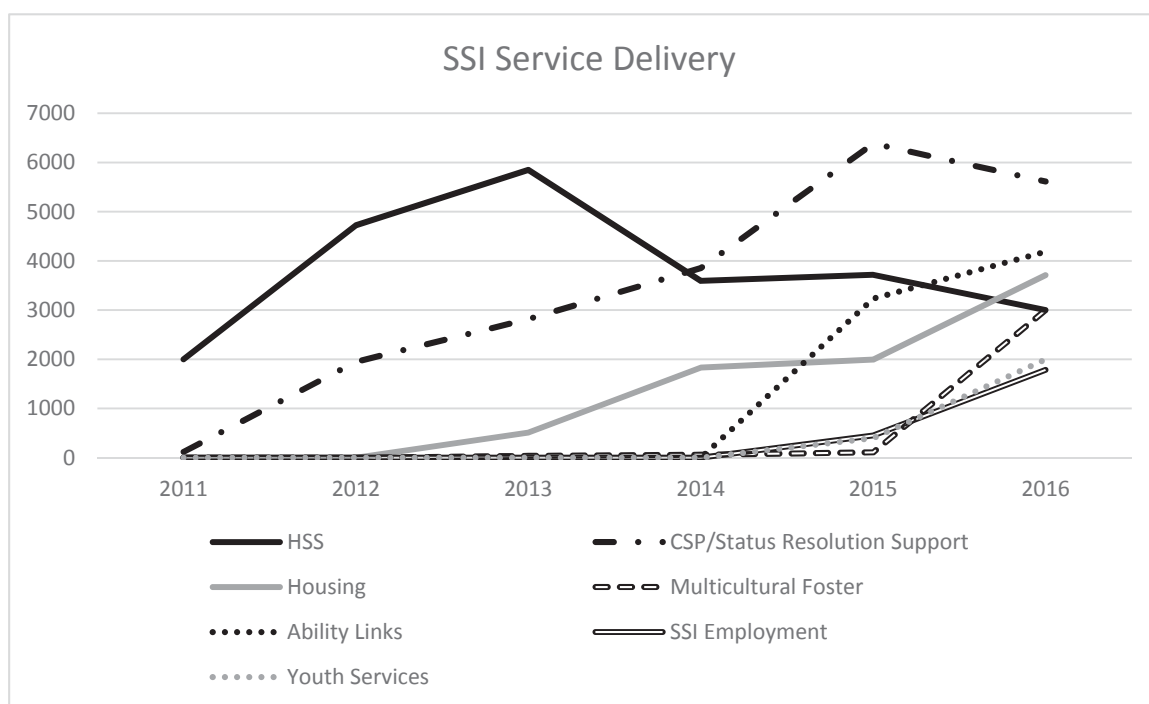
Figure 6.5. Revenue from SSI Services 2011 to 2016 (SSI Annual Reports: 2011 to 2016)

N.B.2016 HSS and CSP/Status Resolution Support figures are estimated from combined figure provided in 2015-16 Annual Report.

The strategic expansion of services through partnership and diversification meant that when the Liberal National Government cut back on refugee numbers and reduced funding for the HSS Program, SSI had already found new growth areas to offset these reductions. Figure 6.5 (above) provides some comparisons of client numbers served by a selection of major programs between 2011 and 2016, which shows the way reductions in the HSS Services program were largely offset by new programs.

SSI Policies, Guidelines and Goals

The rapid growth of SSI from a lone staff person in April 2011 began chaotically according to several interviewees (Abdul, 19 September 2014, Suzie, 18 September 2014). It was only through a significant intervention from key leaders that coordination was enabled. A vision statement, mission statement, and a set of values emerged from an extensive planning process, with a five year strategic plan developed during the following year (SSI, 2012). Although the way the mission of the organisation was

expressed shifted occasionally over time, the vision and values statements remained constant through five annual reports and in the 2012-2017 strategic plan. These central guiding statements were buttressed by nuanced descriptions around the identity of the organisation, and eventually the formation of a strategy group which developed its own vision statement.

The vision of SSI from 2011 to 2016 was:

> To achieve a society that values diversity of its people and actively provides support to ensure meaningful social and economic participation and to assist individuals and families reach their potential. Our vision is also captured in our brand: Settlement • Support • Independence (SSI, 2013b, SSI, 2016a).

The mission of SSI was to be a leader in the settlement sector through the provision of settlement and support services that achieve independence for refugees and migrants (SSI, 2014). The values that supported this vision and mission were often divided into two sets, one overall value statement and another as a guide to service delivery. SSI values include:

> Social justice, understood as 'equity and access for all'; tolerance, expressed as 'diversity and being non-discriminatory'; compassion, in the form of 'caring, empathy, and respect for the dignity of others'; and respect, implying 'cooperation and mutual respect'. (SSI, 2013, SSI, 2016a).

In the delivery of services, SSI stated that it valued:

> Quality in the form of 'dynamic, flexible and responsive service'; ethics, understood as 'professional practices and accountability; and innovation expressed as 'commitment to partnerships and excellence' (SSI, 2013b, SSI, 2016a).

The last value, around innovation and partnership, has been deeply embedded in the SSI approach since the launch of the organisation as a joint venture between Migrant Resource Centres and multicultural service organisations, which involved co-delivery of humanitarian settlement services. In the first eighteen months of operation, SSI

partnered with the Red Cross to deliver a new program (SSI, 2013b) and this approach has been a prominent strategy since. The partnership approach has continued, with several of the new programs listed above launched and delivered in ongoing strategic partnerships. In addition, each annual general report lists businesses, community groups, and individuals that have partnered with SSI to support various programs.

SSI Approach to Social Inclusion and Leadership Development

At the organisational level, SSI addresses social inclusion most directly through its programs. The opportunity that launched SSI was the successful tender for the Humanitarian Support Services program, which provided the largest part of SSI's work and income in the early years and continues to be a core source of revenue (SSI, 2014). This program was sub-divided internally into specialist areas, some of which acquired their own funding sources (e.g. Housing) (Ernest, 24 September 2014). The change of government in 2013 led to policies that obstructed asylum application processing. This created a need, which in turn created an opportunity to develop a major new area of work around 'Status Resolution Support Services'(SSI (Author withheld), 2015, SSI, 2016a). This program evolved from the original Community Support Program, aiming to support those seeking asylum in Australia while they awaited the outcome of a protection visa application and to develop their capacity for social and economic participation until their visa status was resolved. Similarly, the need for housing services for clients was identified, which led to the establishment of a new specialist department that secured its own funding. In the same way, the need to provide employment also provided the opportunity to establish an employment service, with funding from a different government department.

Dealing with the challenges of asylum seekers and refugees built competencies which enabled expansion 'into areas that are in keeping with the SSI values and that complement … existing services and integrate well with them' (SSI, 2016a: 10). Decisions taken to expand have consistently been research and evidence-based, informing strategies to apply core competencies to new fields, and then subject to evaluation. Examples include Pittaway and Pittaway's (2012) evaluation of the support of refugee women under the HSS program; McDonald et al.'s (2014) evaluation of a partnership with Legal Aid; Collins' (2015) evaluation of the Ignite small business

start-ups scheme; and McMahon's (2016) strengths based analysis of employment experiences among refugees and temporary protection visa holders. A multicultural fostering service grew out of concern for youth and children at risk (SSI, 2014). Ability Links was introduced in 2014 on a three year contract (SSI, 2015). In both these latter examples, cognitive and relational social capital approaches can be discerned in the way core social inclusion principles learned with refugees were reframed for application to children and people with disabilities, and the way families in one instance, and 'linkers' in the other work with individual clients to provide both support and opportunities (Danelle, 10 September 2014).

Leadership development is not explicitly mentioned in any of the SSI documents examined as source material for this case study. However, the SSI strategic plan does have the aim of 'enhancing organisational capacity' (SSI, 2012), and as senior staff person McMahon (2016) noted above, SSI works by intentionally enhancing human and social capital. As the material below will detail, this philosophy is also applied to staff.

Like other SSI publications, the SSI website highlights the vision and values of the organisation. There are also statements that make it clear that the core business of SSI is social inclusion, although importantly, understood as achieving independence. As one statement puts it: 'The organisation values difference and the right to self-determination for the people we support, as well as meaningful social and economic inclusion in Australian society' (SSI, 2016b). While explicit social inclusion language largely disappeared after the election of the Abbott Liberal Government (Senior, 12 May 2016), the concept of social inclusion is implicit in each aspect of the guiding statements, and in supporting materials.

The SSI vision and values statements do not just shape the approach to clients and service delivery, but are also embedded and referenced in every facet of the organisation's internal activity, from staff KPIs (Abdul, 19 September 2014), to funding applications and the addition of new programs (SSI, 2014), and even staff mousepads (Suzie, 18 September 2014). Together, they create an ethical code of practice that staff are highly aware of and refer to as the 'SSI Way' (Suzie, 18

September 2014, Rhonda, 8 December 2014, Petal, 25 September 2014, Abdul, 19 September 2014).

SSI Human Resources practices also embody the values of the organisation. Organisational inclusion in the form of cross-cultural awareness and respect is essential in a multi-cultural, multi-faith organisation where some groups are persecuting each other in their homelands (Megan, 12 November 2014, Fred, 9 September 2014). SSI also provides an in-house counselling service to support staff dealing with ethical dilemmas, stresses, and challenges in the day to day dealing with complex issues in a diverse environment (SSI, 2016c). At an early stage, the organisation invested in an evidence driven staff wellbeing program - 'Be Well', which provides staff with professional development, health advice and support, stress management, mindfulness, and communication skills (Rhonda, 8 December 2014). Volunteers add value in creative and unexpected ways, for example providing Zumba classes (SSI, 2014, SSI, 2015). Trade union membership is encouraged and SSI pays salaries above the industry standard (Rhonda, 8 December 2014). Flexible working policies are offered throughout the organisation, allowing staff to deal with personal pressures and staff are encouraged to take advantage of training opportunities. Temporary vacancies created by such flexible work practices are then proactively used to provide leader development opportunities for more junior staff, through the 'Step Up' program, which at the time of this research had given 80 staff an opportunity to learn from acting in a more senior role. They were also supported in this process to get the most benefit from it. As Rhonda (8 December 2014) reported:

> [The Be Well program] was a great investment for us. It was around
> a mix of management tools - being a good manager but also
> identifying yourself, understanding yourself.

High recruitment rates in the early days led to the development of the 'Roadshow' induction program (Abdul, 19 September 2014). This systematisation of leader development contributed to the successful inculcation of the 'SSI Way' as an organisational culture.

Social Inclusion Beliefs and Practices of SSI Interviewees

SSI Staff were asked what their understanding of social inclusion was, and this elicited a variety of responses. There was a pattern that more mid-level and senior staff tended to have a broader, more abstract understanding that reflected various concepts found in the social inclusion literature.

However, personal experiences were important at all levels of the organisation. Board Member Rihanna (4 November 2014) felt that the high levels of CALD staff at SSI enhanced social inclusion practice. She saw being inclusive as something enabled by the life experiences of CALD people who had negotiated their own inclusion in society so that inclusion 'just comes naturally for us'. Even those relatively junior case workers who were not familiar with the language of social inclusion were able to relate their personal experiences of exclusion and inclusion to the concept. Mel (12 September 2014), for example, first asked if social inclusion and social justice were the same thing, but quickly connected her personal experiences as an immigrant with the concept of inclusion, and related it to her work with new arrivals, assisting them to familiarise themselves to Australian cultural norms while connecting them to community support networks. Likewise, for Bernard (10 September 2014), another case worker who had been with SSI for just eight weeks, the concept of social inclusion was related more to his own experiences of inclusion and exclusion in religious and scouting organisations than an awareness of academic literature or policy discourse.

The views of senior and mid-level managers included Megan's (12 November 2014) understanding of social inclusion as equality of opportunity, regardless of 'background, gender … non-English-speaking background or anything like that. That shouldn't negatively affect - or even positively affect their ability to get … equal opportunity to achieve'. Aaron (12 September 2014) similarly saw social inclusion as:

> Trying to include everyone – their thoughts and ideas - irrespective
> of their background and irrespective of their expertise - to be
> involved in the goals and aspirations of their community … having
> their voice heard … irrespective of their backgrounds.

Senior leaders connected concepts of social inclusion to the social and political setting. Patricia (4 September 2015) critiqued the Labor Government and Social Inclusion Board's emphasis on economic inclusion, whereas social inclusion involved 'having a social network, a sense of belonging, and knowing how to negotiate society … and knowing how to satisfy your needs'. A senior executive at SSI noted themes of the relativity of social inclusion, noted by scholars such as Silver (1994) and Atkinson (1998), when she said (Senior, 12 May 2016):

> Social inclusion means something very different to someone from a refugee background, someone from a middle class background, or a woman or young person who has experienced domestic violence … social inclusion can mean a range of things [for each] individual ... But from the macro perspective … it is about a society that has understood the importance of, and the value of, all its citizens. And so social inclusion to me is a strong civil society that provides a range of opportunities through structured ways to encourage and to develop leadership and participation as much or as little as people want.

Turning to the practices informed by these beliefs, SSI staff unanimously felt that social inclusion was a central aim of the processes through which they worked. As Reese (5 February 2015) put it, social inclusion 'is fundamental to what we do here, it's captured in our values.' For Reese, social inclusion was embedded both in practices of equitable, equal opportunity service delivery to clients without discrimination, and also in the cross-cultural interactions between staff. 'We have about … 80 languages spoken here … you're never working with someone from your culture … a core thing of working at SSI is you have to respect social inclusion'. At the executive level, Petra (22 September 2014) agreed:

> Social Inclusion is what [our programs] have always been about. They're about giving people a leg up in the beginning, then supporting them through their enculturation, and then leading them to fulfil their dreams and aspirations. Social inclusion is at the heart of that.

Several interviewees identified language skills and employment as intersecting barriers to social inclusion which impact on the dignity and self-respect of SSI clients (Suzie, 18 September 2014). These were often closely connected, as without language, even highly skilled and qualified immigrants could not get employment (Ernest, 24 September 2014). SSI partnered with Mission Australia to run the Australian Migrant Education Program, but as some clients only receive six weeks of English lessons, they also offer a volunteer led English program run in a social setting that provides opportunities to learn language skills and to network (SSI, 2016f).

At the time of this research, SSI did not have a contract to offer employment services, although in line with their diversification strategy, they have recently successfully expanded into this area. Nevertheless, preparing clients for employment was necessary to enable social inclusion and this was often achieved through voluntary 'value adds', which Petra (22 September 2014) described. A distinctive SSI strategy was to augment specified Government funded services with voluntary programs that add value and are subsidised from SSI surpluses. This holds true for language programs, where Government funded English lessons were inadequate, as well as for addressing the need for employment, whether for immigrants, refugees, or people with disabilities (Danelle, 10 September 2014). As Suzie (18 September 2014) observed, Government policies that prevent asylum seekers from working were punitive and reinforced the discourse of 'illegal' maritime arrivals, stigmatising and deepening social exclusion. Government policies prevented asylum seekers from even acquiring experience through volunteering. However, by participating in voluntary programs such as the community kitchen – as participants, rather than volunteers – asylum seekers could acquire valuable skills and experiences which could help to equip them for work in the future, while at the same time learning English as they interacted with staff, volunteers, and other clients (Fred, 9 September 2014). This use of cultural activities that enabled clients to use their cultural capacities while enhancing skills for work and social inclusion was a feature of SSI's approach.

As SSI senior staff person McMahon (2016) notes in an SSI research report, a strategy of SSI is to help clients build up their human and social capital. This included assisting clients to build up social capital relationships, as Reese (5 February 2015) put it, 'if you want to be socially included in this society, you have to acquire certain social

capital along the way'. To achieve these goals, SSI partnered with local churches (Rhonda, 8 December 2014), sporting clubs (SSI, 2016d), and community associations (Petra, 22 September 2014) to build relational networks and provide opportunities for training, education and experience in language and employment-readiness through skills. Mel (12 September 2014), a case worker, described the way she assisted new arrivals to connect with their ethnic and religious communities (where that was desired), to build supportive networks, understood here as bonding social capital.

Some examples of partnerships that have helped SSI to expand their capacity to enable social inclusion include: Allianz Australia, one of Australia's largest insurance companies with three million customers (Allianz Australia, 2017), funded a refugee scholarship program for students from primary to tertiary study (SSI, 2016a); Synapse Medical Equipment, a small business, sponsored the Newington Gunners refugee soccer team (Hogan, 2014); and Hillsong, Australia's largest Church, with a worldwide profile within the sphere of conservative Christianity, has periodically partnered with SSI to support refugee women (Hillsong, 2017). Susie (18 September 2014), described the way women from Hillsong hosted and pampered refugee women with manicures and other treats, without any religious agenda. In addition, the Hillsong annual women's conference provided welcome packs for new asylum seekers (Ernest, 24 September 2014). Partnering is a core value of SSI, and these diverse partnerships are just some of the ways SSI enacts this core value in forging diverse partnerships to support its mission.

The Allianz case demonstrates the cultural capital of refugees and asylum seekers, as Senior (12 May 2016) related. Allianz had agreed to take some SSI clients as interns, expecting to provide entry level work experience to young trainees. The quality of all of the interns was extremely high, with one previously employed at the highest level in the Tax office in his home country. This led to a significant shift in the attitude of Allianz management, which shifted from viewing refugees as people in need of assistance, to seeing refugees as a potentially valuable pool of talent and experience. This led to a deeper relationship with Allianz and the establishment of the wide ranging scholarship program.

While pursuing the broader mission of social inclusion for refugees, asylum seekers, people with disabilities, and other disadvantaged groups, the diverse SSI workforce also requires a significant focus on diversity management within the organisation. Intentional strategies were required to create shared directions around collective goals, and to manage the religious and cultural mix of volunteers and staff, where conflict is not just possible, but seems almost inevitable. As Megan (12 November 2014) reported, there is a volatile mix of 'cultural loyalties and cultural sensitivities ... you've got all the different groups - like … Iraqi Muslims, Syrians, Chaldeans in the organisation, you've got Afghanis who are Pashtuns and Hazaras - and they hate [each other] - they have been killing each other'. She related a particular incident where religious differences had led to offensive comments that almost triggered formal disciplinary procedures, but the support of colleagues and supervisors had neutralised the problem unofficially and relationally. Suzie (18 September 2014) described the minefield that highly multicultural staff routinely negotiated as they attempted to interact with an equally highly multicultural clientele without showing discrimination or favouritism. The day-to-day crises could easily paralyse the organisation, except for the significant investment of inculcating organisational values in management and administrative processes, as well as the practices of staff.

The in-depth interview data consistently supported the view that SSI had managed to rapidly grow a diverse organisation around a common set of objectives and values, while minimising conflict. The strategies, beliefs and practices that enabled SSI to negotiate common direction, alignment, and commitment are explored in the next section on leadership below.

Leadership Development Beliefs and Practices of SSI Interviewees

Although SSI documents did not explicitly focus on leadership development, there were leadership development features built into the operational life of SSI at every level. To get a sense of the beliefs which informed leadership development practices, each interviewee was asked whether they saw themselves as a leader and what they thought leadership was, as well as being invited to share experiences of effective and ineffective leadership. They were also asked to reflect on their own leader development experiences.

There was a pattern in the data where the interviewee's location in the organisational hierarchy tended to align with their view of their own leadership capacities, although all participants saw themselves as leaders. Senior leaders tended to focus on their role in helping the whole organisation achieve its purpose, which Rhonda described as being part of a 'team with a shared vision who have done great things … that made a difference in someone's life today … It is not just the result of one person's effort and vision.' Mid-level leaders such as Reese (5 February 2015), Aaron (12 September 2014) and Helena (18 September 2014) were more focused on their 'position of influence', as Helena (18 September 2014) put it, and how they used their personal influence to shape the way others worked. People in junior positions tended to see themselves as leaders in other settings than their work roles. For example, Melania (12 September 2014) saw herself as a leader 'at home, yes. … But I think [at work] I would rather support a leader – and be very loyal to a leader, than to be one yes'. At the same time, Melania was quite keen to develop her leadership capacities, but felt that 'it's still a long way to go'. Similarly, Bernard (10 September 2014) believed he was a leader in his religious context and in a community association, but at SSI he was 'more an administrator, backup person'.

When SSI staff discussed their beliefs about leadership, there was widespread agreement that leadership was what a leader did. As Petra (22 September 2014) said 'leadership is the act of … the leader doing the leading'. Although this view was a universal starting point within SSI, there was wide divergence on what the practices of leaders actually entailed. Mid-level leaders like Reese (5 February 2015) emphasised the leader's agency, suggesting that a leader was 'anyone that can persuade a group of people to do what you want to do', and Helena (18 September 2014) also emphasised the leader's influence, except that for her this resulted in collaboration: 'Leadership is influence. It's being able to bring people together and get them to work together'. Others also focused on the leader's role in enabling others. A more junior leader, Petal (25 September 2014) described leadership as 'facilitation and guidance. And a lot of understanding that helps another person to achieve the goal or helps another group of people work together to get to where they want to go'. Danelle (10 September 2014) saw leadership as 'valuing, supporting and respecting what your staff have to give', while Ernest (24 September 2014), another mid-level leader, argued that anyone could

be a leader, 'by setting an example to people … [and] take some responsibility and do something'.

Although agreeing that someone had to 'lead and take responsibility', several interviewees connected leadership practice with more relational and collective dimensions. For example, mid-level manager Aaron (12 September 2014) emphasised 'effective communication … a lot of forums wherein not only is information passed from top to bottom, but from bottom to top'. However, the common thread in most responses was the association of leadership with the actions of an individual leader. At the senior level, Patricia (4 September 2015) described the practice of leadership as:

> having vision and enabling people to come along with a vision and help design a vision and be part of the vision and then enact the vision … being able to get people to move with you … empowering people to be leaders themselves and empowering people to think about how they can lead other people and then empowering them to come along into their leadership journey … it's all about moving forward towards something … leading people.

Petra (22 September 2014), also a senior leader, envisaged leadership as a more distributed property rather than holding a position: 'At SSI there are leaders everywhere, in all levels, and it's encouraged. So there are formal leadership frameworks, and there is training … and you always encourage leadership from different levels.'

At the same time, she stressed that there was 'no leadership without the leader', or as Rhonda (8 December 2014) put it, 'some people stand out, they just naturally take the lead'. Other executive level leaders also had broad perspectives on the nature of leadership. Patricia (4 September 2015) described leadership as:

> having vision and enabling people to come along with a vision and help design a vision and be part of the vision and then enact the vision … you don't need to hold a leadership position to be a leader … You need a level of charisma … but it's a fine line to the sales job of selling your vision and then bringing people along because they

have to come along … I kind of see the difference between
management and leadership, as [leadership] gets people to move
with you because they want to move in that direction.

Rhonda (8 December 2014) defined leadership in terms of authenticity:

Authentic leadership between people – it's not about positions. It's
about providing support and … taking initiative … when you truly
have a passion or an interest – when you are truly adding value and
taking people with you – it's about a collaboration ... [but] we don't
assume that it's a natural thing. We understand that people do need
to develop skills and to be provided tools and more importantly … to
help people understand themselves … their triggers … and styles.

The distinction between authentic leadership and 'self-appointed' leadership was
frequently made. Fred (9 September 2014), Rhonda (8 Dec 2014), and Petra (22
September 2014) all described authentic leadership in similar ways, where a leader's
authenticity could be discerned through their focus on achieving a goal, and
engagement with supporters, whereas the goal of 'self-appointed' community leaders
was prestige and recognition, which Rhonda described as 'leaders without leadership'.
Authentic leaders had a genuine relationship with followers who affirmed their
leadership, whereas the self-appointee held a position in an organisation with little
connection to supposed constituents, even if Governments continued to provide
funding. Petra explained that in the migrant community sector, it was not uncommon
for multiple competing associations to claim to represent the same constituency, noting
that the province her parents had emigrated from was represented by more than a
dozen ethno-religious community associations.

Case-workers and mid-level managers were very aware of SSI support and
development programs such as the Leadership Roadshow, Step Up, Be Well, and in-
house counselling which was provided to assist staff when they encountered difficult
or traumatic situations. They also appreciated the flexible work practices and emphasis
on career development. At the time of her interview, Megan (12 November 2014) was
acting in a more senior position as part of the Step Up program, and was very positive
about the opportunity for growth and development this gave her. Abdul (19 September

2014), a refugee who had found employment as an SSI case worker, had been able to take leave without pay to visit family in the Middle-East. He had also benefited from the employee wellness program noted above. The supportive, human-centred environment was supplemented by comprehensive training options. As Melania (12 September 2014) commented: 'they provide a lot of training to us. Sometimes it is too many trainings!'

When invited to reflect on their own leadership development story, staff identified a range of practices that were not formal programs but had contributed to their progression. Several SSI staff had themselves been refugees, who had overcome the same language and employment barriers facing SSI's clients. Abdul (19 September 2014) had found employment with SSI only because they had invested in developing his communication skills. He described being almost unemployable but highly motivated when he first arrived:

> As a refugee, you get no benefit from Centrelink for up to 2 years.
> So it was very difficult … I couldn't find anything. Struggling,
> struggling, struggling. And each struggle - each try I did it gave me
> power and it adds something on my personality - on my experience.
> … [Australia and SSI] gave me opportunity … my loyalty to this
> place I can say is 100%. (Abdul, 19 September 2014)

Links Between Leader Development and Social Inclusion in SSI

The way SSI delivers community services can also be viewed as leadership development, although for several interviewees (Ernest, 24 September 2014, Megan, 12 November 2014, Rhonda, 8 December 2014, Reese, 5 February 2015) this realisation was a result of being interviewed about the connection between leadership development and social inclusion. As Reese said:

> We're doing [social inclusion through leadership development] in so
> many ways implicitly, but there's no – you can't refer to a document
> or any value that says we're developing leaders [in our case work].

But so many of our things that we do, we're trying to do that, you know. It is talked about … but there is no explicit strategy.

The link between leader development and social inclusion arises through the competency development approach SSI adopts for case work. An example is the HSS program, which welcomes and settles refugees and asylum seekers. Clients are met where they enter the community – typically at an airport or upon release from detention (Melania, 12 September 2014). Clients are educated about social structures, norms, and routines through 'community orientation sessions' which connects them 'to volunteers, social and recreational activities, work readiness programs, affordable private housing, basic healthcare, and … case management to develop skills and knowledge' for independent living (SSI, 2015: 15). However, knowledge is only part of the process. A key part of Melania's work was to inform people about opportunities to connect with their migrant-ethnic community and cultural or religious groups if desired. Equally, introductions to community associations and services allowed clients to build a network of relationships. Danelle (10 September 2014) described the Ability Links project as functioning very similarly for people with disabilities. SSI provided 'linkers' who would forge relationships with social or sporting groups, and similarly act as a bridge with employers. Linkers helped clients to build capacity by brokering relationships and supporting the client with resources, training, and encouragement to the point where they could carry on alone.

Megan (12 November 2014) saw connections between good leader development and effective case work:

I always tell my team, whatever you're doing for the client. How are you developing their competencies? Are you doing for them or are you doing with them and assisting them to do something for themselves?

Other interviewees discovered connections between leadership development and social inclusion during the interview process. Ernest (24 September 2014) made this connection while discussing the language barrier which excluded skilled and qualified people from the workforce. Although he initially approached this problem as a social

inclusion challenge, he concluded that enabling a leader to employ their capacities by removing a blockage that excluded them was, as he put it, 'creating a leader!'

Rhonda (8 December 2014) similarly connected social inclusion and leader development, in the way SSI went beyond the minimal outcomes envisaged by Government funded contract provisions:

> You have a set of tick box exercise about a certain suite of services
> that are part of the contract that you have to meet. But you're also
> building relationships, and building someone's self-sufficiency.
> Because … as a case manager that's what you try to do at the end of
> the day. So the true mission of this organisation is that every person
> is of value and that they should meet their full potential,
> economically and socially. That goes for clients and staff as well.

Rhonda's inclusion of relationships as an important part of building self-sufficiency for clients aligns with SSI's relational approach to staff leader development. At the junior staff level, although feeling that SSI sometimes erred on the side of over-training, Melania (12 September 2014) suggested that her development as a leader was principally because of supportive relationships with her staff team – which had helped her overcome shyness – and the opportunity to represent SSI on an interagency committee. Mid-level leader, Reese (5 February 2015), also felt his personal development as a leader was primarily through a 'group of friends, mentors within the organisation and my direct manager - we meet, regularly, have one-to-ones once a month or more frequently'. He also referred to his opportunity to represent SSI in a civil society network called the Sydney Alliance which enabled him to pursue advocacy goals around affordable housing, and dramatically expanded his network to include leaders of a wide range of organisations, including fifteen people listed amongst the top 100 most influential community sector leaders. At the executive level, Petra (22 September 2014) reflected on the importance of a portfolio of relationships in helping her develop as a leader during her career:

> I would not have survived without those relationships … The whole
> policy environment, you never get through it without [support] … So
> very quickly in my tenure - within six months - I had a core group

around me that I … really had an affinity for. [Then there were] horizontal relationships within the organisation, and external and then your relationships with key people like in your funding environment as well… Personal relationships that other people might not be aware of. They are really important because you cannot compromise them. They can't be public. But you really need … trust … allies and friends.

Petra's mix of relationships provided support, but also acted as bridges into other organisational settings. Each of the three examples just noted refer to both supportive 'bonding' types of relationships and relationships and roles that 'bridge' into other settings. The importance of relationships for both career success and in achieving organisational outcomes was underlined by Fred (9 September 2014), when he said:

Relationships is what makes it more or less likely to build a good path for success … good relationships bring about good outcomes and bad relationships bring about bad outcomes.

Fred reflected on the importance of forging relationships within the funding bureaucracy to create conduits for influence and the creation of opportunities for diversification and expansion. In this way he had been a key person in opening up the new opportunity for expanding into disability services:

I used to work at [a Government Department] in the funding unit … giving out money. So I know what bureaucrats want - what I was looking for then … so it is about building relationships with bureaucrats in government ... help them identify a path … and praise them once they take that path.

Relationships were also important internally to enable organisation operations. Reese (5 February 2015) noted that 'good leadership at the top' had to strategically build up 'strong relationships with the managers who are at the frontlines' to enable both internal management and external public relations. Similarly, board member Rihanna (4 November 2014), talked about the way long-established relationships of trust with the CEO had enabled the constituent Migrant Resource Centres to fully commit to the joint venture relationship with SSI. She went on to describe relationships as a

'conduit', describing the way healthy relationships between SSI, Migrant Resource Centres, local churches, mosques, and sporting clubs enabled each of the organisations to be a more effective 'conduit of social inclusion for the community'.

Relational leadership processes were also very important and highlighted the differences between relational processes (Uhl-Bien, 2006) and structural social capital (O'Connor and Quinn, 2004). Having been a leader in a very hierarchical organisation before coming to Australia, Abdul (19 September 2014) reflected on the way a relational approach to leadership was expressed through:

> Keeping the balance between … the top of the hierarchy … and the people who they are working with you … their performance …their opinion and sometimes … their personal life situation … It is something between the leader and the people who they are working with. And also consistency of orders and procedures and policies. If you have consistency. It makes our life as a leaders much easier.

Abdul's linking of relational leadership styles with alignment of organisational procedures and policies was reflected in the comments of senior leaders. Rhonda (8 December 2014) talked about the early focus on 'socialising our values' in the way the organisation worked, while Petra (22 Sept 2014) emphasised listening, as an important tool for negotiating alignment with the organisation. She adopted a systematic approach of 'one on one relational meetings' to embed organisational values in the day to day relational interactions of the organisation. Leaders at all levels, including Fred (9 September 2014), Abdul (19 September 2014), Megan (12 November 2014), Rhonda (8 December 2014) talked about the importance of the 'leadership roadshow', a structured process of listening and teaching which had initially been introduced to bring order out of chaos during the initial startup phase. The startup phase itself was discussed by several interviewees who had been part of it. Suzie (18 September 2014) described the initial hierarchical and coercive approach to leadership which had failed, and resulted in an urgent intervention:

> There was a change of leadership … it seriously had to happen …
> the previous leadership was not conducive to harmony and trust …
> The guarantors of the whole business [gathered] everybody in any

leadership role, and in fact … the whole organisation at one point … and [they] had bits of paper everywhere, and we had to … write what worked and what wasn't working. And [now] there is a lot of transparency … but vision is what happened. When [they] came on board. (Suzie, 18 September 2014)

Petra commented on the sudden workload that nearly overwhelmed the fledgling organisation, except for the infrastructure and expertise that was already available in the joint-venture partners:

> The contracts came really quickly, we had no infrastructure and we had to hit the ground running. And the membership based model really helped. Some MRC's redeployed their own staff – really experienced staff – into SSI HSS contracts which made it possible. (Petra, 22 September 2014)

Others made similar comments. Caseworker Petal (25 September 2014) was called to meet new arrivals at the airport on the same day she was interviewed. Abdul (19 September 2014) described his experience:

> At the beginning we were just screaming and yelling - asking a lot of questions and sometime I were just pulling my hairs and I was getting … like a mad dash for having that number of referrals - and we didn't have answers for all the questions. We would stay hours on the phone asking for someone to provide us some information, and it was a big issue.

Significant effort was required to build a common understanding of the mission, purpose, and process of the organisation. Abdul and others who were part of the organisation in these early days talked enthusiastically about the process of establishing a common understanding.

> The roadshow was for everyone for all the programs… Since I attended that roadshow presentation I've found that everything is going well, because at the moment anyone comes to working SSI, they have to start with roadshow - we can just call it induction in

smaller organisation - so when you have that exactly what you do everything will be okay … Roadshow is one of the best things I have experienced. (Abdul, 19 September 2014)

From this chaotic beginning, and the emergency intervention of the nascent Leadership Roadshow, SSI has managed to develop a shared understanding of its approach, which became known as the 'SSI Way'. Leaders at all levels referred to the importance of the SSI Way in their work. Suzie (18 September 2014) had been with SSI since before SSI had an 'SSI Way'. Her comments reflect the way SSI has woven its valuing of the whole person into the methodology of service delivery and every aspect of the organisational culture, even onto the mouse pads:

> I have a very personal relationship to that particular phrase [the SSI Way] … I came from this really intensive holistic case management approach with refugees, and people would go, no, no, we're just, you know we don't do that, no, no, the department doesn't allow us to do this and blah, blah, blah. And I'm thinking: that's not the SSI way …, the SSI way is humanitarian ... So I don't know where [the phrase] came from, probably not me, but you know I used to use it before. And now it's the 'SSI Way' you know … because we don't just have two programs any more, we have a lot of programs, and as one big organisation … you know we can't be splintered … to make it cohesive as SSI, there's one way of doing things, and there's one way of being a leader, our policies and procedures, our transparency, our relationships, our professionalism, our clarity about what we do and how we do it, and what's our vision … this is the SSI way … **we all have these mouse pads you know, which has our ethics on there**, and that's the SSI way.

Others emphasised the same point. For example, Melania (12 September 2014), a junior case-worker who had been with SSI for just one year said:

> Only SSI way I know. The SSI way … is like delivering excellent services … passion for helping the newly arrived. Which is working really well, I think.

Mid-level manager Aaron (12 September 2014) also noted:

> That is why we call it the SSI Way. It is not they. It is we. We have
> common values. Whatever centre you go you see the same values …
> the SSI Way is we, we, we, not I.

SSI Engaging the Macro-social Level

The material above details a range of micro-relational and meso-organisational aspects of the SSI story. SSI is now a large organisation, with a range of allies and partners and significant profile within the community services sector in NSW. However, as the discussion in Chapter Five outlined, the macro-level context for social inclusion is influenced by Government and the media, while SSI has limited macro-social influence and power. Executive level interviewees identified points of tension between running an efficient business which was largely Government funded and working for social change to enable the inclusion of marginalised groups, in a highly politicised setting.

According to a senior executive (12 May 2016), the strategic plan that guided SSI was developed after reflection on the previous experience of losing funding. In her words:

> It was very purposeful. When we lost our contract ten years ago, and
> then were out in the cold for five years and re-funded, [we] realised
> we couldn't do more of the same, because that didn't work. We had
> to diversify, but we also had to build strong relationships with people
> in power, people with power and build our own power. And the way
> to do that was to collaborate. That was the strategy. [We had to
> show] the Liberal Government that … we are actually diverse …
> We've got people on our Board who are Liberal Party members and
> people who are Labor and people who are neutral.   We have far left
> and far right. … Some … members of SSI still don't get it. But what
> is very powerful for SSI and our members is we have a constituency
> that we represent …   And we have a sense of obligation and
> responsibility to that constituency … not just our accountability to
> funders – because otherwise … we would be an arm of Government

and we're not. We do their work … [but we] wear with pride the fact that we're not for profit. Profit is fine – it's good that we have the market and businesses, but our view is that in areas of human service delivery, particularly to the vulnerable, when you introduce the profit imperative it works against community and it works against social capital, leadership, and building capacity, because the imperative is shareholders and profit.

This new strategy was founded on a realistic power analysis, which acknowledged that the Government would always have more power than SSI and its constituent Migrant Resource Centres, and that the Community Sector was reliant on Government funding. This required a shift in thinking about advocacy, which was informed by participation in the Sydney Alliance and exposure to the community organising perspective. The Sydney Alliance was part of an international community organising network, which had emerged in the USA in the 1930s. Themes explored within this tradition included the interweaving of self-interest, power, relational organising, the power of story, and collaboration across sectors (Gecan, 2002, Chambers, 2003), which became important parts of the SSI approach. She (12 May 2016) continued:

It opened a whole other world for me, that there's other ways to work – that you can work with unions, with faith organisations. So absolutely, opened a new perspective. Building trust through relationships, the relational aspects … Sydney Alliance opened my eyes to opportunities.

Rather than 'issue a press release or an article that is slamming government policy', the strategy became to build relationships and use them to link decision makers – as well as advocacy focused organisations such as the Refugee Council – with refugees and asylum seekers who could then speak for themselves:

to nurture relationships of trust with government – so policy makers and politicians – so they can see us as a brains trust, a go to organisation – to get honest advice which they might not get from their advisors, which will be skewed – honest advice about what the impact of policy is on the community from our perspective and give

case studies … "Here's five people, they can speak for themselves"
… for them to talk to people who are impacted by policies and they
can then take it or leave it … [Then] when we do say 'this is not
going to work' or 'this will be really problematic', you hope they
will listen. (Senior, 12 May 2016)

This senior executive was very clear that this was not, and could not be a cynical exercise in manipulation for a 'values based organisation' like SSI. Rather, SSI and its leaders had to authentically shift their whole orientation. She described the evolution of thinking as the Board shifted to include Liberal Party members, Labor Party members, and the Business Council of Australia became a potential ally, rather than being predefined as an enemy. The NSW Premier at the time of this interview was as conservative in his politics and economics as his Christian faith, but had a strong interest in aiding refugees. This enabled levels of engagement with the State Government that had not been seen 'for decades', which SSI utilised to 'bed down' a relationship with the State of NSW to encourage the realisation that immigrants coming into the state were an asset, both economically and culturally.

However, good relationships with the NSW State Government did not translate into influence over the Federal Government, or an ability to push back against the neoliberal influences that were reshaping the Australian community services industry. Although having some scale meant that SSI was able to offer staff transfers between divisions when funding in one area of work was being cut back (Petra, 22 September 2014, Petal, 25 September 2014). The strategy continued to focus on building the organisation, while doing as much good as possible for clients, and encouraging innovation. Senior leaders like Petra (22 September 2014) had deep seated philosophical problems with the ongoing neoliberal pressure to allow more for-profit companies to tender for Government funded community service provision. They also argued that not-for-profits performed better than for-profit firms when dealing with vulnerable people, as surpluses were reinvested rather than distributed to shareholders. As Petra (22 September 2014) put it:

I have a fundamental problem with tax payer human services being
delivered by for-profit organisations … I don't agree with the policy

framework, but what we have learnt to do is take the good from that
- and do our best for our constituents to benefit from it … And we
add value in other ways … for example, the community kitchen is a
self-funded initiative [paid from our surplus]. We couldn't do that if
we made a loss. The Ignite [entrepreneurship program] is a self-
funded initiative. Again if you lose money you can't [deliver these
types of programs].

Innovation and entrepreneurship were built into the SSI approach. Encouragement of
creativity and sensible risk taking was deliberately built into the organisation, so long
as it aligned with SSI's values (Rhonda, 8 December 2014). As Petra (22 September
2014) put it, 'you aren't going to lose your job' if you tried something and it didn't
work. This culture of innovation was also established at the Board level and in the
executive team, as Fred (9 September 2014) expressed it:

The SSI story is about opportunities. You can have a great vision …
but why didn't we build an SSI 28 years ago? And it's a very easy
answer – because the opportunity wasn't there. It's our ability to
seize opportunities and develop a path that put [us] on a path to
success.

Generating a surplus that enabled reinvestment in collaboration and innovation was a
key aspect of the SSI strategy. Reese (5 February 2015) reinforced this perspective:

None of that stuff is government funded … the Ignite team, the
Enterprise Facilitation team, we're taking all these initiatives to
empower clients and also to … resource and network … connecting
them with other businesses and organisations in Australia that can
help them get their businesses off the ground. [Government] have
patted us on the back for a lot that we've done. … little things that
we do on our own, they report that back to national office and they
have a national report that's shared with other service providers and
if there's trends, issues, innovations that are coming out … that's fed
back and taken into consideration. I haven't really seen a massive

change in contract, terms … On the one hand, they'll say, you need

to do this, this and this, but we're not going to fund you for it.

While the Government was pleased to get more than they paid for, Reese reported that they had also complained that SSI's successes were creating a problem as the 'funding zones' where SSI was the service provider were performing better than other zones. This meant that 'clients' – refugees and asylum seekers – could potentially seek to move into, or access services in, the Sydney area zones where SSI was active.

Despite SSI's success and standing with Government, Fred (9 September 2014) was clear that it was Government that led in the settlement sector, not the bureaucracy and service providers. He argued that SSI's capacity to influence was limited:

I would argue the leadership never comes from the bureaucracy. It actually comes from politicians ... So we provide [the bureaucracy] with information to suggest that some of the things they need to achieve we might be able to achieve for them - with a minimum of fuss and a minimum of bad publicity. So for example with asylum seekers, we're not providing leadership. Leadership would be that we change the position of government. We're not changing the position of government. What we are providing is a service that they can live with that is the best that it can be for refugees and asylum seekers within the current political environment that we can't change.

These reflections highlight the power relationships between service providers such as SSI, Government, and the Government Departments that oversee funding of services. Within these constraints, the SSI strategy was to seek win-win solutions, building the organisation and its influence, while achieving the best outcomes possible for clients. A senior executive (Senior, 12 May 2016) reflected that other organisations could benefit from exploring a win-win approach rather than an 'inflammatory and hostile' starting point. Yet while SSI had built trust with Government, and provided some good news stories to various media outlets, the limits on what could be achieved at the macro-social level were quite obvious when the highly emotive issue of Islamic youth radicalisation was discussed. Her experiences as a second generation immigrant

offered a way to understand these complex issues as the consequence of not encouraging social inclusion with dignity and respect for young CALD youth:

> My parents built the first Greek Orthodox Church in Sydney. That was the key place to go and have a sense of familiarity, belonging, feeling like home and people you know – it's very important initially, but then people do venture out. We've seen that, we've got 50 years of experience and we know they do it and do it well, but they still keep their ties and that's alright. It benefits the community and broader society. Issues around terrorism and radicalisation, it's a very different issue, it's about people that don't have that social capital and sense of belonging, so they go elsewhere. Some of that is individual, and some of that is about circumstance – it's very place based … young kids, first and second generation Australians might have more allegiance to a country they've never even been to, but somehow they feel as if they belong there more than here … we have to ask ourselves as Australians, why would we create that? Because we contributed to that, that young person did not do it on their own. That 16 year old that thinks ISIS is going to offer them something they aren't getting at home.

She went on to talk about her earlier experiences working in the criminal justice area, and the way the Government defaults to the 'most punitive and harsh' positions, which exacerbates the issue. However, while important, SSI was able to see this was beyond the scope of its operations. As one senior executive (12 May 2016) concluded:

> Self-interest, is important - as we learnt from the Sydney Alliance – for our self-preservation, we don't want to lose contracts. But also, we're a values organisation. We want to be able to sleep at the end of the day, go to bed and have a clear conscience and feel we did a good job today and didn't sell out in things that shouldn't be negotiable.

Conclusion to Case Study Two

This case of Settlement Services International opened with an exploration of the meso-level structures, policies, and strategic goals and directions that shape SSI's approach to leadership development and social inclusion work. Interview data then allowed a micro-relational exploration of the beliefs and practices of individual leaders within this meso-organisational level framework. Key themes that emerged included the multidimensional nature of social inclusion challenges, and the similarly multidimensional 'joined up' processes required to address them, along with the important role of agency exercised both to include and exclude. The problem of Islamic radicalisation provided an example of how rejection and lack of opportunities could lead the capacities of marginalised groups to be organised along anti-social lines, as marginalised people, especially the young, look for dignity, respect and opportunities from other sources if they feel excluded from these opportunities in Australia.

The interview data surfaced a range of themes relating to leadership development in SSI. These included SSI's 'whole person' approach to leader development with both staff and clients; the important starting point of acknowledging the capacities of individuals and communities; the role of different types of relationships as sources of support, feedback, and conduits of influence and opportunities; the critical role of authenticity along with shared beliefs, vision, values - and importantly, methods which enabled the talented staff at SSI to coordinate their efforts around a shared understanding of the 'SSI Way'. Finally, there are important lessons in the highly strategic way SSI engaged the highly politicised macro-social environment, after reflecting on the earlier failed attempt to launch as a joint-venture of eleven MRCs. SSI recalibrated its vision and strategy to focus on building the power and capacity of the organisation, diversifying to build autonomy and being efficient so that surpluses could be reinvested in innovation. This strategy also required a shift in advocacy activity, as building authentic trust with Government rather than critiquing the policy framework built influence. Rather than campaign for policy change, relationships with Government and advocacy organisations became linking conduits for marginalised individuals and groups to speak for themselves. At all levels of analysis, the evidence

suggests that SSI has been guided by its values and disciplined implementation of a strategic plan, relentlessly focused on opportunities, collaboration and innovation.

Conclusion to Chapter Six

This Chapter has presented an exploration of the structures, beliefs and practices that inform social inclusion and leadership development efforts in two migrant and refugee settlement agencies. A review of reports, publications and twenty-five qualitative in-depth interviews provided data on the organisational context and internal dynamics.

The interview data provided preliminary evidence of links between social inclusion and leadership development which will be further evaluated in Chapter Nine. These organisations were selected as case studies because of their obvious involvement in social inclusion, both in dealing with clients and forging collaboration within their extremely diverse staff teams. For both organisations, leader development and leadership development was an important aspect of optimising organisational capacities and operating within a demanding and competitive professional and political environment.

In Chapter Nine, the multilevel social capital framework from Chapter Three will be used to analyse the Case Study data presented here. This analysis will explore the implicit multilevel dynamics within the data, and also compare and contrast the themes that emerged from this study alongside the Uniting Church case study which is developed in the next Chapter.

Chapter Seven: Case Study of the Uniting Church in Australia

Introduction

This case study considers the structures, beliefs and practices that shape leadership development and social inclusion efforts in the Uniting Church in Australia (UCA). While Christianity remains important, it is widely perceived as declining (Kirkwood, 2009, Morgan Poll, 2014, Forbes, 2016), whereas 'no religion' (22%) and non-Christian faiths (7%) are growing strongly (ABS, 2013). Nevertheless, Christian activities remain significant sources of inclusion and leadership development in Australia (Powell, 2013), with 15% of Australians attending worship services monthly or more often (Powell, 2014) and explicitly Christian organisations making up around one third of the community services sector (Knight and Gilchrist, 2015).

Three sources of data contribute to this case study. Foundational documents and public statements provide an overview of the policy context and the meso-level structural and cognitive social capital that frames the internal workings of the UCA, supplemented with quantitative survey data drawn from the 2011 National Church Life Survey and 2013 internal UCA census. Twenty-one in-depth semi-structured interviews conducted in late 2014 and early 2015 then explore the lived experiences, beliefs, and practices of individual UCA leaders. Participants include Sydney-based lay and ordained leaders at various levels of seniority in four Congregations, or carrying out regional or State level denominational roles. As described in Chapter Four, the Congregations were selected from different socio-economic settings, using the Census-based Socio-Economic Indices For Areas (SEIFA) index which ranks postcodes in order of privilege and advantage. For confidentiality reasons, the congregations and participants have been given pseudonyms which reflect the socio-economic setting: 'DiverseTown'; 'BlueCollarBurb'; 'MiddleVille'; and 'UptonMews'. These congregations were all more or less 'typical' UCA congregations, with worship services on Sunday morning and sharing their facilities with a range of community groups.

The chapter begins with an overview of the UCA and its structures, then reviews a selection of denominational publications that outline the organisational setting for

inclusion and leadership development efforts. The main body of the research is then laid out, with an overview of the beliefs and experiences of interviewees pertaining to social inclusion and leadership development in the Church. The chapter closes with some preliminary observations about connections between social inclusion and leadership development drawn from the interviews. The multilevel social capital framework that informs this study will be used in Chapter Nine to comprehensively analyse this data.

Uniting Church Overview

The UCA is Australia's third largest Christian denomination, created in 1977 through a merger between the Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches. A Congregational Census conducted for the UCA National Assembly reported that there were 2078 UCA congregations in Australia in 2013, of which 41% were in rural areas (Powell et al., 2014b). Most congregations pre-date the formation of the denomination, with 72% being founded before 1950 and just 11% having emerged since 1980. These new churches include amalgamations of existing congregations shortly before or after the denominations merged, as well as new churches in new housing areas or among emerging migrant-ethnic or other groups (Powell et al., 2014: 14). Recently, mergers between congregations experiencing numerical decline have become more common, especially in rural contexts. The denomination is diverse and multicultural, with worship services conducted in over 40 languages across Australia (Richmond, 2003).

While the UCA holds to orthodox beliefs within the Protestant tradition (National Assembly, 2016), the Church has adopted a progressive stance on many contentious issues and has dedicated staff teams focused on justice and advocacy issues at the national and state levels (Uniting Church NSW-ACT Synod, 2014a). Gender and sexual orientation are not barriers to ordination, and about one third of ordained ministers are women (Powell et al., 2014). The Church also emphasises 'uniting' with other Christian traditions and non-Christian faiths, actively participating in ecumenical partnerships, multi-faith dialogue, and partnerships throughout Asia and the Pacific (UnitingWorld, 2016c).

Table 7.1 Age Profiles of Christian Denominations in Australia

	Anglican	Baptist/ Churches of Christ	Catholic	Lutheran	Pentecostal	Uniting	Other Protestant
Age	Percentage						
15-19	4	7	4	4	10	3	6
20-29	9	13	6	6	29	4	13
30-39	11	13	9	9	17	5	13
40-49	12	17	14	13	18	8	15
50-59	14	17	17	18	14	13	15
60-69	19	16	22	22	9	22	16
70-79	19	11	19	18	3	26	13
80+	3	6	9	11	1	19	9

Source: National Church Life Survey 2011, (Mollidor et al., 2013).

However, a progressive stance has not generated growth. The UCA has experienced numerical decline in both membership and number of congregations for decades (Powell et al., 2014b) and has an older age profile than other churches and the wider community (Mollidor et al., 2013). Table 7.1 (above) compares the age profiles of Christian churches in Australia, showing the UCA with the lowest proportion of younger attenders, and the highest or equal highest in older age categories.

UCA History and Structure

The UCA has unusual structures. Each interconnected level of responsibility is governed by a council, forming an 'inter-conciliar' structure (Assembly Standing Committee, 2014). Councils include elected members along with a range of ordained and other ministry staff who are appointed ex-officio. Each council exercises a degree of autonomy within its own scope, under the oversight of the next higher council. The structures approximate the political governance structures of the Nation, with a

National Assembly, State Synods, and regional Presbyteries. For example, there are thirteen Presbyteries across NSW and the ACT (Uniting Church NSW-ACT Synod, 2014b).

The Congregation is viewed as the foundational council in the inter-conciliar structure, and is governed by a Church Council (National Assembly, 2000). Numerically, most congregations are small, with the median weekly worship attendance standing at just 35 participants in 2013 (Powell et al., 2014: 4). One in four churches have fewer than twenty adult worshippers, while nearly half (46%) have 20-49 members. Only eight percent of churches have more than 100 members, but it is estimated that these churches account for 35% of the membership (2014: 17), and are more likely to be growing and composed of immigrant groups.

The Presbytery consists of all paid ministry personnel and elected lay representatives of congregations, with elected lay and ministry representatives of Presbyteries forming the Synod meeting (State) and triennial National Assembly (National). Lay representation in the Presbytery is primarily on a congregational basis, so that lay members of smaller congregations have proportionately greater representation than larger churches in the Presbytery. Similarly, less populous Presbyteries have disproportionate representation in the Synod and Assembly. It is possible that these unrepresentative arrangements were an intentional attempt to include the less powerful and isolated.

The Synod approximates the State level of the Church, with the New South Wales and Australian Capital Territories being combined into a single structure. The Synod controls property resources and plays an important coordinating function within the Uniting Church structure (NSW-ACT Synod, 2015) and is the level of the Church where a vision is formally expressed (NSW-ACT Synod, 2016a). The vision, mission and values of the Uniting Church NSW-ACT Synod (2016) are:

> Our Vision: To be a fellowship of reconciliation, living God's love and acting for the common good to build a just and compassionate community.

Our Mission: To inspire, empower and support the Uniting Church in all its varied expressions to live out our Christian faith. We affirm that this means supporting the goals of:

Bringing people to Gods Love

Responding to human need and strengthening community

Transforming unjust social structures

Continuing to learn and grow

Protecting and renewing creation.

Our Values: … inclusive and generous; honest and accountable

just and compassionate; hopeful and courageous.

The Synod provides a range of resources for congregations, from assistance with administration and payroll to providing large canvas banners that proclaim a range of community oriented messages in keeping with the activist tradition of the Uniting Church. These include:

Refugees are welcome here

Children don't belong in detention

Uniting for the Common Good

Give Hope: Uniting for asylum seekers.

(NSW-ACT Synod, 2016b)

The Councils of the Church are akin to an Annual General Meeting or shareholders meeting in a business context, although with a significant emphasis on policy development (National Assembly, 2016). A model of consensus decision making was introduced to UCA councils from 1994 (Tapp, 2017). Executive committees have accrued significant power to facilitate timely decision making, but several interviewees expressed concern about the way some of these committees operated, or thought the committee members were out of touch with the grassroots needs of the Church

(William, 17 November 2014, Carol, 17 November 2014, Edward, 9 December 2014, Keith, 11 December 2014).

Aboriginal and migrant ethnic individuals and congregations have an equal entitlement to participate in the Councils of the Church. However, as Timothy (17 November 2014) at BlueCollarBurb commented, these groups must first overcome language and cultural barriers. As a representative of Culturally and Linguistically Diverse (CALD) groups in the UCA, he was frustrated that there was no formal preparation or leadership development process for CALD leaders to assist them to understand the UCA processes and organisational culture. He felt that CALD participation in the Councils of the Church was ad hoc and tokenistic, leading to CALD groups being under-represented in the decision making bodies of the Church. This was only partially offset by the presence of Aboriginal and ethnic state and national networks, which have some representation in some Councils of the Church.

Several congregational interviewees expressed frustration with aspects of the denominational structures and practices. A lay leader at DiverseTown commented that Presbytery committees were dominated by volunteers who had 'been there far too long and think they're in control' (Keith, 11 December 2014). William (17 November 2014) at BlueCollarBurb reported that a leader with a poor track record within their congregation had recently moved into an influential position on the Presbytery executive, and was likely to now create problems on a wider scale. Kevin (10 November 2015), a Synod staff person, described the various councils as 'interlocked' rather than 'interconciliar', with a culture that prevented attempts to develop a coherent direction. This view was supported by Maryanne (2 December 2014), a Synod leader who noted that the Synod's efforts to implement a vision were undermined because there was no requirement or expectation that Presbyteries and congregations would own or commit to the same vision, even when they had significant input in the vision formation process.

With decades of involvement in both Presbytery and Synod, Robert (3 December 2014) felt that as declining resources and people put pressure on structures, Presbyteries and Synod were increasingly involved in a power struggle that undermined strategic thinking, as '… decision making is almost dysfunctional. We

can't make up our minds whether we are to decentralise everything to presbyteries or centralise to the synod'. He continued:

> We are in this wave of indecision about our structures [like] other organisations … It is hard. You take a structure and you redefine everyone's role and you make them compete for jobs again and then you set the structure up and then you do the whole thing again or you modify one part of it …whenever we are faced with uncertainty we restructure to try to get it right again. I don't know whether it is a good solution if you do it too often … We often restructure because we run out of money. (Robert, 3 December 2014)

Evidence of this restructuring activity can be found by examining the structures of various Synods, where Western Australia, South Australia, Victoria and Tasmania have consolidated in various ways in the last decade (Assembly Standing Committee, 2014). Within NSW-ACT, Uniting Mission and Education was formed in 2012 as the result of a major internal restructure (UME, 2016).

Participants in all four congregations commented on consensus decision making processes, which elicited mixed feelings. Participants were supportive of the rationale and the processes themselves, but were concerned that difficult decisions were postponed or avoided to preserve consensus (William - BlueCollarBurb, 17 November 2014, Carol - BlueCollarBurb, 17 November 2014, Robert - UptonMews, 3 December 2014, Brian - UptonMews, 5 December 2014, Edward - MiddleVille, 9 December 2014, Keith - DiverseTown, 11 December 2014). Graham (8 February 2015), a Presbytery leader, described the culture within his Presbytery as 'an establishment culture' where change was usually only 'precipitated by crises'. Typically the 'change' envisaged is a restructuring of some form. As Robert (3 December 2014) noted: 'Whenever we are faced with uncertainty we restructure to try to get it right again. I don't know whether it is a good solution if you do it too often'.

The way the Uniting Church is structured and how those structures interact provides a background for exploring denominational level beliefs and practices. Research commissioned by the UCA in 2011 found evidence to support the view that a small, conservative minority of two percent (Irons, 2013) had succeeded in blocking

initiatives that were supported by more than three quarters of attenders, such as property sharing with CALD groups, and directing resources to new initiatives. The next section draws on denominational publications to provide an overview of the official statements and policies that shape leadership development and social inclusion within the UCA.

Uniting Church Denominational Stance on Inclusion

Churches have many purposes and objectives and are not universally perceived as being either inclusive (Maddison and Denniss, 2005) or particularly focused on leadership development (McKenna and Yost, 2007). However, the UCA can claim to be literally founded on an explicit theological commitment to inclusion and collective leadership development, as the first words about the purpose of the Church in the Basis of Union make clear. The Basis of Union is the document which guided the three founding denominations into unification. In paragraph three, the UCA understanding of the purpose of the Church is described:

> God in Christ has given to all people in the Church the Holy Spirit as a pledge and foretaste of that coming <u>reconciliation and renewal</u> which is the end in view for the whole creation. <u>The Church's call is to serve that end: to be a fellowship of reconciliation, a body within which the diverse gifts of its members are used for the building up of the whole …</u> (Assembly Standing Committee, 1992: 22)

In addition, the denominational website includes the statement 'In the spirit of uniting we … embrace diversity and are open to discuss controversial issues and what it means to be inclusive of all people and to respect differences' (UCA National Assembly, 2014). The UCA has a history of adopting progressive and inclusive positions on issues relevant to its own internal organisation and the wider community. When asked how the UCA understood itself, Maryanne (2 December 2014), a senior leader in the NSW Synod, did not hesitate to identify inclusiveness, multiculturalism, and social justice as three central characteristics.

These areas have been the focus of active advocacy from the UCA, which is coordinated by the Uniting Justice office in the National Assembly. The work of the

Justice office involves making submissions, authoring issues papers, expressing UCA perspectives in speeches and sermons, providing information to inform UCA activists, and resources for worship and reflection in Congregations (Uniting Church in Australia, 2016). Yet Maddox (2007), one of the few Australian scholars who researches the interface between faith and public life, argues: 'A series of government initiatives … have made it harder for mainline churches to exercise an independent voice in the public square. The result has been a muting of mainline churches' tradition of public advocacy for the marginalized' (2007: 83).

Nevertheless, the Justice unit continues to research and speak out on contentious issues, even if it is unclear who is listening. The unit resources the National Assembly and Assembly Standing Committee in making formal statements which establish the formal UCA position on issues. As a National body, UnitingJustice does not have a responsibility for mobilising congregations or members around issues, although there is a webpage that sometimes has resources for activists. The UCA has a very individualist approach to activism, with Uniting Church members active on many issues. An ordained interviewee in this research donned Uniting Church clerical garb and participated in a prayer meeting occupation of the Prime Minister's electoral office to protest the treatment of refugees and asylum seekers[11]. This was treated as a personal decision, with neither official support nor censure.

The emphasis on justice and inclusion also goes beyond denominational statements. Research commissioned by the UCA within the 2011 National Church Life Survey asked just under twenty thousand members to choose three aspects of the Church that they valued, from a list of twelve possibilities. 'Inclusiveness of all types of people', was selected by 71% of members (Figure 7.1 below) (Dutney, 2012).

Despite this significant commitment to inclusion, the UCA is suffering from greater decline than other denominations (Powell, 2013). In fact, the UCA is numerically declining more rapidly than any other Church and the denomination is aging more rapidly as younger people leave (Powell, 2013, Suter, 2013). While the Australian population swelled by 34% and almost 6 million people between 1991 and 2013, the
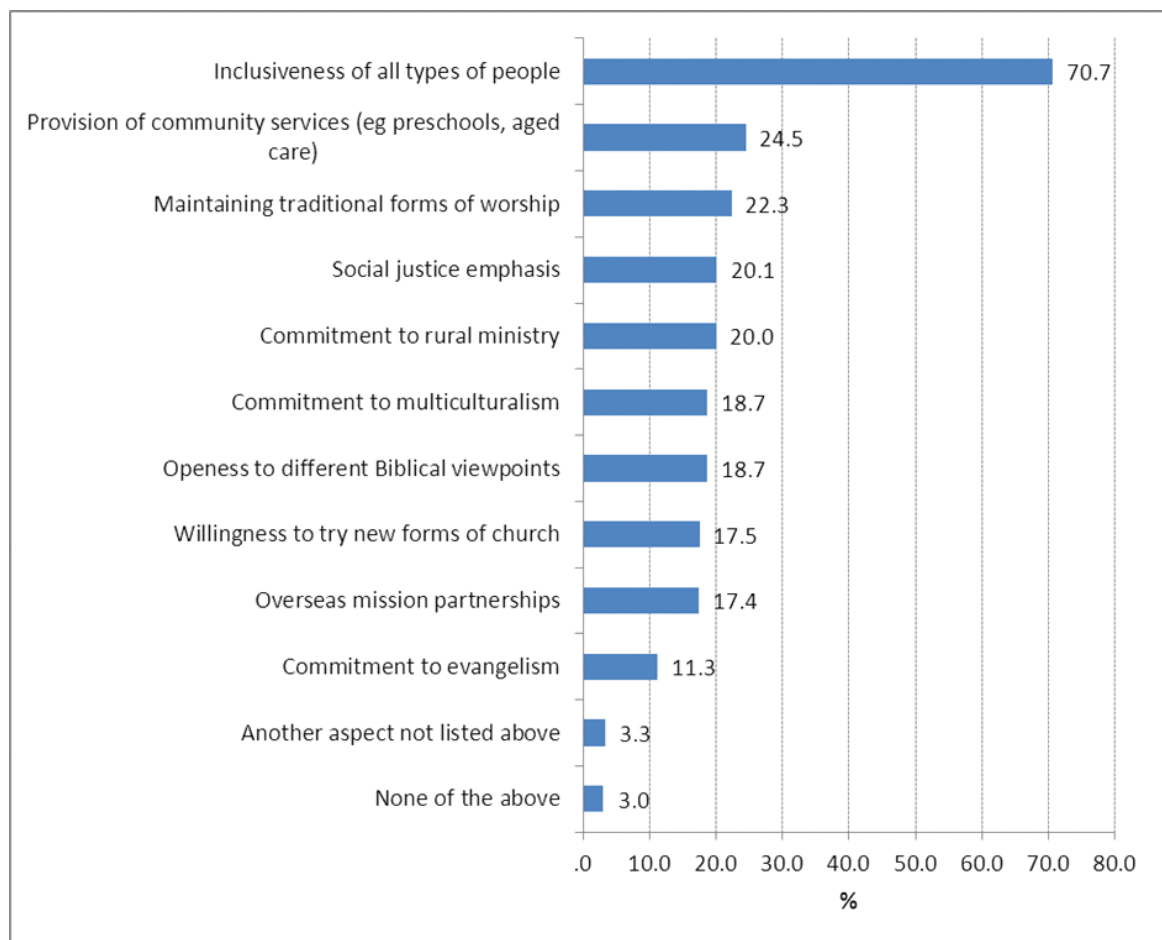
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[11] The interview is not cited here for confidentiality reasons.

UCA experienced net decline, with 31% fewer congregations and 40% fewer attenders in 2013, although seven percent of UCA congregations formed during that same period (Powell et al., 2014).

One obvious aspect of the Uniting Church commitment to social inclusion is that while it is the third largest Church in Australia, it is the largest non-government provider of community services (National Assembly, 2016). UnitingCare is the official community services agency of the Church, but there are more than 400 agencies and institutions distributed throughout Australia, including parish missions such as the Wayside Chapel and Wesley Mission, which in NSW is also a very large community services agency in its own right. Government funding also supplements the significant investment in ministries to rural and remote areas (Frontier Services, 2016) and to international aid and development (UnitingWorld, 2016c).

The Uniting Church was particularly successful in capturing Government contracts to provide community services, which is one way that neoliberal influences reshaped the Church, as Government provided services were put out to tender (Van Gramberg and Bassett, 2005). In Arvanitakis' (2009: 5) comparison of the advocacy to community service approaches of ten major Australian non-government organisations, Uniting Care was the most heavily weighted towards service, with the least advocacy involvement. This emphasises the distinct difference between the professional services arm of the Church and the wider denomination, which prides itself on its social justice emphasis (National Assembly, 2016).

	%
Inclusiveness of all types of people	70.7
Provision of community services (eg preschools, aged care)	24.5
Maintaining traditional forms of worship	22.3
Social justice emphasis	20.1
Commitment to rural ministry	20.0
Commitment to multiculturalism	18.7
Openess to different Biblical viewpoints	18.7
Willingness to try new forms of church	17.5
Overseas mission partnerships	17.4
Commitment to evangelism	11.3
Another aspect not listed above	3.3
None of the above	3.0

Figure 7.1 Most Valued Aspects of the UCA (Dutney, 2013)

Some notable activities include climate activism, with UCA leaders working in civil society networks to actively mobilise their members and ethnic networks for major protest events (Penelope, 24 March 2016); refugee activism, with banners with the UCA logo and the slogan 'Refugees are welcome here' prominently displayed on churches and in protest marches, while several UCA leaders have been arrested for civil disobedience (UnitingJustice, 2015); and some UCA organisations are prominent supporters of the LGBTI community, participating in events such as the Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras (Uniting Network Australia, 2016).

The Church has encouraged inclusion of marginalised groups through representative bodies within the councils of the Church. For example, the Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress (UAICC) was established in 1985, and in 1994, the UCA entered into a formal covenant with the UAICC (National Assembly, 1994), acknowledging the Church's role in European invasion, dispossession of land and

livelihood, and the Stolen Generations (Australians Together, 2014). In 2009, a preamble was introduced to the UCA Constitution which formalised recognition of the prior ownership of land and spirituality of the Aboriginal people (National Assembly, 2015). Since 1976, before the formation of the Uniting Church in 1977, Aboriginal theological colleges and community development colleges have trained 'Aboriginal and Islander people and others to assume Christian leadership roles within the Congress' (UAICC, 2017b) and one of the activities of the UAICC is to develop leaders among women and youth (UAICC, 2017a).

In 1995 the UCA formally committed itself to being a multicultural church (National Assembly, 2017a). The commitment to multiculturalism is further reflected in the fact that English is a second language for 12% of active ministers (2014: 32). At the time of this research, the Moderator – spiritual leader - of the NSW-ACT Synod was a Korean woman and the Ministers of two of the case study Congregations were of non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB). There are also twelve National Councils or Conferences of various people groups within the UCA including: Chinese, Fijian, Filipino, Indonesian, Korean, Middle Eastern, Niuean, Samoan, South Sudanese, Tongan, Tamil, Vietnamese, and a Pacific Islander Network, as well as 185 congregations and 220 ordained CALD ministers (National Assembly, 2017a). The Uniting Church multicultural ministry partnered with the Sydney Alliance civil society network to offer the Choice young adult leadership development program (National Assembly, 2017a).

In the Synod of NSW and the ACT, the key strategic resourcing body is Uniting Mission and Education (UME). UME brings together a team of twenty-six specialist ministers and lay-people, as well as the Synod's theological college around a broad list of responsibilities, ranging from theological education for ministry, to evangelism, and social justice activism (UME, 2016).

Uniting Church Denominational Stance on Leadership Development

The interconciliar structures of the UCA, coupled with consensus decision making and an aging demographic make for a complex leadership setting. The foundational documents of the UCA make little mention of leadership, except in reference to positions of authority, and no reference to leadership development whatsoever

(Assembly Standing Committee, 2016). Leadership development undoubtedly has less prominence than inclusion related activities in UCA publications. However, there appears to be increasing interest as the following examples attest.

After a consultation process in 2012, the UCA international development agency, Uniting World, launched a leadership development program for women in the Pacific Islands (UnitingWorld, 2016a, UnitingWorld, 2016b). This community development program strategically prioritises enhancing the status of women as a goal. With gender-based violence deeply embedded in many Pacific Islander communities, this program provides theological training for individual women – ministry is a high status occupation in Islander culture – and also educates communities in gender equality (UnitingWorld, 2016a). Arguably, this program links social inclusion with both leader development of individual women, and leadership development within communities.

Leadership development is also listed among the responsibilities of the Formation, Education, and Discipleship Working Group and staff in the National Assembly (National Assembly, 2016). This linkage of leadership development with faith development highlights the link between leader development and embodied cultural capital and human capital, referred to in the Conceptual Framework and Methodology Chapters.

Recent leadership initiatives include a Biennial National Young Adult Leaders conference, which included one-third Aboriginal, one-third Anglo-Celtic, and one-third second generation immigrants between eighteen and 30 years old (National Young Adult Leaders Conference, 2016). Similarly, a new annual 'Uniting Leaders Conference' was launched in 2016, aimed at 'growing leaders to grow the Church', for lay or ordained leaders who are 'passionate about evangelism, mission and church growth' (UL17, 2017). There are several significant leadership development initiatives in other states, although most of these relate to instilling skills to enable specific tasks, or are primarily about the training and formation of clergy. Examples of the former include Safe Church Awareness Training in the West Australian Synod (Gorton, 2016); and the latter includes the South Australian Synod's Leadership Development Council (Dutney, 2016).

In the NSW-ACT Synod, the diverse responsibilities of Uniting Mission and Education (UME) include leadership development. This particular responsibility is primarily operationalised through a partnership with an external Leadership Institute which provides workshops, courses, and coaching (UME, 2017a). The UCA encourages congregational leaders to participate in courses and training opportunities through the Leadership Institute, along with leaders from the community services sector, education, and trade unions, which provides contemporary, 'Adaptive Leadership' influenced training for individuals to learn how they can more effectively lead and build organisational capacity.

All of the examples above envisage leadership development in terms of developing individual leaders, with leadership itself understood as something practised by individual leaders. Other examples of this underlying belief about the nature of leadership can be seen in the Doctrine Working Group (2009) discussion of Sexuality and Leadership, which simply assumes that leadership is about occupying a position of authority, particularly as ordained ministers. Alongside this, there are occasional hints that leadership can also be practised collectively by groups, such as Councils or Committees of the Church. For example, the debate about homosexual leaders in the Church being ordained referred ambiguously to the 'leadership of the Assembly' (Doctrine Working Group, 2009), while the Uniting Church covenanting statement (1994) appears to give thanks to God for the way Aboriginal people had collectively been 'empowered and encouraged [by God] … to stand firm and exercise moral leadership throughout these two centuries'. Similarly, the NSW-ACT Synod described the collective responsibilities of its staff in a 'leadership charter', although within the charter there was no mention of leadership (Uniting Church in Australia, 2014). The way the Uniting Church describes itself within its Constitution and Regulations (Assembly Standing Committee, 2015) envisages Councils having responsibilities, similarly, the National Assembly website talks about the Church as a collective agent:

> The Uniting Church's commitment to love of God and neighbour has sometimes drawn it into controversial situations. It has long taken a role in the political arena, encouraging moral, social and ethical integrity. The Uniting Church has been at the forefront of Aboriginal rights issues including the Native Title debate and reconciliation. It

has taken a stand on environmental issues and supports the equality
and dignity of marginalised people such as ethnic minorities,
disabled people and homosexual people. It is a multicultural church,
striving to treat people on an equal basis, and seeking to give a voice
to the poor, outcast and needy.

However, despite the consistent use of language that depicts the Church or various
Councils and Committees operating as collective agents, when leadership is exercised
it is almost universally envisaged as being exercised by individuals in particular roles.

A source of both leader development and leadership development flows from the
membership of the UCA Synod of NSW-ACT, along with UnitingCare NSW-ACT,
some Presbyteries and a few congregations, in the aforementioned Sydney Alliance.
This has led to a network of members receiving relational leadership training based on
community organising principles (Gecan, 2002, Chambers, 2003, Taylor, 2008),
although the emphasis is on forging networks of relationships, both within the Church
and with leaders from other faith communities, trade unions, and the community
sector. There is also a very intentional approach to collective activism (Reid and
Acklin, 2011, Craig, 16 February 2015). The visibility of the UCA in NSW increased
significantly when T-shirts and banners bearing the slogan 'Uniting for the Common
Good', coupled with the UCA logo, were launched to great effect when worn by 350
members at the Founding Assembly of the Sydney Alliance (Stevenson, 2011). UCA
activists were suddenly visible to by-standers and both the conventional and social
media, as they participated in public actions on refugee or Aboriginal issues, Climate
Change campaigns, or the Gay and Lesbian Mardi Gras. Eventually the phrase
'Uniting for the Common Good' was formally adopted by the NSW-ACT Synod as
part of their vision (Williams, 2014).

Nevertheless, when the UCA addresses leadership development, the emphasis is on
training and teaching individual leaders rather than building collective capacities. In
the NSW-ACT Synod, UME has a long list of other responsibilities that include
several objectives that accord with leadership development understood as an
organisational capacity, or Leadership Capital. These range from assisting the Church
to develop 'theological insight, strategy, research and resources for leadership,

discipleship, ministry and mission'; and the 'promotion of collaboration in mission and education'; to the 'implementation of Synod policy and strategy relating to mission, education, discipleship, and leadership formation'; and particularly, the development of a 'comprehensive vision of what is required for ministry in the ongoing life of the Synod' (UME, 2016). Within the lengthy list of purposes ('objects'), responsibilities, and functions, only one item mentions Congregations, which is their responsibility to:

> Work with other boards, Church agencies and networks,
> Presbyteries, Congregations, faith communities, other Synods, the
> Assembly and other denominations to serve Christ and further the
> participation of the Church in the mission of God.

In the following sections, interviewees in Congregations, Presbyteries, and Synod positions share their perspectives and experiences of participating in the grassroots inclusion and leadership development work within the UCA in Sydney.

Sampling Participants from Multiple Levels

Three stages of purposive sampling (Teddlie and Yu, 2007) were used to select participants from a range of congregations and demographic categories to provide a variety of perspectives. First, the UCA was chosen as the denomination, because unlike many denominations it can claim a distinctively inclusive ethos and in NSW, leadership and leadership development have recently been prioritised (NSW-ACT Synod, 2015). Within the Uniting denomination, four congregations of similar size were selected, from differing socio-economic contexts, each averaging approximately 60-120 adult participants. Finally, following Hosking (2002), (2006) and Ospina et al. (2012), participants included formal and informal leaders, and people who might normally be described as followers, to draw on 'multiple perspectives to capture the intersubjective nature of experience'. This data is supplemented with analysis of documentary sources and specific congregational quantitative data from the same 2011 National Church Life Survey dataset used for the quantitative study in Chapter Eight.

As described in Chapter Four, 21 in-depth semi-structured interviews were conducted in 2014-5, with participants drawn from four congregations and denominational roles in Synod and Presbyteries. A reasonable age range participated, with six people

younger than 50 years old, and two each in their twenties, thirties, and forties. Eight were in their fifties, five in their sixties and two were 70 or older. Table 7.2 provides an overview of some descriptive characteristics of participants in this case study.

Table 7.2 Uniting Church Research Participants

	Male	Female	CALD	NESB	Senior	Mid	Junior	Lay	Unpaid	Total
Synod/ Presbytery	3	3	2	1	3	2	1	2	1	6
SEIFA 1	4	1	3	3	2	3		4	3.5	5
SEIFA 4	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	3
SEIFA 7	3	1	0	0	2	2		3	2.5	4
SEIFA 10	2	1	0	0	1	2	1	3	3	3
Ordained*	(6)	(2)	(3)	(3)	3	5				(8)
Total	14	7	6	5	9	10	4	15	13	21

*Ordained already counted in other categories, so not included in totals.

Apart from the gender imbalance, a reasonable proportion of participants came from culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD) or non-English speaking backgrounds (NESB). When reporting on beliefs and practices where an English speaking or multi-generational Australian background is salient, the term 'Anglo-Celtic' or just 'Anglo' will be used as this is common terminology in the UCA. Eight ordained leaders were interviewed, six males and two females, along with fifteen lay persons. While there are three male ministers for each woman, the two women occupied senior positions in the denominational structure.

The gender imbalance is noteworthy. While the purposive nature of the selection process means this is not a random selection, congregations were asked to nominate a diverse group of leaders. Although two women were prevented from participating by scheduling problems, it seems significant that males were over-represented amongst

congregational participants. If women were equally involved in lay leadership roles in congregations, gender balance should have been easy to achieve, as over 63% of UCA attenders are female, and an increasing proportion of women are ordained to the ministry (Mollidor et al., 2013: 3). The current Moderator of the NSW-ACT Synod is a woman (UCA, 2016), and so is the President-elect of the National Assembly (National Assembly, 2016). Women leaders seem well represented in denominational roles, but appear to be under-represented in congregational roles, which raises questions about how thoroughly the UCA commitment to gender equality has permeated the grassroots congregations of the Church.

The census-based Socio-Economic Indicators For Areas Index (SEIFA) ranks congregations by postcode into deciles according to their relative advantage and disadvantage on a number of Census indicators, with one being least advantaged and ten being most. The four congregations were chosen to represent a breadth of socio-economic diversity, with 'DiverseTown' located in a SEIFA 1 setting; 'BlueCollarBurb' in SEIFA 4; 'MiddleVille' in SEIFA 7; and 'UptonMews' in SEIFA 10. These congregations were all more or less 'typical' UCA congregations, with worship services on Sunday morning and sharing their facilities with a range of community groups. These Churches run a remarkable number of programs, coordinated by a mixture of paid staff and volunteers. Table 7.3 (below) provides a list of ministries associated with the four congregations.

Table 7.3 Activities in Four Selected Congregations

DiverseTown	BlueCollarBurb	MiddleVille	UptonMews
Kids Club	Playgroups	Café Play	Playgroups
Sunday School Couples Club Youth Ministry	Girls & Boys Brigades Youth Group Fellowship	Girls & Boys Brigades Sunday Kid's Group Youth Group	Pastoral Partnerships Seniors Ministry Regional partnership
Care & Help Groups Arabic Ministry	Friendship Bible Studies	Friendship Centre Senior's Activities	Lifeline Mobile Op-shop
Tongan Ministry Prayer Groups English Language Groups	MOPS (Mothers of Pre-schoolers) Senior Ministry Uniting in Work	Tamil Service Korean Service Partnerships with Community Groups	Healing Centre Aged Care Ministry Partnership with Uniting Community Services
Hospital visitation Pastoral Care	Messy Church Craft Group	Messy Church	Messy Church

Source: Congregational websites & interviews

Uniting Church Interviewees and Inclusion

The four participating Congregations offer a variety of programs for marginalised groups that align with denominational statements and structures, symbolising a commitment to inclusion across the UCA. This section explores the way this commitment to inclusion is expressed within worship and fellowship, which are central aspects of congregational life (Assembly Standing Committee, 2016: R.3 and R.4).

When asked what 'social inclusion' meant to them, denominational leaders and ordained ministers differed from lay-members. Lay members tended to speak from their personal experience and observation, while clergy were more likely to offer abstracted macro-social and systemic perspectives. However, both groups identified social inclusion as a core purpose of the Church. As Synod leader Maryanne (2 December 2014) put it:

> '[E]very person is created in the image of God and [that requires us to] engage and include each other. In its broadest sense, it is not just about the people who sit in the pews on a Sunday morning and how they engage that, albeit, disparate group, but it is about a wider community and engaging, respecting the dignity of every person'.

Craig (16 February 2015), a Presbytery leader, described social inclusion as enabling people to connect and contribute, rather than 'falling through the … huge gaps in the system … how society makes space for all its citizens… and people groups to participate'. Whereas Graham (8 February 2015), a Minister in both a Congregational and Presbytery role, reflected on the tension between the Church in action and its intended purpose:

> The Church's actual role has been largely negative ... [creating] stereotypes that have been unacceptable and so excluded - sexuality, morality, all sorts of issues like that... [The apostle] Paul, says there's now no longer slave or free, neither Jew nor Greek, male or female ... that … categories used to … accept or exclude are no longer relevant. ... We have an enormous opportunity to see people for their

essential humanity and not filter them out on the basis of
externalities or particular criteria.

Lay leader's views ranged from Bettina of UptonMews (11 December 2014), who associated social inclusion with feeling 'not on the outer' in a group, to Polly at DiverseTown (11 January 2015) who thought it described the responsibility of a group leader to ensure everyone felt welcome. Nevertheless, there was no shortage of evidence that participants believed in the cause of socially including marginalised groups, and were committed enough to put their own money and time into making it happen.

In this regard, nearly all of the research participants put many volunteer hours into church based ministry with marginalised groups. Polly (11 January 2015) at DiverseTown led a multicultural youth and children's ministry. Keith (11 December 2014) led the DiverseTown couple's club which raised funds for mentally disabled children, and volunteered with non-church charities. Two elderly leaders at BlueCollarBurb shed their pride and much of their clothing to daub themselves with oil for ceremonial dances to build trust (and hilarity) with their local Tongan community (Carol - BlueCollarBurb, 17 November 2014). A husband and wife invested money and many hours in a multicultural and multifaith drop-in café (Melanie - MiddleVille, 8 December 2014), while others spent several volunteer hours each week supporting ex-convicts to help them build relationships, find ways to contribute, and not re-offend (Scott - MiddleVille, 8 December 2014). MiddleVille also contributed in the Sydney Alliance affordable housing campaign. At UptonMews, volunteers ran the drop-in centre, answered phones, raised funds, and contributed to the governance of LifeLine, a well-known suicide hotline the congregation had established in their region (Brian, 5 December 2014, Bettina, 11 December 2014). Graham (8 February 2015) took the UCA support for refugees and asylum seekers to a new level when he occupied the Prime Minister's electoral office for a pray-in protest.

Synod youth volunteer Penelope (24 March 2016) tells a story that highlights several key themes within this research. She represented the UCA in various multi-organisational civil advocacy groups, including the Sydney Alliance where she learnt about relational approaches to leadership. She then used her personal CALD

background to forge 'bridging' relationships with Pacific Islanders for climate change marches, by reframing the issue as one that was impacting on their countries of origin. In turn, these ministers mobilised their highly bonded – and usually conservative, non-political and non-activist - congregations to turn out thousands of people for a major climate march. However, to ensure that good intentions were followed through by good actions, she also forged a linking relationship with a high profile CALD sports star and power-broker within the community who supported the successful mobilisation.

A commitment to social inclusion also shaped the cross-cultural dynamics within the Churches, although this was most apparent in the three less advantaged settings. At the time of this research, worship at DiverseTown included a vibrant multicultural mix, with non-Anglo groups making up about half of the congregation and contributing music, Bible readings and prayers (Powell, 2014b). Numerical growth had followed the recent appointment of a NESB minister. The vision to be a 'multicultural church' (Barry, 11 December 2014) was decades old, but had been resisted and undermined by a small number of congregants until recently when a key figure had shifted to support the multicultural vision. As Karl (11 December 2014) related, a new level of trust had emerged from pastoral care during bereavement and the recipient had shifted from opponent to vigorous supporter, recently creating a banner depicting people of many colours together in worship under the heading 'One Body Many Members'.

In BlueCollarBurb and MiddleVille, participants noted that despite diverse communities, the Congregations themselves had a deep seated Anglo-Celtic identity. BlueCollarBurb was led by an immigrant NESB minister, with three worship services catering for different demographics. In 2011, one in three attenders were either born in a non-English speaking country, or both their parents were, very closely reflecting their surrounding suburb's demographics (NCLS Research, 2016a). Despite this, the Minister noted that apart from his own family, up-front roles in services were largely the domain of Anglo-Celtic leadership teams (William, 17 November 2014). At MiddleVille, Edward (9 December 2014) reflected that recent Korean arrivals and the success of a vibrant multicultural drop-in ministry were beginning to reshape the Congregation's Anglo-Celtic self-image. However, just 18% of this congregation were

of a non-English speaking background (NESB), about half the level of the surrounding suburb (NCLS Research, 2016b).

At UptownMews, multiculturalism and immigration were conspicuously absent from consideration. Despite this, in 2011, almost nine percent of the congregation were NESB, all newcomers that had arrived in the previous five years and only marginally below the levels of the surrounding neighbourhood (NCLS Research, 2016c). At UptonMews, key leaders like Robert (3 December 2014) seemed unaware of recently arrived cultural groups in the local community, and were focused on the need to restore youth ministry at Upton Mews Congregation.

In less privileged locations, social inclusion was most often understood as a process of welcoming people into the congregation. Several participants had themselves experienced the importance of feeling welcome when they first arrived, and wanted to ensure that others received the same benefit (Stephen - DiverseTown, 11 December 2014). Barry (11 December 2014), also from DiverseTown, reflected on the critical role that acceptance in the Church gave him as a young person with a lifelong disability, and how this both energised him to include newcomers and shaped his understanding of social inclusion as:

> 'Being welcoming to anybody who comes in in the first place, you know, and trying to make them at home. Lots of people are too busy with [church business] to come and do the real thing that they're really supposed to do…'

Although most of the interviewees shared a common belief in the importance of inclusion and saw it as a major responsibility of the church, there was a recurring theme from interviewees within all four Congregations and the denominational leaders. In each context, despite the best efforts of the majority, it only took a small proportion of people to disrupt the work, or make newcomers feel unwelcome. Managing this problem appeared to be critical for successful inclusion work. At DiverseTown, one 'significantly racist' person and a small group of supporters had undermined decades of work on what Polly (11 January, 2015) identified as their 'main mission, a multicultural church'. BlueCollarBurb had struggled with one leader whose strong divergent views had blocked multicultural initiatives until eventually stood aside

(William, 17 November 2014). MiddleVille had become bogged down in complexities around the degree of inclusion of an LGBTI family (Edward, 9 December 2014). At the time of this research, UptonMews was divided between those who supported a regional joint venture and those who wanted to hire a youth worker (Graham, 8 February 2015).

Although Congregations in different contexts were similarly committed to inclusion, each adopted its own approach. In the DiverseTown context, the Minister envisaged his role as a chaplain to the community, supporting people of all faiths in moments of bereavement or crises involving police or health services. This had led to the Congregation building a significant voluntary team that visited patients in hospital and aged care centres. The emphasis was on support. In the BlueCollarBurb context, the Minister and congregation acted in similar ways. However, with a significant Sudanese refugee settlement occurring in their neighbourhood, they had identified the need to go beyond providing support and begin to actively advocate for systemic change. Key issues were the need for better language support services, opposing racial discrimination, and recognition of tertiary qualifications from their homeland, as these factors meant that highly skilled and qualified people were having trouble securing even manual jobs as cleaners or labourers (Timothy, 17 November 2014). At MiddleVille, new initiatives tended to be led by paid staff, assisted by willing volunteers, who also assisted with fundraising (Mark, 8 December 2014). The approach at UptonMews tended to rely primarily on paid staff (Bettina, 11 December 2014).

Despite the varied approaches, there were some common threads. Both BlueCollarBurb and DiverseTown had developed multicultural playgroups, and launched successful 'Messy Church' ministries - a family friendly, informal approach to church. In both contexts, the training package and planning tools associated with Messy Church had enabled local leaders to successfully establish these new ventures. Carol and her husband at BlueCollarBurb (17 November 2014) were involved in establishing Messy Church on a monthly basis, which attracted up to 60 participants, including families connected to the Church through a playgroup, Boys and Girls Brigades, and a Mothers of Preschoolers (MOPS) group run by the Church. MiddleVille had similar activities, including a playgroup and drop-in café for less

well-off groups in their community, which included a range of families from a variety of faith backgrounds. As Edward (9 December 2014) commented, 'there should be no reason to exclude anyone… anyone who wants or needs should be included'.

There were plenty of examples of UCA people making sacrifices to enable inclusion, especially in the three less privileged localities where it was assumed to be the responsibility of individual members and the Church to make the effort to actively include. This was not the case in the more privileged setting of UptonMews, where respondents emphasised the agency of the newcomer, and his/her responsibility to engineer their own inclusion. Beyond that, inclusion of marginalised groups was a role for paid professionals. As Graham (8 February 2015) described it:

> These are people who have done very well for themselves and
> worked hard to do that and so anybody that hasn't succeeded, it's
> their own fault basically.

For Brian (5 December 2014), social inclusion was interpreted as 'a deliberate focus of including myself with what might be perceived to be outside of my family group or close friendship group'. Bettina commented on the lack of inclusion efforts in the Congregation, but felt that 'we don't specifically exclude people as such … that's just people's self-confidence in themselves. Or lack of self-confidence'.

 Robert understood that social inclusion might require an effort, but implied that when these efforts didn't work it was the recipient's responsibility:

> 'Social inclusion means trying to make sure everyone is heard … but
> some of the people that are out there don't want it. Some are very
> pleased to feel they have a voice and say so. But some out there
> don't really want to have a voice because they want to run it
> themselves or they just want to, perhaps snipe or do something of
> that sort.

However, when Robert was asked to name five excluded groups in his part of Sydney that the Congregation might consider connecting with, only one group came to mind. 'Youth. We don't have any youth'. Robert blamed this lack of young people in the Congregation on the decision not to hire a youthworker, which Brian (5 December

2014) confirmed was a point of contention in the Church. Yet recently, an opportunity to partner with other organisations in an innovative youth work initiative had been blocked by the very people who wanted a youthworker in the congregation, because the partnership arrangement did not guarantee them enough control (Brian, 5 December 2014).

There were several stories of difficulties and failures in negotiating common direction, aligning interests, and getting people to commit. Attempts at inclusion often created controversy and conflict. For example, DiverseTown had a long term vision to be a multicultural church, but some of the elderly Anglo attenders actively undermined these attempts – even telling newcomers they were occupying seats that were already taken. Barry (11 December 2014) described the change over the last seven years: 'the Anglo people felt, this is our place, and those others just happen to be visiting… now we have 15 cultures [in worship]'. '[S]ome people feel like, it's my Church. I've been coming here since long [ago] and they don't welcome new people' (Polly - DiverseTown, 11 January 2015). Members at BlueCollarBurb found their attempts to support local Sudanese refugees constrained by their prior relationship with Pacific Islanders, as there was tension between the youth of the two groups outside of Church.

Similarly, at MiddleVille, significant successes with playgroups, Messy Church, highly confidential ex-convict support, schools ministry, and a public-housing chaplaincy, were tempered by a failed attempt to include an LGBTI couple in leadership positions. This situation highlights the complexity of negotiating direction, alignment, and commitment. A proportion of members were happy to include LGBTI people in their Congregation, but not open to them having a leadership role. However, when it was revealed that the apparent homophobia expressed by some in the Congregation was related to undisclosed prior events, the resulting pastoral and confidentiality requirements made the situation unresolvable.

Conflict is always difficult, but as an Assembly Strategic Planning Report admits, the UCA has a deeply embedded culture of conflict avoidance (Suter, 2013: 44). In the UCA nationally, significant conflict and division had resulted from debates and decisions about the doctrinal and policy issues around the ordination of LGBTI ministers. This was exacerbated by attempts to avoid conflict by not making decisions,

leaving a lack of clarity that created uncertainty in congregations. Scott (8 December 2014) notes that some families left MiddleVille at the time, but that adopting a policy of avoiding a decision restored civility and stability for a time. The arrival of the LGBTI couple re-ignited the debate, and as Edward (9 December 2014) commented:

> It bit us on the bum because of trying to avoid it back then. They avoided the issue in some ways, but in other ways it kept the congregation on an even keel.

Presbytery leader Graham (8 February 2015) had similar experiences of conflict avoidance eventually causing escalated conflict in his own congregation, and concluded that:

> Acceptance doesn't mean no conflict. It means having appropriate conflict that doesn't exclude people, so often greater acceptance means greater conflict but you've got to do the conflict well.

Finally, it is not just marginalised groups that experience a lack of welcome in churches. One respondent, now a key denominational leader, related the story of first attending a UCA as a curious enquirer with no church background. No one spoke to him at all for the first four weeks. Nevertheless, once he finally managed to break into the congregation he found it to be an inclusive environment with many opportunities for leadership development (Craig - Presbytery, 16 February 2015). This aligns with the description given by the NESB minister of BlueCollarBurb congregation (Timothy - BlueCollarBurb, 17 November 2014), who described his ongoing efforts to shift the culture and habits of his Congregation to enable them to more effectively act on their desire to be inclusive:

> I came to a Church that was very much insulated. A Church that believes it includes others. But as you work with the Church you find that a lot of the white dominant culture, they still not easy to move – even to move from one pew to the other pew! So what we are doing now … every Sunday you are asked to talk to somebody different ... for five minutes. Because if I [only] keep on preaching about

inclusion and getting to know each other they wouldn't do it. You go
to the morning tea session, [they are in] little groups…

Uniting Church Interviewees and Leadership Development

In terms of Drath et al.'s (2008) Direction, Alignment, and Commitment framework, the various data above suggests a significant degree of agreement with social inclusion as a direction for the UCA, backed up by active involvement by members and leaders. However, this direction is unofficial. This section reports on the reflections of research participants on their beliefs, practices, and experience of leadership development processes in the UCA.

In the context of the ongoing decline of Christian identification in general, and the UCA in particular, leadership development appears to have recently become more prominent in the UCA. Maryanne (2 December 2014), Graham (8 February 2015) and Kevin (10 November 2015) all felt that increased interest in leadership was partly due to the pressure of being a declining organisation in a declining sector. Note that almost all the interviewees use the phrase 'leadership development' to mean leader development. Nevertheless, those occupying denominational positions had clearly engaged in significant reflection on the problem of developing leadership within the Church. For example, Kevin (10 November 2015) analysed the leadership context in this way:

> Ministers are not being trained for the realities of what they're
> facing. … The formal training processes are starting to recognise
> that, but its decades too late ... The idea of leadership as an action
> and a contribution in complex and changing times has probably
> received very little emphasis [in their training].

There is a growing awareness that ministers are not well equipped to lead in the current context. Further, as Graham (8 February 2015) notes very few ministers see themselves as having a role developing other leaders or congregational leadership capacity. Rather, 'they're trained as liturgical leaders and … they might see themselves as training people for leadership in liturgical scenarios to some extent, but it's very limited.'

In 2012, the NSW-ACT Synod restructured to create a new body called Uniting Mission and Education (UME), combining the formerly separate Boards of Mission and Education into a single entity, including the Synod's Theological College. In 2014, the Synod then adopted a strategic objective of developing leadership (Kevin - Synod, 10 November 2015) and the by-laws governing UME included a responsibility to:

> … facilitate leadership development opportunities, support and
> networks for lay and ordained leaders, focusing on current
> theological, mission, evangelism, discipleship and leadership issues
> for the Church and community, in consultation with Presbyteries and
> other partners. (UCA, 2015: 18).

As Maryanne (2 December 2014) put it 'the reality of less paid ministry agents available to congregations [means we have had] to wrestle with how we develop leadership'. She felt that while this shift in emphasis was driven by management of decline, it also invited entrepreneurial responses. Kevin (10 November 2015) agreed that uncertainty and change had triggered much experimentation with new possibilities within the UCA. However, he warned that few of these new initiatives survived long enough to become part of a sustainable future for the UCA. In part, this was due to difficulties in aligning committees and councils of the Church as he noted:

> Part of the culture in the Uniting Church is a leadership by
> committee that says we'll do nothing until everybody agrees, which
> is not a great way to achieve change … There are so many
> committees. When they all agree and align we'll do something.
> (Kevin, 10 November 2015)

Yet rather than focus on building organisational leadership capacity in the form of shared direction, alignment, and commitment across the Church, the emphasis has been on identifying heroic leaders:

> We have this underlying heroic model of leadership that says, you
> know, [X is] a great leader, let's give him a role and see if … batman
> can come and rescue Gotham City. And every time he tries to do it,

he renders Gotham City more powerless (Kevin - Synod, 10 November 2015).

While some promote leadership as the answer to the Church's problems, other participants identified a prejudice against leaders and leadership in some parts of the Church. Craig (16 February 2015) believed that:

> The Uniting Church environment … tends not to promote leaders or like leaders - it tends to tear down leaders and be suspicious and cynical of leaders and leadership.

Keith (11 December 2014) from DiverseTown also commented:

> When we were looking for Church ministers [the Presbytery representatives} said, what sort of minister do you want? We said, we want a leader. Oh, so you want a dictator? No, not a dictator, somebody who leads.

These competing views coupled with consensus decision making hint at the challenge of renewing the UCA approach to leadership. The norm in the UCA appeared to be 'opt in' with few or no sanctions for non-participation or dissent (Scott - MiddleVille, 8 December 2014). Even the Moderator[12], as symbolic head of the Church, struggled to find forums where relationships and common understandings could develop, although she was promoting a new project called 'U Talk' that she hoped could generate some direction. Graham (8 February 2015) noted that even in a congregation there was no process for aligning members around common cause, and Maryanne's (2 December 2014) comments were noted earlier that there was no process for negotiating a common vision between Synod, Presbyteries and Congregations, as she put it: 'We trip over our polity ... the last Synod accepted a mission statement [but] there is not a clarity around Presbyteries or congregations owning that vision'.

At the same time, some Synod and Presbytery leaders, such as Maryanne (Maryanne, 2 December 2014) and Craig (16 February 2015b), provided rare examples of leaders who did not simply conceive leadership as the actions of a leader. Both described

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[12] Interview details withheld for confidentiality reasons.

leadership as having individual and distributed qualities. While Maryanne began by offering a definition of leadership as 'anyone with a following', she went on to reflect:

> I struggle with the concept of leadership as an individual thing and the tension that individuals have gifts or skills or something ... and the reality that others have to recognise it. There is a sense in which leadership is almost given by the community … There is a communal sense in that regard. … control or power if you like, is given and shared or affirmed or denied. I am interested in that dynamic that says it is not just about an individual and their gifts. … There is something about the way in which the community works together. And the most effective leaders will have others around them that, recognised or otherwise, actually fill the gaps in lots of ways.

Craig described leadership as 'a bit ephemeral … an outworking of groups, teams, or individuals'. He went on to tell a story of bottom up leadership, where one young person in a congregation 'with a vision or a passion' for a fund-raising initiative for third world churches shared it with others, got a few people on board, then the Congregation supported it, then 27 Congregations got involved, then a few years later it was a multi-million dollar movement that had started in a local church. As Craig concluded:

> I think that one of the ways that the Uniting Church is supposed to work is to enable that kind of leadership to come forth from within, rather than from the top down - to just allow leadership to happen wherever it happens, and for others to pay heed and get on board. It just doesn't always happen like that.

In a sense, leadership development has always been a priority in the Church, but conceptualised in terms of theological training for ordained ministers. Kevin (November 2015) described a growing struggle between traditionalists who view the 'tightly controlled' theological training of clergy as leadership development, in the

face of a growing acceptance of the 'importance of the laity contributing leadership' and taking over roles traditionally reserved for ordained leaders.

Robert (3 December 2014) discussed the lack of clarity over whether ministers were leaders of congregations, or merely the spiritual leaders of a worship service. This ambiguity led to power-struggles about directions and budgets. Graham (8 February 2015) agreed that many ministers and UCA members saw leadership as a liturgical act on Sunday morning. However, his view was that the UCA did not do leadership development at all. He said:

> There actually is a crisis, but they're keeping the crisis away by believing the story they're telling themselves … and leaders … become servants of the established agenda rather than part of a living, engaging relationship that can help everyone move to a new place that's more alive as more capacities come out.

Most respondents felt the UCA did not emphasise leadership development enough. Whereas most of today's ordained leaders had been 'tapped on the shoulder' (Maryanne - Synod, 2 December 2014), the talent spotting culture of the Church had faded. Craig (16 February 2015) agreed that his own experience of being identified as a leader and given opportunities to 'just have a go' at tasks that were 'within or just beyond' his capabilities was no longer the norm.

Within congregations, there was rarely lay leader development beyond recruiting people to carry out tasks. When this was a good match, as with Polly (11 January 2015) at DiverseTown, this was an effective strategy. But when the match was poor, results were counter-productive, which had been the recent experience at BlueCollarBurb (William - BlueCollarBurb, 17 November 2014). The availability of training for Messy Church had enabled the emergence of several leaders and a new gathering at MiddleVille and BlueCollarBurb. Likewise, at MiddleVille at least six lay leaders had participated in community organising training through the Sydney Alliance (Edward - MiddleVille, 9 December 2014), and while this had primarily led to involvement outside the congregation, it also enabled the Congregation to be more strategic in transitioning between Ministers.

Poor matches between position and leader can damage the person and also the congregation. Barry and Keith reflected on a problem at DiverseTown many years earlier:

> He tore that Church apart ... 80% of the congregation at the Baptist Church were [ex-DiverseTown] people (Keith - DiverseTown, 11 December 2014).

> Decades ago we had 500 people in the parish … but … they couldn't stand one of the particular ministers that we had. Neither could I. If he was to be brought back as minister, I'd be gone. (Barry, 11 December 2014)

UptonMews was in a different situation. There were two groups. Most of the volunteer leader energy was focused on a collaboration with other local congregations and organisations. The other group was more focused on filling vacancies or rebuilding ministries that had dwindled away. The regional joint venture attracted a lot of voluntary energy and enthusiasm, but within the congregation itself, the default approach was to employ staff and give them direction:

> They make lists [of tasks, but they] won't get involved in it and they won't let other people to get involved in it. They outsource it to the paid person (Brian, 5 December 2014).

> My generation are getting old and up here they're dying … there are not enough people coming in at the bottom [to replace us] … We haven't got enough money to do things, we have always tried to make sure we have enough money in our Church … maybe you have to hire people to do the work … until the numbers build up (Robert, 3 December 2014).

When asked about lay leadership development at UptonMews, Bettina (11 December 2014) talked glowingly about the training and leadership development her children had experienced in the youth group some time ago. More recently, however, she had felt obliged to go on the flower roster:

> They need someone to get this job done. If they see that you have a
> skill or an interest, they would definitely tap you on the shoulder …
> they're not randomly choosing people... But I'm not a flower arranger
> ... So I just pay for the flowers and an old lady does it for me. It's not
> my skillset so … next best thing, pay someone to do it.

At the time of this research every interviewee from DiverseTown, BlueCollarBurb, and MiddleVille was enthusiastic about their current leadership situation and congregations. Each expressed excitement about their Minister, their own role and sense of purpose, and the presence of a shared vision within the Congregation. By contrast, the participants from UptonMews were more divided, with some lamenting the absence of youth ministry, and others enthusiastic about a new regional joint-venture with other congregations. Brian (5 December 2014) at UptonMews felt that leadership development was meant to be something the Church did, but noted there was no strategy, no awareness of any common vision, with most members vaguely hoping they would attract new members but with no plan or confidence that this could be achieved. Presbytery worker Graham (8 February 2015) was concerned that people at UptonMews had not 'addressed critical issues with regard to their spiritual health and wellbeing' and were in danger of becoming 'a closed club of highly vested people that want things to stay the way they want them to stay … talk of outreach … is really wanting to get the right people into the mechanisms that currently exist so that it can continue to exist'. He also felt that the congregation was actually disadvantaged by the presence of talented, competent and successful managers, despite their financial generosity. While employed, these members had been too busy with their careers to actively contribute to leadership within the congregation, and now as retirees were more used to directing others than working collaboratively.

One common thread across the four congregations was a sense of ambivalence about the Uniting Church itself. Only recent immigrants who were much more aware of their local congregation than of the wider denomination expressed different views. Other participants were both energised by what the Church stood for and its potential, but frustrated at the incapacity of the Church to effectively mobilise its people, property, and financial resources to pursue these objectives.

However, Presbytery leader Craig (16 February 2015) was determined to ignore perceived denominational inertia and take the initiative. He had been involved in several successful new initiatives and was now in a position of significant strategic influence. He talked about leadership as 'alchemy', a 'reading the times' where leaders engage in sense-making in the face of uncertainty:

> Leadership… as an outworking of people working together to move change, grow, and develop is a real thing, but … leadership - positional leadership personal leadership - is also a thing and I am not sure that the first happens without the second … Sometimes it requires the person who can read the times or who can spot the moment…
>
> I am no longer waiting [for permission] ... That has already happened by being ordained and set apart … I don't know why I have waited so long … The ironic thing is that the more I have just operated out of my own confidence that I am called to lead, the more people are acknowledging my leadership.

Craig (16 February 2015) went on to talk about the strategic importance of developing leaders:

> There is no future for any organisation without leadership development … the Church needs to do more and more spotting people's potential, giving them opportunities, listening to them, letting them learn. Let them make mistakes, trust and empower and encourage people so they feel like they belong … That is going to involve particularly multicultural leaders … from various different ethnic backgrounds who feel in some ways marginalised, who cling to their own community … to ask how can their community be wider than just their congregation?

Connecting Leadership Development and Social Inclusion

In the final words of the previous section, Craig organically connected leader development and social inclusion, as did a surprising number of other participants.

Craig's personal experiences informed his perspective: 'Being given a responsibility … and to know that the things I was doing mattered, were amazing opportunities to belong to that community.'

Polly (11 January 2015), Stephen (11 December 2014) and Barry (11 December 2014) at DiverseTown, and Timothy (17 November 2014) at BlueCollarBurb all shared personal experiences of how being given responsibility for meaningful tasks had simultaneously developed them as leaders and enabled their social inclusion. As a recent NESB immigrant, Polly (11 January 2015) had been put in charge of the Sunday school, and felt 'they need me, they are somehow dependent on me', which made her feel obliged, but valued. Stephen (11 December 2014) was also an immigrant, and described the way inclusion at DiverseTown had helped him to build a new life and career, as the entrepreneur behind a thriving childcare business. The experience of negotiating cross-culturally was foundational to the success of his childcare business, as he was able to meet the dietary and religious needs of children from diverse backgrounds. Barry (11 December 2014) appreciated the way the Church provided him opportunities to lead, participate and contribute, despite being confined to a wheelchair due to suffering polio as a child.

However, the opposite was also true. Brian (5 December 2014) and Bettina (11 December 2014) at UptonMews, and Synod youth volunteer, Penelope (24 March 2016) in her own congregation, had experiences of their leadership capacities being discouraged, micro-managed, or rejected, and being pressured to take responsibility for 'lists of tasks' (Brian, 5 December 2014) that were of no interest to them, because 'we need to get someone to get this job done' (Bettina, 11 December 2014), and this was experienced as exclusion.

Penelope talked about experiences of 'leading' Church activities 'out of fear and being intimidated', which contrasted with experiences of being encouraged and included in decision making. It was her own initiative to take responsibility for mobilising the Pacific Islander community for the Climate march, yet her feelings of inclusion within the Uniting Church were enhanced, as it was the Church which had encouraged and supported her in her early development. She drew on these experiences to connect

inclusion and relational leader development in her own practice or relational
leadership:

> People are developing themselves … not just as leaders but as people
> … we need to be really aware of who we lead, not just identify their
> self-interest … and use them for your own cause, but know the
> person holistically … being really intentional and learning about
> others and their culture, knowing how to build a relationship with
> them – that, I feel is really important.

Reverend Timothy at BlueCollarBurb (17 November 2014), identified the need for
leader development of CALD and NESB leaders to be able to take advantage of
opportunities for inclusion in decision making forums of the UCA. Despite openness
to participation, there was no process for creating relationships, or to explain the
processes that enabled people from other cultures to participate in these forums
effectively. This reduced the multicultural and cross-cultural ministry opportunities to
'tokenism without any depth'. At the same time, Timothy conceded that immigrant
groups and individuals needed to 'stop feeling grateful for permission to be part of the
Church … and see themselves as members … to have the ownership also … rather
than seeing themselves as tenants.'

Similarly, he identified a need for leader development of Anglo-Celtic church
members to equip them to reach across cultural boundaries more effectively: 'I don't
think it's a lack of desire … it's just a lack of ability, how to begin the conversation.
And it's not easy to talk to people who don't really speak the language well… you feel
very inadequate.'

Another NESB immigrant, and originally from a non-Christian faith background,
Pauline (16 December 2014) had found employment and meaning as a minister in the
UCA. Her views on social inclusion were informed by periods living in several
different overseas cultures, which gave her an appreciation that authentic social
inclusion requires the empowerment of marginalised groups, so that all can '… be
relating [on] reasonably respectful and equal ground'.

As Karl, Polly, Stephen, and Timothy demonstrated, immigrants have personal experience at crossing cross-cultural boundaries which they are able to employ to include others. Having forged their own inclusion in society and made the most of opportunities, they are highly motivated to help others find their place to contribute to society. As Karl (11 December 2014), the NESB minister of the DiverseTown congregation, described it:

> 'In our culture we don't talk about [social inclusion] … it is something new to us. But when I came to the UCA … we start helping the congregation to work together for [social inclusion] and I didn't find it difficult … Tongan and Samoan and the Lebanese and Egyptian and African … have similar cultures. [Social inclusion] is living together in harmony. Respecting each other, respecting the land, respecting the people. … I'm not a political person but … Kevin Rudd said once – You come to this country with all your beliefs, your culture and you are welcome. But leave your problems back there and come and live in harmony in this country.'

Conclusion to Chapter Seven

In this Chapter, the beliefs and practices informing social inclusion efforts and leadership development in the UCA were explored and described. A review of denominational publications and qualitative in-depth interviews with twenty-one research participants provided data on the denominational setting and the dynamics within the life of the Church itself. Like the case studies in the previous chapter, the interview data provided preliminary evidence of links between social inclusion and leadership development which will be further discussed in Chapter Nine.

The UCA was selected for this case study because of its explicit commitment to social inclusion and recent increased interest in leadership development. Examination of denominational publications and denominational quantitative research revealed evidence of an emphasis on inclusion and recent interest in leadership development at the denominational level.

This case study qualitatively explored a range of individual and collective leadership phenomena which will be investigated in the quantitative study in the next chapter. Both studies explore leadership development in a range of socio-economic settings. In Chapter Nine, the multilevel social capital framework from Chapter Three will be used to analyse this case study data. This analysis will explore the implicit multilevel dynamics within the data, and also compare and contrast the themes that emerged from this study alongside the other cases and the findings from the quantitative study reported in the next chapter.

Chapter Eight: A Quantitative Study of Leadership Development Practices in Protestant Churches in Australia

Introduction

The case studies presented in the previous two chapters drew primarily on qualitative methodologies to explore leadership development and social inclusion beliefs and practices in churches and immigrant services organisations. This chapter provides quantifiable evidence that compares different approaches to leadership development in church settings.

There is assumed knowledge in the conventions of quantitative research which allows abbreviation in reporting results. However, within the mixed methods approach it is appropriate to present results in a way that maintains a narrative sensibility for non-statisticians. This also assists with clarifying connections between quantitative and qualitative findings for the analysis and discussion in Chapter Nine.

Mixed methods is increasingly seen as a distinct research paradigm alongside qualitative and quantitative approaches (Johnson and Onwuegbuzie, 2004, Morgan, 2007). From a relational critical realist perspective, these different research approaches complement each other, building confidence that the subject phenomena have significance beyond the researcher's interest.

This chapter begins with a brief description of the dataset, then reports on the dependent variables and composite indicators constructed as independent variables, along with associated validity checks. Local contextual variation is explored by breaking the dataset up into quintiles in line with relative advantage and disadvantage using the Census-based SEIFA index. Although the full method is laid out in Chapter Four, the analytical procedure is briefly described again, and the hypotheses listed in summary form. The rest of the chapter reports the results of analysis of variance (ANOVA) and regression processes.

About the Sample

As the contextual chapter reported, Australia is a secular country where faith communities play a significant role in public life. In 2011, the majority of Australians notionally identified with a Christian denomination, and about 15% of Australians attended church monthly or more often (Powell, 2014). This case study focuses on leadership development practices in churches as representative of the most common Australian faith communities.

This doctoral research draws on the 2011 iteration of the National Church Life Survey (NCLS), which involved over 250 000 individual participants in more than 2000 local churches, representing approximately 25% of all church attenders in Australia (Pepper et al., 2015). Almost half of all church attenders in Australia are Catholic (Dixon and Powell, 2012: 304), and while there are many ways to be Protestant, there are commonalities which differ markedly from Catholic traditions. Catholic parishes have very different leadership and staffing patterns (Hancock et al., 2015); are much larger on average than the equivalent Protestant structures (Kaldor et al., 1999: 26), and differ significantly in religious practices (Dixon and Powell, 2012). This would make interpretation of results less reliable, and possibly introduce weighting problems with the dataset, so for simplicity this study used only Protestant data. The various Protestant traditions included in the dataset are summarised in Table 8.1 (below).

Using categories adopted by the NCLS team, approximately 31% of Mainstream Protestant (31%), one quarter of Other Protestant (25%), and six percent of Pentecostal (6%) local churches in Australia participated in the 2011 NCLS (Pepper et al., 2015). While both false positive (Type 1) and false negative errors (Type 2) can arise from a sample that poorly represents the target population (Pallant, 2010), the NCLS team addressed these issues by rectifying outliers and missing values, and weighting the sample to adjust for under-represented denominations (Pepper et al., 2015). This resulted in a very large sample, which as Pallant (2010) attested, increases confidence in the results.

Table 8.1. Sample Descriptives

Denomination Type	Frequency	Valid Percent %	Type
Anglican Church	839	36.4	Mainstream
Uniting Church	479	21	Mainstream
Baptist Church	319	13.3	Other Protestant
Lutheran Church	241	10.6	Mainstream
Salvation Army	94	3.9	Other Protestant
Seventh-day Adventist	80	3.3	Other Protestant
Churches of Christ	68	2.8	Other Protestant
Presbyterian Church	53	2.2	Other Protestant
C3 Church	34	1.4	Pentecostal
Australian Christian Churches	106	1	Pentecostal
Vineyard Fellowship Australia	23	1	Pentecostal
CRC Churches International	22	0.9	Pentecostal
Independent	13	0.5	Other Protestant
Apostolic Church	11	0.5	Pentecostal
Christian Missionary Alliance	8	0.3	Other Protestant
Christian Reformed Churches of Australia	5	0.2	Other Protestant
Congregational Church	5	0.2	Other Protestant
Christian Outreach Centres	4	0.2	Pentecostal
Church of the Nazarene	2	0.1	Pentecostal
Brethren Assemblies	1	0	Other Protestant
Christian Life Churches	1	0	Pentecostal
Grace Communion International	1	0	Other Protestant
IPH Church	3	0	Pentecostal
Total	**2414**	**100**	

Table 8.1 lays out frequencies of different denominations amongst the 2414 local churches in the sample. These denominations are categorised as mainstream, large Protestant, small Protestant and Pentecostal. The largest denominations in the sample were Anglican, Uniting, and Baptist.

Local variations in socio-economic advantage and disadvantage were dealt with by linking the Census-based Socio-Economic Indicators For Areas (SEIFA) to local churches by using postcodes. This allowed the dataset to be subdivided into deciles, and later quintiles, of relative advantage and disadvantage. This was the first time the NCLS Dataset and SEIFA index had been linked.

Table 8.2 (below) shows the distribution of the 2414 churches in this study's sample by SEIFA and postcode. As the table displays, churches are located in all areas. However, there are significant variations, with twice as many churches in the most advantaged quintile as the least advantaged. Deciles were used to test statistical significance of SEIFA with respect to the dependent variables in this study, then combined into quintiles to reduce the number of variables for analysis.

Table 8.2 Distribution of Protestant Churches by Relative Advantage/Disadvantage

Table 8.2.	SEIFA Deciles	N	%	Quintiles (N/%)
(Least advantaged)	1	136	5.6	337 13.9%
	2	201	8.3	
	3	216	8.9	432 17.8%
	4	216	8.9	
↕	5	239	9.9	523 21.7%
	6	284	11.8	
	7	205	8.5	430 17.8%
	8	225	9.3	
(Most advantaged)	9	304	12.6	692 28.7%
	10	388	16.1	
Total		**2414**	**100.0**	

Dependent Variables

As described in the methodology, theoretical relationships drawn from the conceptual framework enabled identification of survey items that could act as proxies for the dependent variables, collective agency (Bandura, 1999: 34) and collective efficacy (Bandura, 2000). Survey responses were aggregated at the congregational level.

Drawing on the conceptual framework for this research, it was theorised that collective agency was indicated by a higher proportion of members who were aware of and highly committed to congregational vision, goals or directions. Similarly, a higher proportion of members who were fully confident that the congregation could achieve their collective goals and directions was taken as an indication of collective efficacy. Survey items were selected as indicators of these concepts.

The questions and responses are below. The full survey is available in Appendix 4 and the particular survey items and responses were both outlined in Chapter Four and are reproduced in Appendix 5.

Independent Variables

The independent variables were represented by composite indicators representing human capital (Day, 2000) and embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986) for individual leader development; and three variables for collective leadership development representing: bonding social capital; bridging social capital; and cognitive social capital. Internal consistency was tested using Cronbach's alpha (Nardo et al., 2005).

Independent Variable 1: Human and Embodied Cultural Capital (HECC).

The following responses to questions 44, 19, and 49 were combined to form a composite indicator of human and embodied cultural capital.

- Have this congregation's leaders encouraged you to find and use your gifts and skills here? [strongly agree]
- Over the last year, do you believe you have grown in your Christian faith? [Much growth, mainly through this parish]
- Leaders here inspire me to action [strongly agree]

This composite indicator was internally reliable with Cronbach's Alpha of 0.772.

Independent Variable 2: Bonding Social Capital (BND).

Responses to questions 5, 49, and 33 aggregated at the congregational level were combined to form a composite indicator of bonding social capital.

- Do you have a strong sense of belonging to this congregation? [Yes, strong/growing; Yes, strong/stable]
- I have found it easy to make friends within this congregation [strongly agree]
- If you know someone who is a new arrival here do you personally seek to make them welcome? [Yes, always/mostly]

This composite indicator was internally reliable with Cronbach's Alpha of 0.732.

Independent Variable 3: Bridging Social Capital (BRG)

Responses to questions 52, 4, 58 aggregated at the congregational level were combined to form a composite indicator of bridging social capital.

- Do you regularly take part in any activities of this congregation that reach out to the wider community? [Yes, in community service, social justice or welfare activities]
- Are you involved in any community service, social action or other groups not connected to this congregation? [A - Yes, community service, care or welfare groups; B - Yes, social action, justice or lobby groups; E - Yes, another kind of group]
- Which of the following aspects of this congregation do you personally most value? [Yes, wider community care or social justice emphasis]

This composite indicator had adequate internal reliability with Cronbach's Alpha of 0.668 (DeVellis, 2003, Nardo et al., 2005).

Independent Variable 4: Collective Cognitive Capital (COG)

Responses to questions 50, 51, 53, and 54 were aggregated at the congregational level and combined to form a collective indicator.

- Leaders here always communicate clearly and openly [Strongly agree]
- Leaders here encourage innovation and creative thinking [Strongly agree]
- This congregation has good and clear systems for how it operates [Strongly agree]
- Leaders here are strongly focused on directions for the future [Strongly agree]

This composite indicator was internally reliable with Cronbach's Alpha of 0.929.

Descriptive statistics for the dependent and independent variables are summarised in Table 8.3 (below), along with Cronbach's Alpha for the composite indicators created as independent variables.

Table 8.3. Descriptive statistics for independent and dependent variables.

Table 8.3.	Valid N	Mean	Median	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Cronbach's Alpha
Dependent Variables							
DV1 Collective Agency	2414	35.805	35.294	15.0873	0.0	90.9	
DV2 Collective Efficacy	2414	37.435	35.407	18.5466	0.0	100.0	
Independent Variables							
CLD1-HECC - Human and Cultural Capital	2414	7.4714	7.3797	1.95456	0.00	14.85	.772
CLD2-BON - Bonding Social Capital	2414	59.4753	58.8258	10.37684	29.90	92.00	.732
CLD3-BRG - Bridging Social Capital	2414	6.7516	6.7246	1.62282	0.00	12.86	.668
CLD4-COG - Collective Cognitive Capital	2414	7.3197	7.3452	2.60633	0.00	15.72	.929
Contextual Variables							
SEIFA decile	2414	6.13	6.00	2.855	1	10	
SEIFA quintile	2414	3.29	3.00	1.406	1	5	

Analytical Procedure

This study used SPSS for analysis. Survey items were formed into composite indicators using the same process as would be used to develop indicators, but using particular responses aggregated at the congregational level to generate a score for each congregation within the sample. Internal reliability was tested using Cronbach's alpha, which indicated with all indicators having adequate to good reliability (Devellis, 2003). Cronbach's alpha ranged from 0.668 to 0.929 for the four independent variables (IVs) (see Table 8.3 above).

Outliers were recoded in two cases for CLD1-HECC, and one case in each of CLD2-BON and CLD3-BRG. Three of the four independent variables - CLD1-HECC, CLD3-BRG and CLD4-COG - were transformed to improve distribution.

One-way ANOVA was run for independent variables across the entire dataset and then in each SEIFA Quintile. Multiple linear regressions were then used to estimate the importance of various Congregational Leadership Development approaches for Collective Agency and Collective Efficacy.

Hypotheses

Table 8.4 shows the hypotheses that were tested in this part of the study.

Table 8.4 Summary of Hypotheses

Hypothesis	Abbreviated Description
1.a-d	That CLD1-4 will be positively correlated with Collective Agency (DV-CA).
2.a-d	That CLD1-4 will be positively correlated with Collective Efficacy (DV-CE)
3.a-b	That Collective Agency and Collective Efficacy will vary significantly across SEIFA Quintiles.
4.a-d	That CLD1-4 will be positively correlated with Collective Agency across SEIFA Quintiles.
5.a-d	That CLD1-4 will be positively correlated with Collective Efficacy across SEIFA Quintiles.
6.a-b	That Collective Cognitive Capital will make the greatest contribution to predicting Collective Agency and Collective Efficacy.

Results

Bivariate Correlations

Table 8.5 shows the Pearson coefficient for bivariate correlations between the independent and dependent variables.

Table 8.5 Bivariate Correlations

Bivariate Correlations (Pearson)	CLD1 - Human and Cultural Capital	CLD2 - Bonding Social Capital	CLD3 - Bridging Social Capital	CLD4 - Collective Cognitive Capital	DV1 Collective Agency	DV2 Collective Efficacy
CLD1 - Human and Cultural Capital	1	.341**	.023	.800**	.661**	.713**
CLD2 - Bonding Social Capital	.341**	1	.301**	.183**	.148**	.088**
CLD3 - Bridging Social Capital	.023	.301**	1	.020	.041*	-.081**
CLD4 - Collective Cognitive Capital	.800**	.183**	.020	1	.680**	.764**
DV1 Collective Agency	.661**	.148**	.041*	.680**	1	.718**
DV2 Collective Efficacy	.713**	.088**	-.081**	.764**	.718**	1

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Hypotheses 1.a to 1.d proposed that the independent variables would be significantly correlated with collective agency. Hypotheses 2.a to 2.d proposed that the individual variables would be significantly correlated with collective efficacy.

As the table shows, all independent variables were significantly correlated with both the dependent variables. Apart from the correlation of Bridging Social Capital with Collective Agency, which was significant at the .05 error level, all other correlations were significant at the .01 error level.

The strongest correlations between independent variables and dependent variables were between CLD4 Collective Cognitive Capital and the dependent variables and also CLD1 Human and Cultural Capital and the dependent variables. However, the strongest correlation was between independent variables DV1 and DV4.

Both Dependent Variables were also highly correlated with each other.

Bridging social capital was weakly correlated with Collective Agency, and this was significant, but only at the .05 error level. Bridging social capital was also weakly correlated with Collective Efficacy, but the relationship was both negative and significant at the .01 level.

Bonding Social Capital (CLD2) was also moderately correlated with Collective Agency and weakly correlated with Collective Efficacy. Both correlations were significant at the .01 error level.

Collective Agency was positively correlated with CLD1 Human and Cultural Capital (.661); CLD2 Bonding Social Capital (.148); CLD3 Bridging Social Capital (.041); and CLD4 Collective Cognitive Capital (.68). These correlations were significant to the 0.01 level, except for CLD3 Bridging Social Capital, which was significant at the 0.05 level.

Accordingly, Hypotheses 1a, 1b, 1c, and 1d were supported (see Table 8.4 above).

Collective Efficacy was positively correlated with only three of the independent variables. They were CLD1 Human and Cultural Capital (.713); CLD2 Bonding Social Capital (.088); and CLD4 Collective Cognitive Capital (.764). There was a negative correlation between Collective Efficacy and CLD3 Bridging Social Capital (-.081). All of these correlations, including the negative relationship with CLD3, were significant at the 0.01 level.

Hypotheses 2a, 2b, and 2d were supported. Hypothesis 2c was rejected as CLD3 Bridging Social Capital was negatively correlated with Collective Efficacy.

Collinearity between Leader Development and Cognitive Social Capital

As the four independent variables all represent different approaches to leadership development, it would be very surprising – even concerning – if there were not some collinearity in the data. Pearson's coefficient for the independent variables CLD1-Human and Embodied Cultural Capital and CLD4-Collective Cognitive Capital indicated a particularly high correlation, even higher than the relationship between these variables and the dependent variables. This is often interpreted as suggesting that the constructs refer to the same underlying phenomena.

This is an interesting result, as individual leader development and the collective leadership development associated with cognitive social capital are theoretically and conceptually quite distinct (Rost, 1993, Day, 2000), and the survey items are similarly very clearly delineated and focused on the individual and collective levels respectively. The very large sample size provides some reassurance that these statistically significant correlations are indicative of some actual underlying relationships (ABS, 2013, Dormann et al., 2013).

Authorities such as Cohen et al. (2003: 425-6) argue that multicollinearity is not problematic if the aim is to predict values for Dependent Variables or estimate variance, although it interferes with the estimation of coefficients in multiple regression. Most of the hypotheses in this study are addressed through analysis of variance as Cohen et al. suggest, with the multiple regression providing an indication of the relationships for descriptive purposes.

Collective Agency, Collective Efficacy, and SEIFA

Table 8.6 provides results for analysis of variance comparing the independent and dependent variables across SEIFA quintiles.

Table 8.6 Relationship of SEIFA to Independent and Dependent Variables

ANOVA of SEIFA Quintiles		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
CLD1 - Human and Cultural Capital	Between Groups	44.763	4	11.191	2.939	.019*
CLD2 - Bonding Social Capital	Between Groups	9635.444	4	2408.861	23.194	.000**
CLD3 - Bridging Social Capital	Between Groups	20.556	4	5.139	1.954	.099
CLD4 - Collective Cognitive Capital	Between Groups	160.533	4	40.133	5.957	.000**
DV1 Collective Agency	Between Groups	4537.450	4	1134.363	5.017	.001**
DV2 Collective Efficacy	Between Groups	4040.738	4	1010.184	2.946	.019*

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed). * Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Hypothesis 3a and 3b postulated a significant relationship between the dependent variables and localised relative advantage/disadvantage. This was explored by breaking the sample into quintiles[13] in line with the ABS SEIFA Index.

The dataset was allocated to SEIFA quintiles. ANOVA was then conducted to test hypothesis 3, that SEIFA would be significantly related to Collective Agency and

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[13] Future research could use a geographically weighted regression, a more elegant approach, such as WHEELER, D. & TIEFELSDORF, M. 2005. Multicollinearity and correlation among local regression coefficients in geographically weighted regression. *Journal of Geographical Systems,* 7**,** 161-187.

Collective Efficacy. Table 8.6 shows Analysis of Variance of the dependent variables across the five SEIFA Quintiles.

Analysis of variance on the effect of SEIFA Quintile on DV1 Collective Agency was significant, $F_{(4, 2409)} = 5.017$, $p = 0.001$.

Analysis of variance on the effect of SEIFA Quintile on DV2 Collective Efficacy was also significant, $F_{(4, 2409)} = 2.946$, $p = 0.019$.

Accordingly, Hypothesis 3a and 3b were provisionally supported.

Post Hoc analysis revealed significant differences between Collective Agency means in only some instances. Multiple comparison tests using Bonferroni's method show that significant difference were only between SEIFA Quintile 2 and 5 ($p = .001$).

Similarly, analysis of variance showed that the effect of SEIFA on Collective Efficacy was also significant, $F_{(4, 2409)} = 2.946$, $p = .019$. Post Hoc tests using Bonferroni showed that these significant differences were only between SEIFA Quintile 2 and 4 ($p = .04$).

Independent Variables and SEIFA

Analysis of variance on the influence of SEIFA on the independent variables shows significant relationships at the .05 level or better, except for CLD3 Bridging Social Capital. Accordingly, Hypothesis 4.c was rejected in the case of Bridging Social Capital.

Table 8.7 (below) shows the results of ANOVA conducted on the independent and dependent variables for each SEIFA quintile to provide background data for hypotheses 4.a-d and 5.a-d.

Hypotheses 4 a-d proposed that the independent variables would have similar correlations with Collective Agency in all SEIFA quintiles.

Human and Cultural Capital, bonding social capital, and cognitive social capital all displayed significant correlations with Collective Agency in each SEIFA quintile. All correlations were significant to the 0.01 error level, except for bonding social capital in

the least advantaged SEIFA quintile, which was significant at the 0.05 level. However, bridging social capital displayed no significant correlation. (See Table 8.7 below)

Accordingly, Hypotheses 4a, 4b, and 4d were supported, while Hypothesis 4c was rejected.

Hypotheses 5 a-d proposed that the independent variables would have similar correlations with Collective Efficacy across the various SEIFA quintiles.

Human and Cultural Capital and cognitive social capital all displayed significant correlations with Collective Efficacy in each SEIFA quintile. All correlations were significant to the 0.01 error level. (Table 8.7 below)

Accordingly, Hypotheses 5a and 5d were supported.

Bonding social capital was only significantly correlated to collective efficacy in SEIFA Quintiles 2 and 3. Both of these correlations were significant at the 0.01 level. Bridging social capital was mildly *inversely* correlated with collective efficacy in SEIFA Quintiles 2, 3 at the 0.05 error level and in SEIFA Quintile 4 at the 0.01 error level.

As a result, Hypothesis 5b and 5c were rejected, although the mixed results for Hypothesis 5b should be noted.

Table 8.7 Independent Variables across SEIFA

Pearson's Correlations	SEIFA 1		SEIFA 2		SEIFA 3		SEIFA 4		SEIFA 5	
ANOVA	DV1 - Collective Agency	DV2 - Collective Efficacy	DV1 - Collective Agency	DV2 - Collective Efficacy	DV1 - Collective Agency	DV2 - Collective Efficacy	DV1 - Collective Agency	DV2 - Collective Efficacy	DV1 - Collective Agency	DV2 - Collective Efficacy
ILD1 - Human and Cultural Capital	.639**	.654**	.674**	.732**	.711**	.729**	.640**	.725**	.662**	.690**
ILD2 - Bonding Social Capital	.121*	0.09	.217**	.153**	.235**	.153**	.125**	0.07	.125**	0.01
ILD3 - Bridging Social Capital	0.09	0.03	0.06	-.113*	0.05	-.108*	0.00	-.125**	0.02	-0.04
ILD4 - Cognitive Social Capital	.665**	.708**	.677**	.739**	.716**	.796**	.650**	.749**	.679**	.750**

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Multiple Regression

Hypotheses 6a and 6b speculated that Cognitive Social Capital would make the largest contribution to Collective Agency and Collective Efficacy respectively.
Bearing in mind the effects of multicollinearity, multiple linear regressions were run on the relationship between the independent variables (IV) and the two dependent variables (DV). Separate regressions were run for each dependent variable across the whole sample, then for each SEIFA quintile.

Dependent variables: Collective Agency (DVA); Collective Efficacy (DVE).

Independent variables: Human and Cultural Capital (HECC); Bonding Social Capital (BND); Bridging Social Capital (BRG); and Cognitive Social Capital (COG).

SEIFA quintiles were annotated as SEIFA 1-5, where 1 is least advantaged, and 5 most advantaged.

Multiple linear regressions were calculated to predict the dependent variables.

Multiple Regression Results

Significant regression equations were found for Collective Agency (DVCA) and Collective Efficacy. The estimated regression equation for Collective Agency was:

$$CA = 0.362(HECC) - .049(BND) + .039(BRG) + .406(COG)$$

$$F_{(4, 2409)} = 630.396, p < .000, \text{ with } R^2 \text{ of } .511.$$

The estimated regression equation for Collective Efficacy was:

$$CE = 0.359(HECC) - .091(BND) - .062(BRG) + .485(COG).$$

$$F_{(4, 2409)} = 959.959, p < .000, \text{ with } R^2 \text{ of } .614.$$

Human and Cultural Capital, bonding social capital, bridging social capital, and cognitive social capital explained .511 of the variance in Collective Agency and .614 of the variance in Collective Efficacy. Cognitive Social Capital was the independent variable that appeared to explain the greatest degree of variance. However, the

coefficients were affected by a degree of multicollinearity between HECC and COG, so Hypotheses 6.a and 6.b can only be supported tentatively.

Summary of Quantitative Findings

Analysis of this 2011 NCLS survey data on Australian churches suggests that statistical proxies for individual leader development and cognitive social capital were strongly correlated with each other, and with the items representing the dependent variables collective agency and collective efficacy. Broadly speaking, variables representing bonding and bridging social capital were correlated with the collective agency dependent variable, but not collective efficacy. The correlations of the dependent variables with bonding social capital and bridging social capital were statistically significant, but had modest influence. It is noteworthy that the indicator representing bonding social capital was significantly correlated with the individual leader development indicator, and may act as an antecedent.

These results support the view that leadership development strategies in churches contribute to collective agency and collective efficacy. Individual leader development strategies and cognitive social capital were significantly correlated with indicators of collective agency and collective efficacy. Bonding social capital was significantly correlated with collective agency, and in some settings with collective efficacy. Bridging social capital as measured here was slightly negatively correlated with collective efficacy in some cases.

The data suggested that the development of collective cognitive social capital, and individual leader development, are likely to be the most effective contributors to collective agency and efficacy. Social capital relationships were also significantly correlated, but relationships were weaker and not statistically significant in all socio-economic contexts. Pre-existing contextual factors of relative advantage and disadvantage were significant factors in determining differences in collective agency and efficacy. However, individual leader and cognitive social capital leadership development worked similarly in different contexts, whether low or high levels of relative advantage or disadvantage were present. These results are summarised in Table 8.8.

Table 8.8 Summary Findings for Hypotheses by SEIFA Quintile

Hypothesis 1 (a-d)	Independent Variables (IVs) Positively Correlated with Collective Agency (CA)	Support/ Reject
1.a	Human and Cultural Capital	TRUE
1.b	Bonding Social Capital	TRUE
1.c	Bridging Social Capital	TRUE
1.d	Cognitive Social Capital	TRUE
Hypothesis 2 (a-d)	**IVs Positively Correlated with Collective Efficacy (CE)**	
2.a	Human and Cultural Capital	TRUE
2.b	Bonding Social Capital	TRUE
2.c	Bridging Social Capital	FALSE
2.e	Cognitive Social Capital	TRUE
Hypothesis 3 (a-b)	**SEIFA will matter for Collective Agency and Collective Efficacy, and Independent Variables**	
3.a	Collective agency will vary with SEIFA	TRUE
3.b	Collective Efficacy will vary with SEIFA	TRUE
3c	Independent Variables will vary with SEIFA	Mostly TRUE, but FALSE for Bridging Capital

Table 8.8 continued from previous page

Hypothesis 4 (a-d)	IVs positively correlated with CA across SEIFA	
4a	CLD1-Human and Cultural Capital	TRUE
4b	CLD2-Bonding Social Capital	TRUE
4c	CLD3-Bridging Social Capital	FALSE
4d	CLD4-Cognitive Social Capital	TRUE
Hypothesis 5 (a-d)	**IVs positively correlated with CE across SEIFA**	
5a	CLD1-Human and Cultural Capital	TRUE
5b	CLD2-Bonding Social Capital	TRUE FOR SEIFA QUINTILES 2 and 3
5c	CLD3-Bridging Social Capital	FALSE
5d	CLD4-Cognitive Social Capital	TRUE
Hypothesis 6 (a-b)	**Cognitive Social Capital will have greatest impact**	
6.a	CLD4-COG will have most impact on Collective Agency	TENTATIVE
6.b	CLD4-COG will have most impact on Collective Efficacy	TENTATIVE

Conclusion to Chapter Eight

In Chapter Three, the argument was developed that leadership development could build social capital to enhance collective agency and collective efficacy, which built capacity to enable social inclusion. Collective agency (Bandura, 1999) was construed as a high proportion of members who were strongly supportive of the collective vision and direction, while collective efficacy (Bandura, 2000) was indicated by a high proportion of members who were completely confident that the congregation could achieve its collective vision or goals.

The quantitative results reported here support the qualitative case studies by providing descriptive evidence that in the case of Australian Protestant churches, there are underlying relationships between variables representing collective agency, collective efficacy, and leadership development. This study suggests that the form of social capital most highly correlated with collective agency and efficacy is cognitive social capital. Individual leader development is also highly correlated with collective agency and efficacy, and highly cross-correlated with cognitive social capital.

Relational-structural capital is less significantly correlated with collective agency and efficacy. Bonding social capital is significantly correlated with collective agency, but not efficacy. However, bonding social capital is significantly correlated with individual leader development. Correlations between the dependent variables and bridging social capital were either not statistically significant or only weakly (and at times negatively) correlated.

Local context also influences collective agency and efficacy, although the relationship was non-linear and invites further research. The correlations between cognitive social capital, individual leader development and the dependent variables were similar across SEIFA quintiles. This suggests that leadership and leader development are similarly effective at building collective capacity regardless of socio-economic advantages and disadvantages.

These results will contribute to the analysis in Chapter 9.

Chapter Nine: Analysis of Empirical Data

This chapter uses the inclusive relational leadership conceptual framework developed in Chapter Three to analyse the way the case study organisations develop leaders and leadership to pursue their social inclusion objectives. In Chapter Three, leader development and leadership development were conceptualised as involving a range of human, social, and cultural capitals. This framework will be used to analyse the various approaches to leadership in the case study organisations, as they seek to build capacity and enable social inclusion in Australia. Critical conceptual building blocks in this framework include leadership, human capital, social capital, cultural capital and social inclusion, as well as supplementary concepts of collective agency, collective efficacy, and power. The conceptual framework adopts a multi-level perspective and the concept of social capital is construed as the conceptual and practical bridge between social inclusion and leadership development processes.

 Each case study is first examined separately, with emergent themes drawn together in the next chapter. Up until this point each interview has been referred to by a substitute name and by date of interview. In this chapter, however, each interview is referred to by a number to enable the grouping of interviews in such a way as to enhance the flow of the discussion. Likewise, case study organisation documents are referred to by a letter. The assigned numbers and letters are located in Appendix 7.

The analysis begins with the way the case study organisations perceive and respond to the macro-social context, as laid out in Chapter Five. The historic arrangement of roles for Government, business, and the 'third sector' in Australia has evolved, with increasing inequality and diversity, the changing nature of immigration, and the rise of neoliberalism. This analysis explores the ways not-for-profits are developing leadership capacity in the form of social capital to enable social inclusion and respond to the dynamic environment in the aftermath of the short-lived Australian Social Inclusion Agenda.

The analysis then draws on the conceptual components of the inclusive relational leadership development (IRLD) framework to explore the meso-organisational level. The way beliefs and practices shape the relational leadership practices of the case

study organisations as they develop individual leaders and clients, and collective leadership capacity as organisations. This involves analysis of the way human capital and embodied cultural capital are utilised at the individual level, and the collective aspects of leadership development involving relational-structural and cognitive social capital, along with collective cultural capital described as community cultural wealth. The analysis of each case concludes with an exploration of the way these relational and social processes are experienced at the micro-relational level by interviewees.

The qualitative data revealed some of the pressures experienced by organisations like Migrant Community Organisation (MCO), Settlement Services International (SSI), and the Uniting Church in Australia (UCA) as they pursue social inclusion objectives. Political and cultural shifts associated with the field of refugee and immigrant settlement services were exacerbated by increased neoliberal influences which resulted in economic and political pressure to deliver efficiencies and limit advocacy activities. The case studies and the quantitative study of 2414 Protestant congregations highlighted the complex and intertwined nature of leader development and leadership development processes in this complex environment. Alongside this, the church based data provided insight into the difficulties of negotiating direction, alignment, and commitment in a religious voluntary setting that is declining in relevance in an increasingly post-Christian and individualised world.

Case Study One: Migrant Community Organisation (MCO)

How has MCO responded to macro-social shifts in recent years? As the contextual chapter outlined, in Australia, employment policy has always been part of Australia's welfare state arrangements. For refugees and immigrants, employment is an important factor. MCO operates in a setting in which inequality and diversity are increasing, driven by changing immigration and refugee patterns and growing acceptance of neoliberal arguments that have made inequality more acceptable, while reducing overall levels of tolerance for cultural and religious diversity. The role of Government departments in this setting is ambiguous. On the one hand, they provide funding for services such as humanitarian settlement of refugees, but on the other, they operate in a context where Government policies and discourse have become less inclusive. In the post Social Inclusion Agenda (SIA) environment, attempts to coordinate whole of

Government 'joined-up' approaches to address the multiple intersecting challenges involved in exclusion and disadvantage no longer have standing (Carey et al., 2015).

The interview data revealed that these contextual issues were a significant concern for all eight MCO interviewees. One critical contextual factor relates to the bureaucratic divisions between Government Departments for immigration, employment, education and training, youth, and families, which structures funding arrangements narrowly. Several interviewees expressed frustration with such bureaucratically separated funding arrangements on the grounds that they fail to address the interconnected needs of refugees and immigrants. These include language and other settlement services, jobs, and family responsibilities or even specific needs based on age. As interviewees four and seven detail:

> We [have never been] allowed to do any project, which is seen to be addressing employment or unemployment ... [also] … to get their skills recognised … [or] to overcome the language barrier in terms of vocational training … that is relevant to their field. We were never allowed to do that ... [also] youth issues, because there is a separate department of youth. (Interviewee 4)

> We are funded by the Department of Immigration so all of us have our own individual work plans so because of that we are forced to work … individually and just take leadership in the programs that we are trying to run externally. (Interview 7)

While Governments fund the services which enable inclusion, the interviewees also described the way Government policy and funding restrictions become part of the problem (interviewees 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8). Interviewee 8 noted government policies that stopped people from working, or made them ineligible for certain services, while interviewee 7 described the Government approach to radicalisation of Muslim youth as well-intentioned, but counter-productive as the best way to intervene would be support for families that prevented the problem from emerging. 'By the time they are teenagers it's too late … But I don't think Government has that understanding at the moment'.

Others reinforced this perspective, discussing the way the actions and attitudes of Government, institutions, and individuals exacerbated the unavoidable challenges of new arrivals trying to find their way in Australian society (Interviewees 1, 3, 4, 7, 8). As one Interviewee put it:

> They're excluded from gaining knowledge that they need. They're excluded, because … English is the first language, so, that's the huge barrier to exclusion across the board for work, and many, many things. I will just say it that I believe race is an exclusion, colour is an exclusion, and … obviously religion …if you're a certain religion, that can exclude you, overtly or covertly ... we're a racist country, Australia's a racist country, and that will never change … we have good laws, but then we have governments … that water that down. (Interviewee 1)

There were also personal concerns expressed about Government funding arrangements, which affect the employment of MCO staff. At the time of interviews between one fifth and one quarter of the MCO workforce had been waiting for a prolonged period to hear whether their own contracts would be renewed, which created stress for several interviewees, over a period from November 2014 to December 2015 (Interviewees 3, 4, 5, 8).

As the case study in Chapter Six revealed, MCO has responded to these challenges with creativity. The following section considers this in terms of the efforts made by MCO to respond to this context by developing leadership capacity.

Meso-Organisational Approach to Leadership Development

The IRLD framework begins with Rost's (1993) and Day's (2000) distinction between individual leader development and collective leadership development. Leader development focused on the individual and adopted the 'entity perspective' described by Relational Leadership theorists (Fletcher, 2012). This approach was conceptualised by Day as an investment in human capital, notably the skills, knowledge and abilities required for a leader to be efficient and productive in workplace roles (Day, 2000: 584-5). The IRLD framework expanded this conceptualisation to encompass the embodied

form of cultural capital, which is the accumulation and organisation of more generalised knowledge, experience and expertise relating to culture, as well as religion, philosophy, art and science (Bourdieu, 1977: 187). The concept of embodied cultural capital is used to denote an approach that considers the whole person, rather than simply their productive capabilities.

At MCO, every interviewee understood the concept of leadership to be the practice of an individual leader and 'leadership development' was therefore understood as the development of individual leaders (Interviewees 1-8). Leadership itself was viewed most often as a mix of direction setting, influence (Interviewees 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8) and personal qualities (Interviewees 1, 2, 7), as well as the practice of developing other leaders (Interviewees 4, 5).

At the time of this research, MCO had no explicit leadership development strategy or policy (Interviewee 5), although some interviewees thought that 'leadership' development happened sporadically and that MCO did intentionally develop leaders (Interviewees 1, 2, 4, 5, and 6). These interviewees felt that leader development was approached through training of individuals (Interviewees 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 8), along with mentoring or coaching (Interviewees 1, 2, 4, 5, 7), or even through setting an example (Interviewees 4, 5).

Nevertheless, some interviewees disagreed that MCO developed leaders (Interviewees 3, 7, 8), being very clear that training to achieve the Government prescribed outcomes of individual work plans was *not* leader development (Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8). As Sandra (Interviewee 7) put it: 'There is really no professional development apart from the work plan you are currently working on' and Con (Interviewee 2) agreed: 'They don't develop leaders, it's all about the work plan'.

This emphasis on efficient delivery of Government prescribed outputs can be seen to privilege the human capital aspects of leader development. Interviewees discussed this pressure to be cost-effective and deliver outcomes as being due to Government wanting more outcomes for less expenditure (Interviewees 1, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8). This pressure was not just ideological, but closely related to funding and the competitive tendering process, which meant that organisations like MCO were constantly under

pressure to minimise optional items such as training and development, to focus on the narrow delivery of contractual outputs.

> We actually do a lot of professional development but … there is not enough funding for us to do it. That's when it becomes a problem. So it is all to do with our budget and if we don't have the funding we can't find out what we need to find out. (Interviewee 7)

Evidence of these pressures pushing MCO toward a human capital leader development orientation is also discernable in the growing emphasis on skills in recent MCO publications (MCO Documents E, F), which contrasts with a greater focus on a more holistic approach to leader development in earlier publications which was indicative of a holistic cultural capital approach (MCO Documents B, C). Competition from other grant-seeking organisations (Interviewees 5, 7, 8) and needing to deal with an increasingly intense client load (Interviewees 4, 5, 6, 8) were also mentioned as factors that pushed MCO to focus on efficiency and outputs. This worked against both more holistic leader development, and collective leadership development at MCO.

To an extent, the pressure towards a human capital orientation was offset by the significant emphasis on authenticity in leadership which was apparent amongst MCO interviewees. As MCO staff work closely with community leaders from varying cultural groups, and with multiple organisations that often compete to represent the same groups, MCO staff emphasised the importance of distinguishing 'authentic' leaders who had a 'vision for their community' (Interviewee 2, 4, 8) from self-appointed or 'self-styled' leaders who were primarily motivated by self-interest (Interviewees 1, 2, 4, 8). This concern for authenticity was also an important reference point for the practice of leadership by staff within MCO. None of the MCO staff were simply professionals pursuing opportunities for advancement and remuneration. Every interviewee involved in the MCO described their work as meaningful and purposeful, including those who were concerned about the direction of the organisation (Interviewees 1, 3). Further, personal experiences of immigration, exclusion, discrimination, and cross-cultural dynamics, were recognised by interviewees as important resources that enabled them to be leaders and effectively do their jobs (Interviewees 1-8), with seven of the eight staff interviewed being immigrants from

non-English-speaking backgrounds (NESB) (Interviewees 1-4, 6-8) and all being culturally and linguistically diverse (CALD). This led to staff finding – or making - meaning in their work, with most interviewees expressing a strong sense of 'belonging' to MCO or describing MCO as 'part of their identity' (Interviewees 1, 2, 4-8), while several expressed feelings of love, pride and loyalty to the organisation (Interviewees 1, 2, 5, 6). The one interviewee who did not feel a strong sense of belonging still expressed passion for the work (Interviewee 3), while several staff volunteered in related areas of work beyond their paid roles at MCO (Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 6).

These themes illustrate a significant degree of embodied cultural capital within the organisation. Despite pressure to adopt a human capital orientation to leadership development at MCO, it is evident that embodied cultural capital was still an important, if unrecognised factor in the development of MCO leaders. When asked how they had actually developed as leaders, every single MCO interviewee shared stories from their personal experiences, and sometimes even their struggles. These included prior life or work experiences (Interviewees 1-8), as well as being trusted and encouraged by a superior to step up and take additional responsibility (Interviewees 1, 2, 4, 6, 7), non-work related training (Interviewees 1, 3, 7, 8) such as 'emotional intelligence' or leadership training or through civil society networks, or relational mentoring by a superior (Interviewees 2, 4, 6, 7).

This tension between the pressure to focus on human capital for output and the more holistic cultural capital emphasis at MCO is evident in the new mission and values statements that have been developed since this research was conducted. MCO's mission has shifted from building the organisation 'to be a leader in the … sector' (MCO Document D, 2014), to focus on 'the provision of professionally delivered and innovative services' (MCO Document F, 2016). This is evidence of MCO responding to pressure to deliver services efficiently. On the other hand, the purpose for delivering these services was 'empowering diverse individuals, groups, and communities'. This shows that while MCO has shifted toward a human capital approach that focuses on efficiency and output, they have not simply become a service delivery tool of the Government.

A further indication that a cultural capital approach continues to be important within MCO is evident in the organisation's values statement, which commits to: 'Concern for clients, staff, and the surrounding community; respect for diversity; customer focus; integrity and ethics; and constant innovation and improvement' (MCO Document F, 2016). Nevertheless, the focus on individual leaders and the pressure to be productive and efficient has shaped MCO's approach to building collective capacity.

The IRLD framework conceptualises the structuring of relationships as involving bonding, bridging, and linking capacity, where bonding involves trust, support and accountability, bridging builds reciprocal ties of understanding across diversity, and linking involves relational connections across power differentials (Halpern, 2005). Several interviewees noted that MCO was a collection of semi-autonomous groups and small teams which were disconnected from each other (Interviewees 1, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8). Sera (Interviewee 8) noted that Government pressure encouraged 'competition rather than collaboration', was 'driving everyone mad' and 'frantic', so it was difficult to be strategic and staff were too busy to invest in relationships with colleagues. The workload left little time for team-building (Interviewees 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8) with a quarterly staff forum the main gathering for building a sense of organisational connectedness (Interviewee 5, 7, 8). Different perspectives on the organisation's direction expressed in these forums created tensions among staff, despite their continued commitment to MCO and its mission (Interviewees 1, 3, 4, 5, 7). Kim (Interviewee 5) noted that the MCO leadership team would have to attend to the 'distinctly different workplace cultures' within MCO to 'try and get people to refocus on who we are, on what we do and how we do it'.

Beyond relational connectivity, the IRLD framework also provides a way to analyse the organising and structuring of shared cognitive social capital which enables individuals to form and commit to collective directions, then align and coordinate their efforts (Drath et al., 2008) to build collective capacity. These resources vary from vision or values statements, to internal reporting procedures, or less formal expressions of organisational culture. Kim's comment in the previous paragraph about needing to attend to 'who… what … and how' implies a need for these cognitive social capital resources.

Although MCO does have a formal vision, mission, and values statement, none of the interviewees could precisely verbalise any of them. However, all interviewees felt that they understood the essence of these statements and while there were some variations, there were strong commonalities. For example:

> Don't ask me word for word … But basically, it's about social inclusion. It's about building capacity for our communities as well as developing that sense of belonging, so that people feel like they belong to a community … be proud of where they come from, but also be proud of the country they live in. (Interviewee 7)

Similarly, while there was room for differences of opinion about the mission and vision statements, all interviewees without exception expressed commitment to the mission and purpose of MCO.

> The mission and the vision? [MCO's] purpose for existing is … to get money from the government to work with the migrants (laughs) ... But no, the reality is to help migrants settle and to work with Aborigines, and to bring about social change and in a sense social inclusion … The employees … this is what we want to happen… the leadership thinks this way too… It's just … lost focus because of internal bickering. (Interviewee 3)

Such internal bickering reveals that aligning the various individuals and work units to collaborate effectively has been one of the main challenges facing MCO. As Sandra (Interviewee 7) noted earlier, staff were 'forced to work individually' in MCO's frantic internal culture. Kim (Interviewee 5) identified the problem of separate organisational cultures within MCO which required attention to building a common understanding of 'who … what ... and [particularly] <u>how</u>' to guide how staff work together. While there was a high level of shared understanding *and* commitment to an implicit notion of what the vision, mission, and values were, there were clearly divergent views on how these directions were to be achieved. Several interviewees mentioned conflict or differences of opinion (Interviewees 1, 3, 5, 8) with Kim (Interviewee 5) concluding:

> [MCO] is a vibrant organisation … [but] we've got our internal
> problems, there've been a few ups and downs in the last couple of
> years … we have to address … this notion of the workplace cultures
> … [and] there's some weak links in the chain, there are some people
> who see their role as something different to what it should be …

Micro-Relational Leader and Leadership Development

The IRLD framework also assists with analysing the micro-relational level work of MCO staff, particularly with clients. Both human capital and cultural capital approaches to leader development were evident, and there were also examples of relational leadership being used to develop collective leadership amongst marginalised groups, building social capital and mobilising community cultural wealth in the process. These activities also provide evidence of direct links between leader development, leadership development and social inclusion.

As noted earlier, staff did not experience the skills-based 'professional development' at MCO as leader development. Staff experienced leader development through: the relational leadership and mentoring of supervisors (Interviewees 2, 4, 5, 6); opportunities to be entrusted with new responsibilities (Interviewees 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7; and training opportunities that were not restricted to skill development (Interviewees 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8). These approaches to leader development enabled staff to use their cultural capital and also build social capital in the form of new bonding and bridging relationships, which helped to enhance individual efficacy and generate reciprocal loyalty and trust in the process (Interviewees 1, 2, 4, 6, 7, 8).

When working with clients, MCO staff drew on both their own human and cultural capital, going beyond their work plan responsibilities to develop the capacities of their clients in creative ways. This involved finding ways to build up human capital in the form of workplace related skills and knowledge of clients (Interviewees 1, 2, 6), or building up the cultural capital 'soft skills' (Interviewee 5) such as language and confidence (Interviewees 1, 2, 6, 7) so that existing human capital could be mobilised. This strategy of using one form of capital to overcome deficits in another form was used in many ways: human capital was used to overcome cultural capital deficiencies and *vice versa* (Interviewees 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7), such as in Roberta's multicultural support

groups; and social capital relationships and cognitive social capital were forged to overcome both human and cultural capital limitations (Interviewees 2, 6, 7). Examples include, Fiona's and Sandra's work forging bridging relationships between police and marginalised immigrant youth (Interviewees 4, 7), which built social capital in the form of trust and mutual understanding. Colin's work with newly arrived groups to enable younger people to lead and act as bridges for their communities (Interviewee 2), which required relational leadership to develop new cognitive social capital in the form of new ideas, understandings and agreement from elders. Similarly, Colin assisting newly formed cultural associations to prepare their own grant applications, demonstrates MCO providing linking social capital functions to assist these new communities to build capacity in the form of bonding structures that would provide a basis for future collective leadership capacity expansion.

There was also some direct evidence of leader development that enhanced social inclusion. Several interviewees were themselves formerly marginalised individuals who were developed as leaders and trusted with responsibilities at MCO. They responded with loyalty and a sense of belonging to their organisation (Interviewees 2, 4, 6, 8) and also to the wider Australian community.

IRLD as Disruptive Entrepreneurial Innovation

In Chapter Three, the Inclusive Relational Leadership Development (IRLD) framework was elaborated as a means for analysing approaches where individual agents collaborate to accumulate, organise, and mobilise their Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005). The case studies provide evidence of ways that marginalised groups adopt disruptive innovation strategies to entrepreneurially pursue collective social inclusion goals and produce Leadership Capital (Ospina and El Hadidy, 2011). In the context of MCO, there are at least two examples of this sort of intentional creativity being applied in the neoliberal, highly politicised and Government dominated refugee and migrant settlement field. The first such endeavour was MCO's participation in the creation of SSI, and ongoing participation in the NSW Settlement Partnership. As Sera (Interviewee 8) explained it, the pressure of competition had helped to motivate the migrant and diversity agencies to collaborate: 'we are collaborating because of the competition … coming together within SSI in order to

beat the competition [so] there is competition which is constructive.' The second is the employment service project which was initiated by Kim (Interviewee 5), who engaged in relational leadership and drew on his own social capital relationships to forge a coalition between an employment agency, a training centre, and employers. This brought together Government funding from multiple departments, effectively engineering the 'joined-up' approach to service delivery recommended by social inclusion scholars (Carey et al., 2015). This built a durable meso-level social capital alliance that, since this research was conducted, has successfully attracted further government funding (MCO Document F).

In the next section, the IRLD framework is used to analyse the leader development and collective leadership development practices at SSI.

Case Study Two: Settlement Services International (SSI)

SSI was formed in response to pressures emerging in the macro-social setting, as a strategic collaboration of eleven migrant and diversity agencies, including MCO. However, there have been significant changes at the macro level since SSI was established in 2011, with immigration and refugee issues continuing to be highly politicised. At the same time, SSI has itself grown and changed significantly since that time.

How does the IRLD framework and its concepts of human, social, and cultural capital help to understand how SSI has responded to the political and social context in which it has developed and operated in?

To begin with, the vision of SSI which was developed within the first twelve months of the organisation's launch in 2011, encompasses the whole macro-social setting:

> **Vision:** To achieve a society that values diversity of its people and actively provides support to ensure meaningful social and economic participation and to assist individuals and families reach their potential. Our vision is also captured in our brand: *settlement • support • independence* (SSI Documents G, H, I, J, K, L).

While this vision was ambitious and somewhat idealistic from the outset, the organisation's mission was ambitious but achievable:

> Mission: To be a leader in the settlement sector through the provision of settlement and support services that achieve independence for refugees and migrants. (Documents G, H, I, J, K, L)

In interviews SSI staff demonstrated concern over social and political developments in the wider Australian society, and the situation of their clients. At times they expressed some frustration with Government discourse and decisions to reduce funding and services (Interviewees 13, 18, 20, 23), but they were largely focused on sharing their views on what they thought was possible and what SSI could achieve rather than spending time discussing problems arising from Government imposed barriers (Interviewees 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 16, 19, 20, 23). As Fred (Interviewee 13) said: 'We're not changing the position of government … we are providing a service … that is the best that it can be for refugees and asylum seekers within the current political environment that we can't change.' Team leader Aaron shared his view:

> Our greatest challenge … we have programs that are highly politicised by the government. For instance, our asylum seeking program … has just recently been changed … based upon the government's decisions … but we still work with that project with our values. For instance, just because they [reduce what] our clients … are entitled to … we still continue to advocate for the client and within the organisation … we continue to set up systems, which will accommodate those gaps that we identify. (Interviewee 9)

Rhonda (Interviewee 20) described the way staff were told they had the hardest job, of: 'looking at people across the table and saying that this is all I can offer you. But you offer them the hope that they need and that is a very powerful thing.' However, rather than accept that the Government funded services were all that was on offer, she went on to describe the different initiatives staff had taken to address these needs, going over and beyond their work responsibilities, networking with community organisations, or starting sporting teams and other activities to support and encourage

asylum seekers and refugees. SSI was able to support these initiatives by reinvesting surpluses, either as resources to support voluntary effort, or allowing some projects to happen on staff time (Interviewees 18, 19, 20).In a range of ways, most SSI interviewees expressed the view that they were building the capacity of their organisation with a view to making a long term, gradual contribution to social and political change, while doing as much good as possible in the process (Interviewees 9-13, 15-6, 18-20, 22-3). Bridging capital and linking capital strategies are evident in the view expressed by a senior member of the executive (Interviewee 22, Chapter 6.B., page 248) about where SSI's strategic effort to 'build strong relationships with people in power, people with power, and build our own power', through collaboration with other organisations and reinvestment of surpluses in 'social capital, leadership, and building capacity'. Rather than adopting a confrontational approach with a Government that will always have more power, SSI exercises advocacy by partnering with and resourcing advocacy organisations (Interviewee 22), by engaging in entrepreneurship (Interviewee 11, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20) and by investing in collaborative joint ventures (Interviewee 9, 11, 12, 13, 18-23 and SSI Documents G-L). The chairperson of SSI (SSI Document I: 10) affirmed that investing in 'relationships enables us to present a united voice at State and Federal government level'. The organization also engages in advocacy by utilising linking social capital relationships to connect asylum seekers and refugees with decision makers, to enable clients to speak for themselves and similarly enable decision makers to listen and respond.

Meso-Organisational Approach to Leadership Development

The IRLD framework provides a conceptualisation of individual 'entity' forms of leader development and collective leadership development. Collective forms of leadership capacity development are conceived in terms of structural-relational and cognitive forms of social capital, along with collective cultural capital described in terms of community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005). These concepts are used here to briefly analyse SSI's suite of leader development program. As in the case of MCO, SSI interviewees demonstrated the same assumption that leadership was something practised by individual leaders (Interviewees 9-25). As Petra (Interview 18) put it: 'Leadership is the act of … the person doing the leading … without the leader there is

no leadership.' However, this was envisaged more from a distributed perspective rather than as a formal positional role, with Petra going on to note 'there are leaders everywhere at SSI'. There is evidence that despite the individual-leader orientation, leader development programs such as the Leadership Roadshow induction program, the Be Well program, and Step Up, also involved collective leadership development, insofar as other interviewees were very aware of these programs and their purpose, which contributed to the cognitive social capital throughout the organisation. Further, the way these programs were conducted encouraged relationships to form horizontally between divisions and vertically across the hierarchy, building and strengthening relational-structural social capital in the way they were formulated.

According to several interviewees, training opportunities were easy to access at SSI. In fact, Melania (interviewee 16) thought that there were 'too many trainings'. Even so, skills based training to enhance performance in roles was clearly differentiated from leader development by interviewees, with leader development seen as equipping individuals to take on management responsibilities (Interviewees 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 23, 25).

The Step Up program offers an example of a program which is explicitly about leader development. This program was developed for staff in mid-level to senior positions from team leader up (Interviewees 14, 15, 20) and as at 14 December 2014 had involved around 80 leaders. It functions simultaneously on two levels. By creating a system to utilise temporary vacancies for leader development, SSI is able to allow staff more flexibility in leave arrangements (Interviewees 10, 14, 18, 24, 20, 25), enabling the pursuit of interests beyond work responsibilities, often educational or family oriented, but including other goals. This allows senior staff to invest in and develop their own cultural capital. The 'step up' part of the program involves junior leaders acting in a more senior capacity, participating in a leader training program in preparation, involving a mix of human and cultural capital emphases (Interview 15, 18, 20). Megan (Interviewee 15) was actually acting in her supervisor's position at the time she was interviewed and had found the leader training involved in the process engaging and affirming. This was coupled with mentoring support that blends human and cultural capital approaches, although according to several interviewees, relational mentoring support was also available for all SSI staff (Interviewees 10, 13, 14, 16, 19).

Other leader development processes displayed a cultural capital emphasis. For example, the 'Be Well program', a research-based wellness program introduced within the first year of SSI's launch (Interviewees 10, 14, 15, 18, 19, 20 and SSI Documents E, F, G, H, I), assists staff with making healthy lifestyle choices and connects these to managing the private-professional interface within case-work relationships (Interviewee 20). In addition, there was the 'Leadership Roadshow', which emerged from the chaotic start-up phase at SSI (Interviewees 9, 10, 13, 18, 23) and eventually became the SSI induction program. This blends human and cultural capital in inducting new staff into the systems and processes within SSI, as well as the humanitarian values which define the organisational culture.

At the time of the research, SSI had recruited Patricia (Interviewee 17) to attend to human resource development and on 4 September 2015 offered a critical perspective on the content of the then four year old organisation's leadership development programs. While still assessing the content of programs such as Step Up, she nevertheless noted:

> I think the organisation has a good commitment to people which means you can develop leadership … you can't really develop leadership if you have a culture of slash and burn because then people don't take risks … They are certainly not adverse around training or supporting their staff … the sentiments are very good. (Interviewee 17)

This 'commitment to people' is further evidence of a cultural capital approach at SSI, as it shows the emphasis on people and their capacities over their tasks and outputs. This is further reinforced by Rhonda (Interviewee 20), a member of the senior executive, in her description of the recruitment approach:

> We value things in each other and in our organisation and in our people that sometimes are not valued in other organisations, so for us attributes such as compassion and resilience, culture – having a cultural … view of someone who is different. Understanding diversity because you've lived that because you are diverse … When we recruit they are attributes and competencies and capability that

we want and we value - so it's not just that standard set of qualifications.

The individual leader development programs at SSI contribute to collective leadership development by building both relational-structural social capital and also cognitive social capital. For example, a key aspect of the leadership induction process is an introduction to the values which inform SSI's organisational culture, referred to as the 'SSI Way' by staff (Interviewees 9, 10, 12, 15, 16, 18, 19, 20, 23). In addition, executive leaders at SSI look for every opportunity to 'socialise' these values into the processes and organisational culture of SSI (Interviewee 22).

At SSI, cognitive social capital in the form of direction, alignment, and commitment (DAC) is also directly encouraged by meso-organisational level actions in a number of ways. This begins with SSI's very clear and regularly articulated vision and mission statements (SSI Documents G-O), and its strategic plan (SSI Document O) which indicate direction. All interviewees affirmed their support for the organisational directions. For example, Aaron said:

> Everyone is really committed to that value … having said that we have maybe a few factions of people who are not really committed and those people eventually do not stay in the organisation. So there is some staff turnover – some people leave but we have a lot of majority of us who stay around who are really committed to the vision. (Interviewee 9)

However, it is the values system – the 'SSI Way' – that enables committed individuals to align themselves with the organisations directions (Interviewees 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 20, 21, 23). The values embedded in the SSI Way and inscribed on mousepads (Interviewee 23) throughout the organisation, are divided into two parts. General values of social justice, tolerance, compassion, and respect; and a set of values that are related to service delivery: quality, ethics, innovation, and excellence. These values provide a frame of reference for every strategic decision and, when coupled with consistent internal processes, have contributed to developing a supportive, creative, and encouraging corporate culture. As Abdul (19 September 2014) commented, the 'consistency … makes our life as a leader much easier.'

Cognitive social capital also assists in understanding SSI's success in forming meso-level collaborations. The identification of shared values and objectives allows expansion and diversification through values-driven meso-level partnerships with businesses, other not-for-profits, individuals, and religious groups (SSI, 2014, SSI, 2015). These bridging capital partnerships became possible because of the SSI vision, mission and values framework, using shared cognitive social capital to mobilise the 'power-with' of the organisations as 'power-to' achieve articulated goals through bridging relationships with other groups (Teske and Tétreault, 2000, Ospina et al., 2012). In fact SSI itself exists because of a values-driven collaborative joint-venture between eleven migrant resource centres. There is now a substantial portfolio of these joint ventures, two of the most sizeable being the NSW Settlement Partnership of 22 settlement service agencies, and Ability Links where SSI and two other large community services agencies, UnitingCare[14] and St Vincent de Pauls[2], cooperate to deliver disability services across NSW. These ventures have enough scale to exercise ongoing, durable influence – 'power-with' at the meso-organisational level being leveraged as 'power-to' at the macro-social level in NSW (Teske and Tétreault, 2000, Ospina et al., 2012). In addition, the organisation of educational support scholarships for young refugees funded externally by Allianz[15] provides another good example (SSI, 2016e). As durable vehicles for achieving collective purposes, these joint ventures can be conceptualised as important expressions of bridging social capital that enable social inclusion work to be enhanced and expanded.

Micro-Relational Leader and Leadership Development

The micro-relational practices of SSI staff can also be analysed using the IRLD framework. At the individual level, bonding capital in the form of personal relationships provided support, allies, and advice for Petra (Interviewee 18); while bridging relationships provided Reese (Interviewee 19) with a network of mentors and opportunities to participate in direct advocacy, which would not have been appropriate in his role at SSI. Less personal bridging and linking relationships allowed Fred (Interviewee 13) to gradually influence Government funding arrangements, which

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[14] UnitingCare and St Vincent de Pauls are two of Australia's largest community services agencies.

[15] Allianz is a multi-national insurance company.

shaped the model adopted by Government for funding disability services such as Ability Links. Evidence of linking social capital being utilised is also provided by Interviewee 22, who described the way SSI sought to influence Government decision makers and advocacy organisations by being a trusted, non-partisan advisor. In addition, this provided opportunities for refugees and asylum seekers to be connected with decision makers and advocacy groups, without jeopardising relationships of trust or the integrity of SSI itself. As a senior SSI executive put it (Interview 22), this relational approach 'can offer those insights in a way that will get more traction than a press release or an article that is slamming government policy'.

The development of social capital was also evident in the SSI approach to case work. Melania (Interviewee 16) described her role in connecting new refugees and asylum seekers with their migrant and religious communities, as well as local community organisations. This example showed how case workers at SSI used relationships to build both bonding and bridging social capital for their clients, with similar approaches also described by others (Interviewee 10, 12, 15, 20, 23). Similarly, the Ability Links project described in chapter 6 provided 'linkers' to build bonding and bridging capital for people with disabilities, assisting them to participate in social activities and employment. The Community Kitchen, which can be depicted as an entrepreneurial initiative, brought marginalised people together with SSI staff and members of the wider community, to gain a form of work experience for asylum seekers who were not allowed to work or even volunteer (Interviewees 13, 18, 19, 20, 23). Other similar ventures that helped to build on cultural capital included refugee and asylum seeker football and cricket teams that helped to develop confidence and capacity and allowed networking, while providing good news stories that helped to shift perceptions within the community (Interviewees 19, 20, SSI Document K).

There were some explicit examples of leader development being used to enable social inclusion, such as a youth collective joint venture between SSI and its member organisations. Like the MCO case study, several of the SSI staff who felt included by their organisation as they were developed as leaders and entrusted with responsibility, responded with gratitude and loyalty both to SSI and the wider community (Interviewees 10, 12, 16, 24).

In addition, several interviewees also forged conceptual connections between the capacity and confidence building approaches of good social inclusion oriented case-work work and the sort of leader development processes that were applied to staff in these same organisations (Interviewees 11, 15, 19, 22).

IRLD as Disruptive Entrepreneurial Innovation

As already noted, SSI itself is the product of strategic collaboration between the founding member migrant and diversity agencies. The organisation launched with little more than a successful tender for a Government Humanitarian Services contract, and the cognitive social capital associated with helping refugees and asylum seekers to be settled and supported in the Australian community. SSI was able to grow from a single staff person to approximately 500 staff and a budget over $70 million p.a. within five years (SSI, 2016a). The first steps were taken by recruiting staff who were committed to the direction espoused by the organisation and its founding members. Initially there was little alignment, or structural-relational social capital. Relational leadership, making 'hard calls' (Interviewees 18, 23), values, vision and the development of good systems eventually enabled alignment to be negotiated while bonding social capital was built through processes such as the first Leadership Roadshow.

It is important to also acknowledge that this remarkable achievement was made possible by drawing on the human, social, and cultural capital resources made available for collaborative bridging by the eleven founding Migrant Resource Centres and Migrant Organisations. The investment of these capital resources, along with the physical premises of the various partner organisations and their reach across Sydney, helped create community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) that built capacity for social inclusion (Interviewees 13, 18, 20, 21, 22). This aligns with the conceptualisation of capital as a resource that is invested and then reproduces itself, and provides evidence of Inclusive Relational Leadership Development being used to accumulate, organise, and mobilise the combined community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) of the founding partner organisations. Relational leadership forging bridges between individual organisations created shared cognitive social capital in the form of a shared vision or common purpose to be articulated. Relational-structural capital then provided a transmission mechanism for this to be operationalised.

As noted previously, the joint ventures SSI has accumulated have built a portfolio of new social capital partnerships and collaborations. These include formal multi-party ventures such as the NSW Settlement Partnership which encompasses 22 organisations, or the Ability Links partnership with two other large not-for-profits. In addition, there are scholarships provided by businesses like Allianz, or ongoing collaborations with churches, legal centres, community organisations, or small businesses. Each of these successful collaborations builds power-to and provides an example of collaboration across diversity which offers an alternative narrative to the dominant neoliberal worldview, as relational leadership builds durable leadership capital around common values and purpose.

In the next section, the IRLD framework is used to analyse the churches, which provide a very different voluntary not-for-profit context.

Case Study Three: Protestant Churches and the Uniting Church in Australia (UCA)

The third case study investigates the way churches have responded to macro-social social and political shifts in Australia. Churches have a broad range of goals and relate to the macro-social setting in a variety of ways (Maddox, 2007). Government policy shifts are unlikely to be as salient to church attenders, ministers, or even denominational leaders as to the staff working in the highly politicised migrant and refugee settlement sector. Yet as detailed in Chapter Seven, the Uniting Church in Australia (UCA) was founded on a commitment to inclusion and collective leadership development, understanding its purpose to include being 'a fellowship of reconciliation, a body within which the diverse gifts of its members are used for the building up of the whole' (UCA Document P)[16].

While MCO has 40-80 staff and limited geographic scope, and SSI has 4-500 staff and can claim a broader reach within the State, the UCA is the third-largest Christian denomination in Australia with a presence across the entire country. The UCA can claim to represent five percent of the Australian population (ABS, 2011a), with close

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[16] The Uniting Church Basis of Union was updated with gender inclusive language in 1992, but the phrases referenced in this study are unchanged from the original 1971 edition.

to 100,000 weekly attendees in over 2000 congregations (Powell et al., 2014b). The Uniting Church in NSW also has a range of well-known community service organisations, including two very large not-for-profits (Uniting and Wesley Mission) and a range of elite private schools. These parts of the Church have grown and thrived in the context of increased outsourcing of Government services to the third-sector.

These raw numbers suggest there is a capacity for the UCA to have an influence on Government decision makers and the wider community, even though Maddox (2007) argued that Government initiatives have largely excluded the voice of mainline churches from public life in Australia as the 'special relationship' with Government has declined over time (Suter, 2013). While some parts of the Uniting Church have benefited from recent macro-social shifts, Christianity itself has been gradually declining in Australia for more than a century, and while some churches have grown or maintained steady numbers in this context, most have declined. As a progressive, inclusive, multicultural, justice oriented Church, the UCA is amongst those denominations that have been most affected by numerical decline, and the average age has also increased more rapidly than most other denominations since it was formed in 1977 (Powell et al., 2014b). Some interviewees believed that the recent emphasis on leadership and leader development within the Uniting Church is an instinctive response to the sense of crisis due to being a declining organisation within a declining sector (Interviewees 32, 35, 37).

This organisation has been affected by the macro-social context identified in Chapter Five and above in relation to the two preceding cases. Changes at this macro level, such as increasing inequality and diversity, changing immigration patterns and flows and the continuing influence of neoliberalism have been more salient for the UCA than some other religious traditions, as the Church itself is highly multicultural, worshipping in 40 languages and with a wide range of structures representing Aboriginal and Multicultural voices within the Church (UCA Documents Q, R, S, T). In recent times, a widespread commitment to 'inclusion of all types of people' has been depicted as one of the most highly valued aspect of the Uniting Church throughout its membership (UCA Document U). Social justice is similarly a defining feature of the UCA (Interviewees 37, 39, and UCA Document Q).

As reported in the case study in Chapter Seven, although the National and State structures of the Church and the community service agencies engage in advocacy, the connections between denominational structures of the Church and congregations are not strong. As a result, congregations have tended to focus more on the local level and have been less involved in engaging with macro-social issues, although Penelope's (Interviewee 40) story of mobilising migrant-ethnic UCA congregations for a Climate action initiative demonstrates that different approaches to organising the Church are possible.

Meso-Organisational

As with the previous cases, interviews indicated the widespread belief in the Uniting Church that leadership is something practised by individual leaders. However, there were also a range of interviewees who included concepts of distributed or collective leadership in their understanding of leadership (Interviewees 30, 34, 37). For example, when asked what her view of leadership was, Maryanne (Interviewee 37), responded with:

> A leader is anyone that has a following … or who can get a group of
> people to follow … [But] I struggle with the concept of leadership as
> an individual thing. It's the tension between individuals that have
> gifts or skills or something … that others recognise and the reality
> that others have to recognise it or there is a sense in which leadership
> is almost given by the community or the people around. There is a
> communal sense in that regard.

Maryanne's view of leadership, although similar to that of Interviewees 34 and 37 is unusual in this context. The Constitution and other foundational documents of the Uniting Church do not mention leadership or leadership development, but consistently uses 'leader' to refer to elected Elders within UCA congregations (UCA Document P). This 'entity' view of leadership, referring to leadership development when leader development was what was intended, was more general among the majority of interviewees and also evident in UCA publications. For instance, the UCA Constitution and Regulations (UCA Document V) refer to leadership consistently as something exercised by individuals in roles. Rather than 'leader development' or

'leadership development', ministry formation is envisaged as involving theological, biblical or ministry training of some form (Interviewee 34, UCA Documents P, V). Ordained ministers within the church are 'developed' through theological education and spiritual formation, which can be interpreted as an embodied cultural capital approach to leader development. Beyond ordained ministers, consideration must also be given to the leader and leadership development practices in the denomination and in congregations. In recent times, there appears to be an increased emphasis on leadership practices and leader development in the Church, with investments in conferences, courses, leadership institutes and other leader and leadership development strategies in evidence (UCA Documents W, X, Y, Z, AA, BB). According to Synod leader Kevin (Interviewee 35), 'we have this underlying heroic model of leadership that says, [he's] a great leader, let's give him a role and see if he can do a certain amount of batman and come and rescue Gotham City'. For Interviewee 35, and in certain church documents, leadership training was equated with theological education and spiritual formation (UCA Documents Z, AA) and the 'leadership of liturgical worship' (Interviewee 32). Perhaps if the purpose of the Church was simply to offer 'liturgical worship', then this aspect of leader development could be interpreted as a human capital emphasis within the IRLD framework. However, worship is only one part of the Church's purpose according to its own foundational documents (UCA Documents P, Q, V) and also several interviewees who participated in this research (Interviewees 30, 32, 37, 39). The training of ministers appears to be almost entirely focused on developing cultural capital, with very little evidence of the efficiency and output focused skills and knowledge associated with a human capital approach.

In NSW, the recent emphasis on leader development has involved the promotion of a 'civic leadership' course to develop 'leadership capacity'. Envisaged as building the capacities of individual leaders, aims of this course envisaged assisting people to pursue 'goals for positive social change and creating meaningful outcomes' by strengthening 'the meaning, foundations and purpose that drives your leadership' (UCA Document BB). Although differing in emphasis from the theologically orientated ministry formation described above, this course can be seen as a cultural capital approach to leader development, rather than a human capital approach that

privileges the development of the skills and knowledge that might enable the efficient and productive achievement of organisational outputs

Beyond the focus on individual leaders, there is interaction between individual leader development and the relational-structural and collective cognitive social capital dimensions of the Church. The quantitative part of this study indicates that individual leader development and strategies to build collective cognitive social capital, are highly correlated with each other, and similarly each variable is highly correlated with the presence of collective agency and efficacy in a congregation.

With MCO and SSI, there is a single vision, mission, and values statement approved by the Board and these are clearly stated in annual reports. Within the Uniting Church the National, State, regional, and local church could all potentially have a vision, although comparing websites revealed that the only vision statements for the Uniting Church are located at the Synod level. The NSW-ACT Synod website actually had a clear vision statement: *'To be a fellowship of reconciliation, living God's love and acting for the common good to build a just and compassionate community'* (NSW-ACT Synod, 2016a). This new vision appeared to be an outcome of the restructured Uniting Mission and Education (UME), which was set up partly to create a new vision for the Synod (NSW-ACT Synod, 2015: 18). This effort to establish a clear direction is an investment in cognitive social capital.

Indeed, Maryanne related that UME staff had contributed significantly to the consultation processes involved in negotiating a new vision for the NSW Uniting Church as 'Uniting for the common good'. This was seen as a popular and inspiring vision, but despite this there was 'not a clarity around Presbyteries or congregations owning that vision' (Interviewee 37). Similarly, a high profile announcement by the National President of the UCA that two thirds of members valued the Uniting Church because it was 'inclusive of all types of people' (Dutney, 2012) was not referenced on Presbytery or congregational websites reviewed for this research. Neither was there discussion of the Synod vision or the Presidential statements in any research interviews with congregants, even though the implicit vision at MiddleVille Uniting was very similar to the Synod vision statement (Interviewees 31, 36). Despite the high level of commitment to the implicit direction of inclusion, there was no process for making this

an explicit statement of direction, or any way to align members and congregations within the Church around that collective direction. So while there is both an explicit, formal vision statement that sets direction, and also an implicit set of collective directions within the Church, there is no system for enabling alignment and commitment between various parts of the Church.

The evidence touched on in Chapter Seven showed that when the Uniting Church faces uncertainty or runs short of money (Interview 42) the other response is to restructure. In fact, UME itself was the result of a recent restructure (UME, 2016a). As Robert (Interviewee 42) noted, this is a costly process. In the case of the UME restructure, the process seems to have successfully delivered a new vision (NSW-ACT Synod). Yet the structures and vision appear to have changed without altering the underlying problem of a lack of commitment and alignment (Interview 39, 42).

One of the factors explored in the quantitative study of 2414 local Protestant churches was the role of social capital bonding and bridging relational structures, although these were only measured at the local church level rather than examining denominational structures. The study found that the relational and structural dimensions of social capital do not relate to collective agency and efficacy in the way cognitive social capital does. Bonding and bridging capital were far less correlated with collective efficacy. As Table 8.5 summarises (p. 231), bonding social capital within congregations was positively correlated with individual leader development and the presence of cognitive social capital in congregations. Bonding was also positively correlated with collective agency, understood as high levels of commitment to collective directions. In Table 8.7 (p. 237), results were reported in relation to relative socio-economic advantage and disadvantage. A positive, statistically significant correlation between bonding and collective agency was present in all socio-economic settings, and there was also a positive correlation with collective efficacy in SEIFA 2 and 3 settings. However, the only significant correlations involving bridging capital were slightly negative correlation with collective efficacy in some settings. One implication of these results is that restructuring would tend to reduce bonding social capital, which would be expected to disrupt rather than assist in the development of direction, alignment, and commitment. These quantitative findings help to make sense of the qualitative data at both the denominational and congregational levels. The key

body for addressing cognitive social capital around direction, alignment, and commitment in the Uniting Church in NSW was Uniting Mission and Education (UME), which included the NSW theological college, a Leadership Institute, and a range of organisational and educational consultants (UCA Document X). UME itself was the result of a major restructure in 2012 and at the time of this research in late 2014 and 2015, UME interviewees (Interviewees 35, 37) were still managing the adjustment processes of that structural change.

In terms of enabling cognitive social capital shifts in congregations, internal UCA research conducted as part of the National Church Life Survey found that in the consensus-seeking culture of the Church, just two percent of members could block initiatives that were supported by more than three quarters of attenders (Irons, 2013). Further, there was a danger that collective direction setting could become an exercise in theological reflection rather than a process to build direction, alignment, and commitment. Presbytery leader Graham (Interviewee 32), a minister himself, argued that part of the problem facing UCA congregations was that ministers were leaders who were trained in theology to the exclusion of other approaches to leadership:

> We've trained … ministers to lead liturgical worship and to think theologically in certain ways but … it's fairly disembodied theology. It doesn't engage you personally, it has no relevance to the way you do family life, for example. It invites you to put all that on hold and think about … a scaffolding of ideas … which is lots of fun but fairly useless in the end in my experience, and sometimes dangerous because it then puts too much weight on those things and invites people to leave their real life behind.

While ministers are important leaders in a congregational context, it is lay leaders who are the majority of the leader team. Yet while the theological training and leader development of ministers was 'tightly controlled' (Interviewee 35), leadership development in congregations was largely accomplished simply by giving people a role. There were few examples of congregations intentionally training individuals or mentoring and coaching individuals to develop the skills and knowledge required to effectively carry out these roles (Interviews 30, 37, 42, 43). Beyond the ongoing

regime of collective biblical and theological teaching or small group reflection, the main approach to lay leader development was simply recruitment into a role, then learning through doing (Interviewees 26-31, 33-34, 36, 38-43, 45-6).

At DiverseTown Uniting Church, in a low socio-economic area characterised by high multicultural diversity, leader development primarily involved identifying capable individuals and encouraging them to take on a role that both needed to be done and matched their abilities (Interviewees 26, 33, 41). A similar approach was apparent in the slightly more affluent, but still working class context at BlueCollarBurb, although some people fulfilled roles solely from a sense of obligation (Interviewees 29, 45, 46). In the broadly middle class but increasingly diverse setting of Middleville Uniting Church, individuals were also recruited into roles, although an effort was made to match people with positions and consideration was given to their capacity to grow their skills and confidence. In addition, opportunities to participate in leadership training beyond the congregation were made available in the form of the previously mentioned civic leadership course or relational leadership training in the Sydney Alliance civil society network (Interviewees 31, 36, 38, 43). By contrast, at UptonMews, in one of the more privileged parts of Sydney, there were examples of people being recruited to roles which they had no interest in and which did not build their capacities (Interviewees 27, 28, 32). Presbytery leader Graham (Interviewee 32) felt that the culture of UptonMews was aimed at maintaining congregational systems rather than building up the people in the system. In all of these settings, there was almost no reference to training or coaching for skill development. With the exception of those associated with the successful Messy Church projects at BlueCollarBurb, MiddleVille, and UptonMews, all the other approaches to leader development strongly emphasised cultural capital rather than skill development, even when people were expected to carry out roles that might benefit from human capital task focused skills and knowledge.

The pattern that emerged from the congregational data is that when lay leaders were recruited into roles that felt meaningful, suited their capacities and were encouraged and affirmed, they developed as leaders and exercised creativity and innovation in the way they carried out those roles (Interviewees 26, 30, 31, 33, 34, 36, 38, 40, 41, 43). However, when the role took priority, the individuals often carried on out of a sense of

duty, but were less likely to contribute in other ways and felt devalued (Interviewees 27, 28, 42). The presence of a common direction within the congregation was an equally important factor at DiverseTown and MiddleVille, as individual leaders felt affirmed and confident that they were contributing to the collective. Apart from the ministers interviewed, only one lay person (Interviewee 31) saw the congregation as contributing to a broader denominational direction.

At the denominational level, the Uniting Church creates structures to develop a capacity for bridging and linking across cultural divides. The internal leadership structures of the Uniting Church address the inclusion of marginalised groups through Councils that have been formed to enable these groups to speak for themselves within decision making forums. This acts as internal linking social capital, as these structures do not appear to interface with the wider community. A prime example is the Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress (UCA Documents T, DD), which represents Aboriginal and Islander members within the decision making councils of the Church. This structure has become a model for the Uniting Church, with twelve national conferences for different migrant ethnic groups. These Councils engage in a degree of leader development and are supported by motivated mentors. However, Timothy of BlueCollarBurb (Interviewee 45), who had a long-standing involvement in these structures of the Church, called for a greater focus on leadership development to support these Councils to be effective. Accordingly, he commented:

> It is part of the motherhood statements. That we need to develop
> leaders. But it is not strong enough. And the problem, also you find
> that you are dealing with volunteers and things are planned around
> the volunteering … They don't know how to coach and mentor
> people from different cultures to become leaders. If we are a
> multicultural church, we need to be befriended and supported. Don't
> throw us into the deep water. (Interviewee 45)

In stark contrast to the earlier mentioned 'linking social capital' relational approach to advocacy adopted by SSI (SSI Interviewee 22), the UCA approach to advocacy has continued to rely on well-researched 'press releases and articles slamming government policy'. Since there was limited awareness of the Uniting Church's advocacy work and

little sense of ownership or possible participation in such work, it is clear that it is not linked with the case study congregations. In other words, although the Uniting Church had a degree of 'power-with' stored in the bonding social capital of congregations, opportunities for mobilisation as 'power-to' can be said to operate primarily at a local level. Penelope's (24 March 2016) climate change action was an exception to this pattern, but does highlight the possibility that intentional bridging and linking activity around collective directions can mobilise the bonding social capital in congregations.

The next section focuses on the way leaders and leadership are developed in congregations and in structures of the Church, and considers how this relates to social inclusion efforts.

Micro-relational Level Leadership Practices

At the level of individual interaction and experience, Uniting Church interviewees shared very similar perspectives on the practices of leadership. Authenticity was a common -theme (Interviewees 26-30, 32-5, 37-46), as Presbytery leader Graham (Interviewee 32) put it, 'genuine convictions and your authentic compassion' is a key factor in setting directions and connecting with people. Craig (Interviewee 30) told the story of his experience in a congregation where one young woman's vision and personal passion had gradually captured the imagination of her congregation, leading to hundreds of congregations involved in a multi-million dollar fundraising project for third-world communities a few years later. Interviewees in each congregation also discussed inauthentic leaders, with recurring references to people who tried to impose their preferred directions on others, usually resulting in resistance, some conflict, and lost momentum (Interviewees 26 to 29, 31 to 34, 36, 38, 41 to 43, 45 to 46).

Of the four congregations which participated in this study, DiverseTown Uniting Church was the only one in which interviewees were aware of a clear vision (Interviewees 26, 33, 34, 41, 44). And while this vision was decades old, it was only in recent times that opposition to the vision had evaporated (Interviewee 33). Coupled with strong support for the current minister (Interviewees 26, 34, 41, 44), there was evidence of high levels of commitment and alignment development amongst interviewees, coupled with high morale and numerical growth in the congregation (UCA Document EE). Leader development consisted largely of the minister recruiting

individuals for roles and then encouraging them rather than waiting for people to volunteer and this appeared to be an effective approach as the interviewees from his congregation felt that leaders were developing well throughout the congregation (Interviewees 26, 34, 41, 44).

When interviews were conducted, BlueCollarBurb Uniting Church had just emerged from a period of gridlock, where people who had volunteered for leadership positions had encountered differences of opinion about congregational directions which had slowed progress and momentum (Interviewees 29, 44, 46, UCA Document FF). However, during this period, a successful Messy Church initiative had been introduced, which attracted new families and leaders from beyond the Church (Interviewees 29, 46). In recent times, new links had been forged between the Anglo-Celtic congregation and a migrant-ethnic congregation that shared the premises and there was new optimism about the commitment and alignment of the Congregation. Even so, there was still a lack of clarity about the congregation's directions (Interviewees 29, 44, 46), although this did not stop congregational members from being highly committed to projects like Messy Church or play groups, or growing connections with other cultural groups connected to the congregation.

MiddleVille Uniting was in a period of numerical growth and demonstrated a significant degree of commitment and alignment (UCA Document GG). However, there was some confusion about the congregational directions. When asked what the purpose of the congregation was, Scott (Interviewee 43) responded 'Ah there is a mission statement. I can never remember what it is'. Similarly, a key lay member said 'Yes, there is a mission statement. Ask me what it is and I wouldn't know' (Interviewee 38). Nevertheless, there was an implicit sense that the congregation's purpose was about building community and serving the common good (Interviewees 31, 36, 38, 43). In terms of leader appointments to roles, there was a mix of waiting for volunteers and relational recruitment (Interviewees 31, 43). Lay people were highly committed to the congregation's Drop-In café, Messy Church, ministries to the local public housing estate and ex-convicts, as well as worship services (Interviewees 31, 36, 38, 43). A significant source of energy for the congregation came through participating in leadership development processes provided by the Sydney Alliance civil society network and the civic leadership network within the Uniting Church

(Interviewees 38, 43). This built bridging and linking social capital beyond the congregation and enabled the congregation to participate in local actions aimed at social change with coalition partners.

UptonMews was in a different situation, with two clear but different directions within the congregation as a result of the divergent commitment of two groups to the way the Church should head. One group expressed significant concern about the lack of youth ministry in the Church (Interviewees 28, 42, 47, UCA Document HH), while another was enthusiastic about a regional collaboration with other Uniting Church congregations (Interviewees 27, 28). Two of the three interviewees talked about the almost coercive approach to appointing 'volunteers' to roles to ensure that necessary tasks were completed within the congregation (Interviewees 27, 28). Alignment was difficult to negotiate in these circumstances, but there were still committed and faithful members trying to maintain congregational programs and momentum (Interviewee 27, 28).

Across these four Uniting Church congregations, there were several examples of leader and leadership development including and empowering marginalised individuals who responded by making a valuable leadership contribution to the Church. These included: immigrants (UCA Interviewees 33, 39, 40, 41, 44, 45); people with disabilities (UCA Interviewees 26, 27); newcomers (Interviewees 29, 30, 38); and other marginalised individuals such as an LGBTI couple and ex-convicts (UCA Interviewees 31, 43).

Apart from the external leader training at MiddleVille Uniting Church, the only evidence of intentional individual leader training in these congregations was that associated with the Messy Church projects at BlueCollarBurb, MiddleVille, and UptonMews. Leadership roles involved a range of recruitment strategies. A good match between role, incumbent and implicit congregational direction, resulted in leaders developing as they learned through trial and error (DiverseTown, MiddleVille). At the same time a poor match between role, incumbent and congregational directions had negative consequences both for the volunteer and the congregation (BlueCollarBurb, UptonMews). There was certainly very limited evidence of any human capital task-focused skill and knowledge development and this was coupled

with complaints about poorly performed basic organisational functions such as welcoming newcomers (Interviewees 26, 45, 46, 34, 30) and other straightforward aspects of the worship service such as hospitality or church decorations (Interviewees 31, 27), as well as more complex behaviours like communication style (Interviewees 26, 28, 29, 46).

The relational and leadership dynamics in each congregation displayed similarities, even though each different socio-economic area had its own cultural mix of advantages and disadvantages, which were apparent in the make-up of the congregations. This was supported by the findings of the quantitative study which showed that individual leader development and collective leadership development were similarly effective in each socio-economic context (Table 8.7, p. 237).

Within the IRLD framework individual leader development and collective leadership development are interconnected. The quantitative study showed a close correlation between individual leader development and collective cognitive social capital and this finding is supported by the congregational qualitative data. Where there was a collective sense of direction and supportive relational culture, participants related stories of collective achievements involving relational leadership that led to social inclusion outcomes. These included supporting ex-convicts in re-entering society at MiddleVille (Interviewees 31, 43); negotiating cross-cultural connections at BlueCollarBurb (Interviewees 29, 45, 46); and constructing a cohesive multicultural congregation at DiverseTown (Interviewees 26, 33, 34). In addition, the success of the three Messy Church initiatives at BlueCollarBurb, MiddleVille, and UptonMews shows that the human capital 'how to' component of the training package contributes to positive results in these settings.

These examples highlight the critical importance of alignment within voluntary not-for-profit organisations. Where there was no alignment or where different groups pulled in different directions, congregations stagnated – sometimes for years. In addition, as lay leaders engage on a voluntary basis it is difficult for congregations to make the sort of 'hard calls' (SSI Interview 18) that were possible in professionalised not-for-profits such as SSI and MCO, where individuals could be removed if they were blocking collective progress.

IRLD as Disruptive Entrepreneurial Innovation

The IRLD framework provided a way to interpret innovative and entrepreneurial behaviour on the part of individual Uniting Church members who collaborated to build social inclusion capacity at the meso-organisational level of the congregation. Congregations where there was a degree of DAC started drop-in cafes, chaplaincy and visitation programs, playgroups, and other local initiatives that enabled marginalised individuals in communities to feel included, build networks and develop confidence and skills. As Stephen (Interviewee 44) from DiverseTown demonstrated, the support and networks in congregations allowed marginalised individuals to find employment, in his case as the entrepreneurial founder of a thriving multicultural childcare business. Congregations represent local hubs of bonding social capital, built around common values of inclusion and social justice which enabled effective local social inclusion efforts. Nevertheless, there was relatively little evidence of intentional IRLD aimed at organising and mobilising these meso-level 'power-with' networks to build a broader capacity to impact on the macro-social setting. Amongst interviewees, most key leaders were engaged in work within the Church to build up congregations or make structures work more effectively at a local level (Interviewees 28, 30, 32, 33, 37, 39, 43).

However, Penelope's (Interviewee 40) story provides a stand-out example of how the IRLD framework assists in understanding the way relational leadership enables the reorganising of different elements of human, cultural, and social capital within Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005). As a young woman from a patriarchal culture, with relationships in the environmental activist community, Penelope had been encouraged by a mentor in her youth and subsequently by her congregation to undertake leader development with the Sydney Alliance civil society network. This developed both her human and cultural capital, which helped her build confidence and relational skill to the point that she was able to initiate relationships with NESB leaders within the Church.

Penelope initiated bridging relationships with ministers, which built bridging 'connectivity' (O'Connor and Quinn, 2004). These relationships allowed a shared cognitive concern to be identified, through gathering Pacific Island congregational

ministers, along with the Moderator of the Uniting Church, to explore the possibility of taking action. According to Penelope, there were many different ideas about why they were gathering, until a story shared by an Islander Minister who had recently visited his Pacific Island home town, to find 'people's homes … with water coming up to the knees'. He spoke of the daily experiences of normal people in the Pacific Island nations and how much they needed help, 'he painted a picture of the reality' (Interviewee 40). This story clearly provided a direction and encouraged commitment. The listening Pacific Islander ministers were then able to mobilise their congregations, coordinating the turn-out of thousands of Islanders for a major climate event, which leveraged their collective efforts as 'power-to', which enabled a degree of influence to be brought to bear on decision makers and influencers such as the media that reported on the event. This is evidence of vertical linking capital being forged and put to work through this high profile event. The recruitment of a high profile Pacific Islander sports star to add enthusiasm to the mobilisation process then also helped to develop bridging and linking social capital. The event was a great success, but only time will tell whether these social capital resources become durable long-term assets that could be described as Leadership Capital.

Conclusion to Chapter Nine

The discussion above provides evidence of the complex interplay of individual leader development and various approaches to collective leadership development in the three not-for-profit case study organisations as they develop leaders, pursue social inclusion, and build their organisations in the shifting Australian macro-social setting. The IRLD framework allows these complex dynamics to be identified as a variety of approaches to leader development involving the development of human and embodied cultural capital and collective leadership development processes. The bonding, bridging, and linking functions of relational-structural social capital and a variety of approaches to developing collective cognitive social capital were evident. These enabled collectives to become more effective at pursuing social inclusion objectives when there was direction, alignment, and commitment within the organisations.

In the next chapter, themes and conclusions are drawn from this analysis and the findings are summarised. A range of contributions of this doctoral research to scholarly

knowledge are identified, along with limitations and opportunities for further enquiry. Finally, some recommendations for Government and not-for-profit organisations are proposed.

Chapter Ten: Discussion and Conclusions

This thesis has drawn attention to the fact that effective leader development and leadership development in organisations both assists individuals to feel included and builds organisational capacity to achieve social inclusion objectives. The research was guided by three research questions, which explored: the beliefs and practices which inform leadership development within not-for-profit organisations as they pursue social inclusion aims; the relationships and relational processes which build social capital to develop leadership capacity; and the role of leader development and leadership development in building social capital to enable social inclusion.

Conceptualisation of the collective aspects of leadership development combined Day's (2000) application of social capital to collective leadership development, with Halpern's (2005) integration of social capital theory to develop a three-dimensional model of social capital which results from inclusive relational leadership development (IRLD). This framework reframed Drath et al.'s (2008) direction, alignment, and commitment collective leadership ontology as cognitive social capital, and connected this with relational-structural social capital that provides bonding, bridging, and linking functions. These two dimensions were completed with a third axis encompassing the micro-relational, meso-organisational, and macro-social levels (Syed and Özbilgin, 2009).

Mixed methods and multiple case studies were used to explore the interplay of leadership development and social inclusion beliefs and practices. The case studies included two not-for-profit refugee and migrant settlement agencies, and a further study involving four congregations of the Uniting Church in Australia. This provided an opportunity to explore the relationship of leadership development and social inclusion in the context of Government funded not-for-profit service providers and voluntary civil society organisations. Data included 25 in-depth semi-structured interviews in the migrant and refugee agencies and 21 interviews in the Uniting Church, as well as a range of publications and reports from each of the participating organisations.

The qualitative data was supplemented with quantitative analysis of survey data from a study of 2414 Anglican and Protestant congregations incorporating 185, 557 individual participants. This dataset was linked to the Australian Bureau of Statistics index of socioeconomic advantage and disadvantage for areas (SEIFA), to compare the impact of different socio-economic settings on different approaches to leader and leadership development.

One reason for selecting the case study methodology was Yin's (2009) argument that this approach enabled consideration of the impact of the context on the phenomena of interest. This was important, because cultural and religious diversity in Australia, shifts in immigration, and the rise of neoliberalism have created opportunities and pressures which impact on the leadership development and inclusion work of the case study organisations. The selection of Government funded refugee and migrant service providers alongside voluntary faith-based organisations enabled some exploration of the ambiguous role of Government in a setting where cultural and religious diversity, refugees and asylum seekers are polarised political issues.

Discussion of the Case Studies

The analysis in Chapter Nine applies the inclusive relational leadership development (IRLD) framework to describe three different orientations to leader development and leadership development within the case study organisations. Under pressure from Government funding bodies, the MCO adopted what has been characterised as the human capital approach, where the emphasis is on organisational efficiency and outputs. By contrast, the UCA defaulted to a cultural capital focus where the emphasis was on the inclusion and development of people, relationships and communities of faith. SSI combined both by blending a skill and efficiency oriented approach with humanitarian concerns.

As Chapter Five demonstrated, the neoliberal perspective has been a pervasive influence on the third sector. The neoliberal assumption that the existence of not-for-profit organisations is justified with respect to their economic contribution (Productivity Commission, 2010) de-emphasises the value of the social and cultural capital resources accumulated by not-for-profits. As noted in Chapter Five, neoliberal assumptions have shaped the macro-social level, which at the meso-organisational

level have impacted on the two migrant settlement cases and the faith communities in different ways. For the settlement agencies, they have increasingly been construed as service providers, required to justify their activities in terms of efficiency, whereas faith communities have been portrayed as out-of-date because they are not primarily economic, or reframed as self-interested, profit-seeking, and untrustworthy. These trends have been accompanied by a reduced emphasis on such contributions as encouraging democratic participation and social policy development (Lyons and Passey, 2006, Deeming, 2014), building and shaping civil society (Edwards, 2004, Calhoun, 2011), or providing a voice for marginalised groups (Dalton and Lyons, 2005).

In the cases of the migrant settlement agencies, neoliberal assumptions have served to promote approaches to service delivery that emphasise the economic value of the staff and clients of these organisations rather than treating them as whole human beings with relationships and aspirations (Byrne, 2005). This results in an emphasis on human capital skills and knowledge to the neglect of individual cultural capital resources that could be harnessed for social inclusion outcomes given the right opportunities.

Accordingly, previous chapters outlined how Government funding arrangements created pressure on SSI and MCO to treat staff, and even volunteers and clients, as resources to be developed solely to deliver pre-determined services specified in funding contracts. This has privileged a human capital orientation within these organisations at the expense of a holistic approach that values and invests in social capital, cultural capital and the development of community cultural wealth. These macro-level pressures were shown to have an impact on the meso-organisational level in these case studies. MCO's attempt to narrowly focus on efficiency and productivity led to an emphasis on skills and resulted in relational team building being viewed as almost a distraction, except when it could be justified as a way to deliver performance outcomes. This appears to be less effective than the approach at SSI, which had the scale to retain a focus on skills and outputs, but was able to develop a more whole-person cultural capital approach to leader development that put a high value on diversity and cultural capacities. Nevertheless, despite the human capital emphasis at MCO there was still some effective individual leader development. Yet as the interview data demonstrated, this was achieved through informal relational and cultural

capital approaches rather than through human capital oriented training designed to develop the skills and knowledge required for efficient output.

While both MCO and SSI successfully developed individual leaders, a key point of difference between the organisations was their approach to collective leadership development. At MCO, collective leadership capacity development at the meso-organisational level was limited, with few opportunities created for the development of relational connections within the organisation, separate work cultures in different locations, and a lack of shared cognitive social capital that could enable alignment and coordination around organisational directions. This contrasted with the SSI approach which sought to organise internal systems around a clearly articulated mission and a values driven organisational culture in the 'SSI Way'. SSI was able to overcome a challenging start-up phase to eventually achieve remarkable results by focusing on an approach to leader development that valued the whole person, and developing cognitive social capital in the form of the 'SSI Way'. This enabled individual leaders to align their individual efforts with collective directions. At the meso-organisational level, SSI has similarly achieved success by diversifying through collaboration, and an orientation toward using every opportunity to grow the organisation so long as the opportunity accords with the organisational values. This approach allowed SSI to develop the organisation's capacities in ways that valued professionalism and efficiency while guiding the creative innovation efforts of staff and encouraging creativity and innovation.

The case of the Uniting Church in Australia (UCA) illustrates a setting where Government funding pressure was absent. The UCA approach values the whole person but typically does not seek to equip individuals with the skills and knowledge required to perform practical tasks. Although the Church illustrated an appreciation of the embodied cultural capital of leaders and members, and nurtured spiritual and ethical development, it generally neglected to invest in human capital as part of the leader development process apart from the example of the three successful Messy Church projects.

Nevertheless, as the examples of DiverseTown and MiddleVille demonstrated, a cultural capital approach could deliver effective leader development. While

MiddleVille did have some additional leader training, this also emphasised cultural capital rather than practical human capital skills for achieving predetermined outcomes. The difference between the congregations where leaders were being developed and those that weren't was the degree of collective direction, alignment, and commitment (DAC), or cognitive social capital in the congregation. This evidence of an interaction between leader development and collective cognitive social capital was reinforced by the quantitative study which found that individual leader development and cognitive social capital in congregations were closely inter-related.

The wider Uniting Church case study demonstrated a lack of clarity around organisational directions, with low awareness of the State level Synod vision statement in other parts of the Church. Among the four congregations, DiverseTown was focused on multiculturalism, while leaders at MiddleVille understood their Church's direction as involving the common good. Both these directions aligned with different elements of the broader Uniting Church vision, but there was no sense of any intentional connection between the directions of the congregations and the broader Church. This lack of DAC limited the potential for momentum in the Uniting Church, although as Penelope's (Interview 40) story demonstrated, it was possible to build DAC and achieve remarkable results.

Taking all three cases together it is possible to conclude that at the level of individual leader development, a narrow focus on human capital approaches is more effective when supplemented with a relational, whole person approach that allows embodied cultural capital to be mobilised. That said, the Uniting Church case demonstrated that leader development approaches that heavily emphasised cultural capital were also more likely to deliver positive outcomes when accompanied with some practical, human capital development that enabled them to contribute effectively.

However, both SSI and the Uniting Church congregations demonstrated that individual leader development is more effective when it occurs in the context of collective leadership development, so that individual leaders are included within, and enabled to contribute to a collective that is organised around direction, alignment, and commitment (Drath et al., 2008). The three case studies together suggest that the inclusion of individuals in building organisations around meaning, purpose and value,

allows people to contribute to the collective in ways that go beyond what Rhonda (Interviewee 20) referred to as 'tick box exercises' or what various MCO interviewees called 'the work plan'. Developing an organisational culture that values the whole person and assists them to contribute meaningfully within the collective purpose encourages the mobilisation of individual embodied cultural capital and the creation of community cultural wealth. This enables individuals and organisations to draw on their creativity to contribute to collective directions beyond achieving predetermined goals.

While refugee and migrant settlement organisations and churches are very different, the mixed evidence from the Uniting Church case study and the quantitative study suggests that a narrow focus on embodied cultural capital is also less effective than an approach which includes aspects of the human capital approach. This evidence also questions the pervasive influence of neoliberalism described in Chapter Five, which tends to view employees as factors of production or skillsets which can be shifted from task to task as required (Byrne, 2005). Overall, the case studies suggest that people have more to offer than a set of skills for achieving a predetermined task. As whole human beings with relationships, experience, aspirations and accumulations of cultural capital, staff and clients may have hidden capacities which can be mobilised as a valuable resource if given the right opportunities. The SSI story of providing Allianz with interns, who surprised the Allianz management by being highly competent and experienced – including a former senior official in a national tax office - illustrates the diverse range of cultural capacities that only become valuable if the right circumstances and opportunities are available.

In terms of the relational-structural mix of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital, all three organisations demonstrated high levels of bonding social capital. Although none intentionally used micro-relational level bonding or bridging social capital as a leadership development tool, MCO and SSI did use bonding and bridging to enable social inclusion outcomes for clients. At the meso-organisational level, both MCO and SSI successfully used bridging collaborations as strategies to enable growth and more efficient resource utilisation. And while the UCA had strong pockets of bonding social capital in congregations, these were rarely effectively bridged with other parts of the Church, or with non-UCA collaborators. In terms of linking social capital, MCO used its connections and experience with Government funding processes

to enable ethnic community groups to build their grant-application capacity, providing a linking social capital function for these communities. SSI used linking relationships with decision makers to influence Government thinking as a 'trusted advisor' (Interview 22) and connected refugees and asylum seekers with decision makers to enable them to speak for themselves. The Uniting Church provides an important contrast to the other two cases. Despite having structures that connected the local congregation level to the National level, it lacks the internal connectivity to mobilise linking capital. In fact, both UCA and MCO demonstrated some lack of clarity over organisational directions, which resulted in reduced alignment amongst staff and members despite high levels of commitment in both organisations. By contrast, SSI's values framework provided clarity around direction, commitment, and also alignment, with mostly positive results at the time this research was conducted. This was particularly obvious in the form of the numerous entrepreneurial initiatives that had been initiated by SSI staff, with the Community Kitchen and Ignite Small Business Start-ups programs being two of the more prominent examples.

The empirical data has shown that the alignment of individuals around shared directions and values provides an important source of power for organisations and that commitment by organisational members to a collective cause provides 'power-to' agency that enables organisational members to mobilise diverse resources and leadership capacity at all levels to pursue social inclusion outcomes. In short, the development and valuing of human, social, and cultural capital, rather than a narrow focus on only human capital or only cultural capital, serves to build leadership capacity. The success of SSI's values-based and culturally inclusive approach to building collective capacity in a diverse organisation dealing with diverse clients demonstrates how the harnessing of relationships at multiple levels supports the operation of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital and builds a transmission mechanism for collective agency, as committed individuals and organisations align their efforts around collective directions (Drath et al., 2008). Recognition and investment in what Yosso (2005) called community cultural wealth enables collective agency, while IRLD enables social inclusion by enhancing the relative capacity of marginalised individuals and groups to voluntarily participate in the political, economic and social processes of the society in which they live.

The investigation of SSI and MCO provided evidence that marginalised individuals who felt developed as leaders by their organisations and were trusted with responsibilities, responded with loyalty and a sense of belonging not only to their organisation but also to the wider Australian community. Similarly, in the UC congregations, there were several examples of leader development and leadership development that included and empowered marginalised individuals and groups, such as immigrants, people with disabilities and newcomers, who responded by making a valuable leadership contribution to the Church.

Overarching Research Findings

The central finding of this study is that the development of individual leaders is most effective when individual leaders and organisational processes are aligned around collective directions. In other words, individual leader development and collective leadership capacity development are interlinked and interactive processes. However, with regard to leader development, the best results are achieved when development processes take account of both human and cultural capacities of individual leaders and when social capital is harnessed to enable the building of relationships within and across levels.

In terms of collective leadership development, there are several key findings. **First,** it is important to be clear about *why* leaders and leadership are being developed. The case studies suggest that individual leader and collective leadership development involves enhancing the creative, cultural, and relational skills and capacities of individuals and groups to be both purposeful and productive. This holistic approach seeks to develop both human and cultural capital. This contrasts with what is described in this research as a narrow focus on human capital which aims to develop skills for efficient delivery of pre-determined outputs, or an exclusively cultural capital approach that develops people for a purpose that is unclear. **Second,** individual leader development and collective leadership capacity are intertwined and interconnected relational processes. This was a clear theme running through each of the case studies and supported by the quantitative data in the case of Churches. Clarity about organisational directions and the degree to which individuals commit themselves to collective goals and directions was found to be essential for building leadership

capacity. However, even high levels of commitment were of limited effectiveness without the alignment and coordination of individual efforts on a day-to-day basis, as the story of the startup phase at SSI made particularly clear. Within this complex set of processes, cognitive social capital, particularly in the form of shared directions, values and methods, was particularly prominent in enabling agents to align their efforts and collaborate effectively. Relational structures functioned in a more supportive role, providing the connectivity that equipped individuals to align their efforts with others and provided pathways or conduits for collaboration and influence to be negotiated across multiple levels.

This research also revealed three ways that leadership development enables social inclusion. **First,** case work and relational support directly developed the leadership capacities, confidence, and relationships of marginalised individuals and groups. A wide range of interviewees affirmed the usefulness of viewing social inclusion challenges as leader and leadership development opportunities and they also affirmed the efficacy of a more holistic approach. The compartmentalised focus of Government funded programs created problems for MCO and SSI because of the inter-connected nature of challenges faced by migrants, refugees, and asylum seekers. More holistic 'cultural capital' approaches to inclusion, involving initiatives such as the Community Kitchens, sporting activities and Yoga lessons, enabled clients to utilise their cultural and human capital, while acquiring skills, experience, relationships, and confidence to offset or overcome gaps in their skillsets and capabilities. Similarly, in churches, community cafes, drop-in centres and voluntary visitation and chaplaincy activities provided marginalised individuals and groups with opportunities to practise communication skills and forge relationships which enhanced their capacity to negotiate their own inclusion in society. Importantly, these gathering points allowed individuals to build networks of bonding and bridging relationships.

Second, within each of the case study organisations, there were a wide selection of immigrants, refugees, and people with disabilities, who themselves were once marginalised and excluded. These individuals had benefited from developing their leadership capacities and building confidence and capabilities – often initially as volunteers within the case study organisations - before finding employment or starting their own businesses.

Finally, each of the case study organisations themselves provided a source of 'power-with' leadership capital which enabled marginalised people to wield power-to by having a voice in decision making. This ranged from advocacy on behalf of marginalised groups, as the Uniting Church did at the national level, to assistance with interactions with Government bureaucracies, police, or the health system, which all of the case study organisations provided in different ways. The use of bridging and linking social capital to enable social inclusion was evident at MCO, as recently established immigrant groups were supported to secure Government funding, and also at SSI, where representatives of marginalised groups were supported to speak directly with decision makers and other influencers such as advocacy organisations.

Contributions to Scholarship

This doctoral study makes several conceptual contributions to scholarship in the 'under-researched' (Avolio, 2010: 722) field of leadership development, as well as the social capital and social inclusion literature. **First,** this thesis enhances the relational leadership literature (Uhl-Bien, 2006, Ospina and Uhl-Bien, 2012d) by providing a conceptual framework to theorise relational leader development. By introducing Bourdieu's (1986) notion of embodied cultural capital, while retaining Day's (2000) association of human capital with leader development, a distinction can be drawn between approaches to 'leader development' which develop people as tools to serve a pre-determined purpose, and those that develop people as leaders to have the capacity to make their own contribution to the formulation of collective purposes. Leadership scholars have frequently rediscovered the benefits that result from approaches to leading which treat human beings with dignity and respect, enabling them to wholeheartedly invest their creativity and effort in pursuing collective goals, rather than being treated solely as economic units (Kahn and Katz, 1952, Likert, 1961, Greenleaf, 1977, Burns, 1978, Gibson et al., 1981, Bass, 1985, Bennis, 1986, Hosking, 1988).

This broadened conceptualisation of leader development is accompanied by the Inclusive Relational Leadership Development (IRLD) framework, which provides a step toward integrating the individual leader and collective leadership concepts within this humanitarian perspective.

A **second** contribution is offered through the multilevel construal of Inclusive Relational Leadership Development as an approach to conceptualise the development of collective leadership capacity and the resulting leadership social capital it produces. IRLD offers a three dimensional framework that modifies Halpern's (2005) integration of social capital theory to provide an integrative framework of leadership social capital. This connects cognitive aspects of leadership development in the form of Direction, Alignment, Commitment (Drath et al., 2008) with relational and structural aspects of leadership 'connectivity' (O'Connor and Quinn, 2004) in the form of bonding, bridging, and linking social capital, across three levels of analysis. This provides a framework with application to the scholarship on leadership, leadership development, social change, and multilevel approaches to leadership by applying social capital theory to notions of relational and socially constructed leadership.

A **third** contribution of this study is made through the approach taken to the conceptualisation of capital, construed here as involving both accumulation and organisation with purpose. This is supplemented by mapping out connections between agency and capital, agency and power and further exploring the dynamics of building 'power with' that can be wielded as 'power to' pursue inclusive social change (Ospina and Foldy, 2009). This suggests avenues for further research into the links between social and cultural capitals and power. Arguably, much could be gained conceptually and empirically from an investigation of the relationships between bonding social capital and 'power-with', and between bridging social capital and 'power-to'.

A further contribution of this study is the case studies themselves. Along with the quantitative study, this doctoral research represents the first major investigation of leadership development in not-for-profit organisations involved in social inclusion in Australia.

This study also makes a minor methodological contribution, by expanding mixed methods research as an alternative to binary choices between research paradigms. Although RLT scholars have called for interplay and dialogue across paradigms, it would be helpful to develop genuinely integrative perspectives that can assist entity and constructionist scholars to collaborate on investigating the social processes that create and maintain unequal and exclusive social structures, and how constructive

change is implemented. To this end, a relational critical realist research perspective was developed as a step toward developing an integrative perspective for cross-paradigm research. This informed the investigation and interpretation of data from case studies in different sectors and the quantitative study of Churches.

An additional contribution is that this study was the first to link the Australian Census Socio-Economic Indices for Areas (SEIFA) with the 2011 National Church Life Survey (NCLS) dataset. This allowed analysis of the interaction of socio-economic advantage and disadvantage with different approaches to leader development and leadership development in Protestant congregations. This is significant because of the size and scope of the NCLS. Although only Protestant data from a single survey iteration was used, the sample involved 185,557 Protestant church attenders, providing aggregated data on 2414 local churches across twenty-two denominations, or approximately 25% of Protestant churches in Australia (Pepper et al., 2015).

The empirical data and findings contribute to appreciation of the intertwined and inseparable nature of both individual leader development and collective leadership development with cognitive social capital. While leader development and leadership development can be distinguished (Rost, 1993), the quantitative evidence from Protestant Churches in Australia suggests that these processes are closely inter-related. The empirical data also contributes to the direction, alignment, commitment (DAC) model developed by Drath et al. (2008) by drawing attention to the importance of alignment within the DAC ontology and by showing that in practice in the three cases investigated, direction and commitment tended to precede the ongoing work of alignment. In this regard, the interviews with the individual leaders who participated in this research showed that while they were committed to the directions taken by their organisations, it was the degree of alignment in their organisations that enabled effective coordination of various activities that built the capacity to achieve collective outcomes (Ospina et al., 2012).

Limitations and Future Research

Although the multiple case studies and mixed qualitative-quantitative methods provide evidence of the efficacy of leader and leadership development in building power and capacity for social inclusion, the research itself was primarily exploratory rather than

explanatory. A better understanding of the potential of IRLD as a framework for research into, and the practice of, leadership development would be achieved with further research in settings beyond those examined in this study.

Three case studies and mixed methods were adopted to increase the relevance and generalizability of the research findings of this study. The case studies offered different approaches to leader and leadership development and placed dissimilar emphases on human, cultural, and social capital, which led to diverse outcomes. However, the organisations were quite different from each other. MCO is a mid-sized migrant community organisation with more than three decades of history and had been part of establishing SSI as a new startup. SSI was a large organisation that was first launched in 2011. The different scales and life-spans of these two organisations means they are not directly comparable and a range of additional factors, such as economies of scale, the clarity of purpose of a newly founded organisation, and its relationships with its founding migrant resource organisations could have also contributed to SSI's remarkable results. Meanwhile, the Uniting Church presented a completely different category of organisation. Although only founded in 1977, it was formed from an amalgamation of long established denominations. As a faith community, its aims and methods are naturally different to not-for-profits involved in professional community service provision. The Uniting Church is unique among Australian Churches, and confidence in the findings of the qualitative study would be enhanced with research that investigated leadership development dynamics in faith communities of other traditions. For these reasons, further exploration into the themes of this research in other settings and longitudinal quantitative research would enhance the generalisability of these findings.

This study found evidence of social inclusion resulting from leader and leadership development in three not-for-profit settings. This initial finding could be extended for better understanding, confirmation, or clarification with more wide-reaching research into the way leader and leadership development contribute to social inclusion in other settings. The application of other methodologies to this research topic could similarly extend the understanding of the relationship between leadership development and social inclusion processes.

As noted, the NCLS study of churches in Australia has run on a five yearly basis since 1991, offering a large longitudinal dataset with a diverse range of data, including leader and leadership data (Pepper et al., 2015). While this study investigated leader and leadership development processes among twenty-two Protestant denominations, conducting this study on Catholic Church data, or breaking the study up into smaller denominational groupings, could provide additional insights. Additional investigation using different statistical methodologies or particularly conducting a longitudinal study would also be productive. This would be of immense value for research on leadership because as Day (2011) and Day et al. (2014) noted, longitudinal research in the field of leadership development is needed.

The relational critical realist philosophy underpinning this research militates against any suggestion that this study could *confirm* a causative relationship between leadership development and social inclusion. Rather, this research provides support for the view that leadership development builds up the capacity of marginalised groups to enable them to negotiate their own inclusion. Accordingly, the quantitative part of the study did not set out to prove causation, but rather demonstrated a correlation between leader development and leadership development practices and collective agency and efficacy. Future research could generate more confidence about causation and generalisability.

Recommendations

This research suggests that inclusive relational leadership development among marginalised individuals and groups can simultaneously: generate a sense of inclusion whereby they no longer feel marginalised; encourage their desire to make a contribution; and build the capacity for such contributions to be effective. As such, enhancing the leadership capacities of marginalised groups is an effective way to direct creative energies into building a cohesive and civil Australian society

Consequently, a recommendation for Government policies on social inclusion, cohesion, or integration, would be for Government bodies to review the current approaches to the regulation and control of not-for-profits through contracting arrangements (Productivity Commission, 2010, Wallace and Pease, 2011, Productivity Commission, 2013). It is somewhat ironic that while governments and their

bureaucrats have realised that they lack the expertise to closely regulate for-profit firms in various sectors and instead encourage codes of conduct and self-regulation to supplement Government oversight, successive Governments have imposed more control on the charity and not-for-profit sector and utilised control of funding to implement these measures (Wallace and Pease, 2011). This study suggests that Government could consider adopting similar self-regulation approaches to not-for-profit organisations that have appropriate levels of expertise and local knowledge, as have been adopted in relation to for-profit organisations. Perhaps such self-regulation could be exercised by peak bodies. Not-for-profit organisations have valuable community cultural wealth which can be mobilised to better understand the challenges of social inclusion and develop more effective responses. The evidence that not-for-profits engage in entrepreneurship, innovation, and collaboration to supplement Government funded services which are either limited or poorly targeted, suggests that Government departments would be well served by working with community services agencies or peak bodies in partnership to negotiate better targeted funding arrangements. There is potential to actively enlist the entrepreneurial capacity of not-for-profits like SSI and MCO that have demonstrated the ability to deliver 'joined-up' services (Carey et al., 2015) to confront 'joined-up' and intersecting problems more effectively than Government has been able to deliver through coordinated cooperation between Government departments.

A related recommendation concerns the Australian Social Inclusion Board and the conceptualisation of social inclusion, as discussed in Chapter Five. This Government body was relatively inexpensive, costing less than $15 million over five years (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008). There is some evidence that the Australian Social Inclusion Agenda (Gillard and Wong, 2007) articulated a clear direction for the $25 billion per annum community services sector (ABS, 2010, Productivity Commission, 2013) which allowed community services agencies to self-organise alignment within the community sector. These benefits appear to have been overlooked, given that the Board was disbanded on the first day the Abbott Liberal Government took power

(Commonwealth of Australia, 2013)[17]. Government support for a coordinating body that encourages direction, alignment and commitment in the sector is worth revisiting, although preferably with bipartisan support. Regardless of whether the concept of social inclusion is ever reintroduced to public policy, the dynamics of inclusion and exclusion will continue to be part of human societies (Allman, 2013), so the research and knowledge invested in social inclusion is likely to continue to be a useful resource for application to other policy frameworks.

While recommendations for changes in Government policy and implementation could deliver better outcomes and more efficient utilisation of public resources, not-for-profit organisations could also consider recommendations arising from this study. The success of SSI in developing individual leaders and collective leadership offers a model that could be intentionally applied to case work with clients, while gradually educating Government about the potential benefits of such an approach.

MCO has continued to progress since this research. Although staff were clearly committed to the organisation at the time the interviews were conducted, they were unclear about the organisation's directions and goals. Involving some or all staff in developing directions and organisational values or culture could build a sense of being part of a team and enable staff to align and coordinate their efforts more effectively. While leaders and leadership were developing at MCO, the human capital approach to training staff was not perceived or experienced as leader development. A recommendation of this research would be for MCO to examine the various SSI staff leader-development programs and experiment with 'whole person' approaches to leadership development that could build on the remarkable cultural capital embodied within the staff team at MCO.

There are several recommendations for the Uniting Church in Australia (UCA). As a church, the core purpose of the denominational UCA is broader than either social inclusion or leadership development, yet within this broader purpose, there is evidence that inclusion and advocacy are important activities (Dutney, 2012, 2016). Although

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[17] As the Social Inclusion closure notice has now been taken down, the original text is included in Appendix 6.

the Uniting Church has an ethos, it is not well embedded in the day-to-day life of the Church. It is not on the 'mousepads', to draw an example from the way leaders at SSI intentionally socialised the organisational values within the everyday lived culture and processes of the organisation (Rhonda, 8 December 2014). A key recommendation is for the church to develop an explicit strategy to discern and embed the values of the UCA throughout the organisation and to develop processes that can align the efforts of individual members and various Councils of the Church. This could equip tens of thousands of members to confidently articulate and commit themselves to collective directions.

The Uniting Church is an activist denomination, unafraid of 'controversial situations … [and active] in the political arena, encouraging moral, social and ethical integrity'. (National Assembly, 2016). This case study research suggests that the advocacy aspects of the Church could benefit from attention to building relational leadership capital within the Church. Building the capacity of congregations and Aboriginal and migrant-ethnic councils of the Church to participate more fully could enable clearer directions and alignment to build the capacity of the Church to fulfil its purpose.

At the Congregational level, the UCA faces similar challenges to those faced by the denomination more generally. Congregations do not get to recruit people who are already committed to the organisation's cause, so the first recommendation within Congregations is to negotiate DAC as a high priority. The empirical data suggests that enhancing the current cultural capital approaches to leader development with human capital skill-based training programs would leverage the capacities of congregational leaders to build collective capacity for social inclusion.

Finally, this thesis has drawn attention to the important role of not-for-profit organisations as venues for individual leader development, collective leadership development, and social inclusion. Effective leader and leadership development in organisations both assists individuals to feel included and builds organisational capacity to achieve social inclusion objectives and contribute to civil society in Australia.

Appendices

Appendix 1 Participant Information and Consent

MACQUARIE UNIVERSITY

<div align="right">

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Faculty of Business and Economics

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Phone: +61 0429 490 602

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</div>

Participant Information and Consent Form

Project Title

Social Inclusion through Leadership Development.

Project Overview

You are invited to participate in a study of how leadership development within bonded groups enables individuals and groups to better negotiate the terms of their own social inclusion. The project aims to better understand how intentional relationship formation can be used to develop and enable leaders, and the collective leadership culture within a group or organisation, to extend their influence and efficacy.

Researchers

The research is being conducted by:

Glen Powell (Ph. 0429 490 602, glen.powell@students.mq.edu.au), to meet the requirements of a PhD. The project is under the supervision of the following faculty of the Department of Marketing and Management at Macquarie University:

Professor Lucy Taksa (Ph. 9850 4811 or 0400 764 493, lucy.taksa@mq.edu.au)

Dr Nikola Balnave (Ph. 9850 7278 or 0414 917 954, nikki.balnave@mq.edu.au)

Interview Details

If you decide to participate, you will be asked to talk to the researcher for 60-90 minutes and complete some worksheets relating to three main areas:

1. your ideas about, and experience of, leadership development
2. how and why you/your organisation initiate and maintain relationships
3. your observations and reflections on the process of social inclusion.

With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded to ensure accuracy and for transcription purposes. Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study are confidential, except as required by law. No individual will be identified in any publication of the results. The recording itself will be de-identified, so the transcripts will also be de-identified. Transcription will be done by the researcher, or a reputable transcription service that guarantees confidentiality. Once transcribed, access to the recording and the transcript will be restricted to the researchers.

Dissemination of Research Results

The results of this research will be presented at conferences, published in academic journals and in a thesis submitted to meet the requirements of a doctoral program.

A summary of the results of the data can be made available to you on request by contacting Glen Powell (above) and a workshop based on findings will be offered to your organisation.

Participation in this study is entirely voluntary: you are not obliged to participate and if you decide to participate, you are free to withdraw at any time without having to give a reason and without consequence.

I, _____ have read *(or, where appropriate, have had read to me)* and understand the information above and any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this research, knowing that I can withdraw from further participation in the research at any time without consequence. I have been given a copy of this form to keep.

Participant's Name:_____

(Block letters)

Participant's Signature:_____ Date:_____

Investigator's Name: _____

(Block letters)

Investigator's Signature:_____ __ Date:_____

The ethical aspects of this study have been approved by the Macquarie University Human Research Ethics Committee. If you have any complaints or reservations about any ethical aspect of your participation in this research, you may contact the Committee through the Director, Research Ethics (telephone (02) 9850 7854; email ethics@mq.edu.au). Any complaint you make will be treated in confidence and investigated, and you will be informed of the outcome.

Appendix 2 Qualitative Interview Guide

Research questions

1. What beliefs and practices inform leadership development within not-for-profit organisations in support of their social inclusion aims?

2. How do relationships and relational processes build social capital to develop leadership capacity?

3. What role does leader and leadership development play in building social and other forms of capital to enable social inclusion?

Introduction

- Demographics and work profile

- Type of role, M/F, decade born, CALD status? Length of time in organisation, length of time in role.

- What voluntary associations have you been part of? Work related, faith related, sport, family, education – self/children, ethnic, cultural, generational. Do you have a role in any of these organisations?

- Social Inclusion

- How do you understand social inclusion?

- Work – Other? Relationships/recognition R&R Other? As the interview progresses if you have further thoughts on social inclusion feel free to add

LEADERSHIP DEVELOPMENT

- What are your thoughts about leadership and how it works?

- Could you please tell me about a time when you saw effective leadership being practised? [in your organisation?]. What happened?   How did it happen? How did you feel at the time? Another example?

- What about a time when you saw leadership being practised ineffectively?

- How do you think leadership develops in organisations? Does this organisation develop leaders? Why? Can you think of someone that you see as an effective leader? What do you think are the qualities that make them a leader? What practices? [How do you think people learn to do this? Course? On-the-job experience? Innate qualities?] What sort of relationships do you think leaders need to forge & maintain?   What sort of achievements do you expect to find in a leaders c.v.? Why do you think people "follow" such a leader? Do you think of yourself as a leader? When did that start? Could you describe some

significant milestones in your development as a leader? Did someone else help you see yourself as a leader or was there a moment of self-recognition? Could you describe some significant people or relationships in your development as a leader?

- Would you describe being a leader as part of your identity?

- Is this organisation an important part of your identity when you are not at work?

- Is your role here an important part of your identity here at work?

- Could you tell me about the different sorts of relationships that have been or are significant in your development as a leader? Could you sketch out a rough map of these different relationships? How do they constrain or enable? How much time and effort goes into maintaining those relationships?

- Could you describe the "direction" of your organisation? Is there an articulated vision or mission statement, or set of values? How much are they part of the day to day working of the organisation? [Formal or informal?]

- What would happen in this organisation without these structures/shared guidelines?

- In your experience how does your organisation set directions and make key decisions? How committed would you say others in the organisation are to those directions? What about yourself?

- Some people differentiate between leaders, and leadership. What do you think?

- Do you intentionally develop yourself as a leader?   What steps have you taken to develop yourself as a leader? What opportunities have you had to develop as a leader? Are there any situations where your organisation has provided you with leadership development opportunities?

- Do you think others see you as a leader? Do others acknowledge your leadership capacities? Do you think/your supervisor/boss sees you as a leader?

- What other leaders do you relate to? What other leaders have you developed? What roles have you had where you had to take responsibility and exercise initiative?

- Is there a relationship between your organisation and other organisations? Does this organisation strategically choose to relate to other organisations that are strategic to its goals?

- Could you outline who you would see as friends or supporters of you and your leadership role? Are they people in your personal life - family, friends, those with shared values or culture? Could you tell me about any similar connections you have in other organisations? How did those relationships come about? Can you tell me about a time when you have developed a relationship - or had some sort of encounter - with power brokers or decision makers?

ORGANISATIONAL QUESTIONS

1.   Why and how do voluntary social change organisations:

a.   identify and develop leaders? b.   develop collective leadership capacity?

- What is the stated purpose of your organisation?

- Does your organisation have a role in promoting social inclusion?

- Do you think your clients see this organisation as part of their identity?

- Have you seen clients develop as leaders? Is that an intentional strategy?

- Has this emphasis changed since government policy has shifted?

- When has this organisation been at its best? An example?

- How intentional is your organisation at developing leaders? Do you have any examples of this organisation being helpful to you in forming relationships?

- Could you describe your sense of belonging to this organisation? How has that changed over time?

- Does your organisation encourage staff/volunteers to build relationships – internally/externally? [E.g. in meetings do they make space for people to get to know each other/train people to relate intentionally etc.]

DEBRIEFING/CLOSE

- I have no further questions, is there anything else you would like to add before we close the interview?

Appendix 3. NVIVO Coding Guide

Beliefs and practices

The data will be examined for evidence of inclusive relational leadership practices. This includes the active relational inclusion of all organisational or community members in leadership and leadership development, as the greater the number of committed human agents the greater the human energy (Ospina et al., 2012), community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) and entrepreneurial creativity unleashed to build collective power. Second, what beliefs and relational practices are employed to create DAC (direction, alignment, and commitment) (Drath et al., 2008) through the development of common understanding and cognitive social capital (O'Connor and Quinn, 2004)? These practices optimise the actual power, or collective efficacy of the organisation or community. This includes relational attention to harmonising the differing interests of agents, and encouraging their creativity and commitment, as well as aligning systems and resources around the collective mission. Third, is there evidence that social capital relationships are intentionally developed to advance collective social inclusion goals and accrue symbolic capital (Bourdieu, 1989)? Finally, how purposeful are these practices at building *multilevel* leadership capital at the individual, organisational, and inter-organisational levels? (Ospina et al., 2012). Together, these aspects of inclusive relational leadership capital build capacity and mobilise community cultural wealth that can enable social inclusion.

Leadership development outcomes

- creates direction, alignment, commitment (Drath et al. 2008)
- unleashes human energies (Ospina et al. 2012)
- enhances agency through individual (Bandura, 1982) and collective efficacy (Bandura, 2000)
- encourages entrepreneurial disruptive innovation (Christensen, 1997)
- enables agency in public decision making (Ospina et al. 2012, Bryce, 2006)
- builds relational, structural and cognitive social capital (O'Connor, 2004

Social capital

- builds power and capacity (Bourdieu, 1986)

- relational portfolio where bonding enables bridging/linking

- creates structures, changes power imbalances (Bourdieu, 1989)

- multiplier effect leverages Community Cultural Wealth (Yosso, 2005)

Social Inclusion Outcomes

- leadership capacity to negotiate terms of inclusion (Witcher, 2003; Sen 2000)

- multilevel bridging/linking relationships enable influence & recognition

- accesses, organises and develops resources (Bourdieu, 2006)

- symbolic social capital revalues currencies (Bourdieu, 1989; Witcher, 2003)

Thank you for taking part in this survey

2011 National Church Life Survey

- Please use a BLACK OR BLUE PEN or dark pencil and press firmly.
- FILL IN or CROSS the box next to the category that best describes your response (■ or ☒). PLEASE DO NOT USE TICKS.
- Choose ONE ONLY for each question unless it states otherwise

Example: Do you eat fruit? ■ Yes ☐ No

Congregation Code

☐☐☐☐☐☐☐ AP ■

1. How often do you go to church services (worship services) at this congregation?
☐ This is my first time
☐ Hardly ever / never / special occasions only
☐ Less than once a month
☐ Once a month
☐ Two or three times a month
☐ Usually every week
☐ More than once a week

2. How long have you been going to church services or activities at this congregation?
☐ Less than 1 year
☐ 1-2 years
☐ 3-5 years
☐ 6-10 years
☐ 11-20 years
☐ More than 20 years
☐ I am visiting from another congregation
☐ I am visiting and do not regularly go anywhere else

3. Are you regularly involved in any group activities here? *(Mark ALL that apply)*
☐ Yes, in small prayer, discussion or Bible study groups
☐ Yes, in fellowships, clubs, social or other groups
☐ No, we have no such groups
☐ No, I am not regularly involved

4. Do you regularly take part in any activities of this congregation that reach out to the wider community? *(Mark ALL that apply)*
☐ Yes, in evangelistic or outreach activities
☐ Yes, in community service, social justice or welfare activities of this congregation
☐ No, we don't have such activities
☐ No, I am not regularly involved

5. Do you have a strong sense of belonging to this congregation?
☐ Yes, a strong sense of belonging, which is growing
☐ Yes, a strong sense - about the same as last year
☐ Yes, although perhaps not as strongly as in the past
☐ No, but I am new here
☐ No, and I wish I did by now
☐ No, but I am happy as I am
☐ Don't know / not applicable

6. What is the STARTING TIME of the church service(s) that you regularly attend here? *(Mark up to TWO)*
This service *(Leave blank if you are a visitor)*
(Write time, eg 09:45 and mark am or pm, and day of week)
↳ ☐☐ : ☐☐ ☐ am ☐ pm   Sunday ☐ Saturday ☐ weekday ☐

Another church service you regularly attend here
(Only fill this in if it applies to you)
↳ ☐☐ : ☐☐ ☐ am ☐ pm   Sunday ☐ Saturday ☐ weekday ☐

7. Before you started coming here, were you participating in another congregation?
☐ No, I've come here for most / all of my life
☐ No, before coming here I had not been attending church for several years
☐ No, before coming here I had never regularly attended a church
☐ Yes, immediately prior to coming here, I was participating in another congregation

8. Before you started coming here, what was the denomination of your previous church? *(Mark ONE only)*
☐ I did not attend elsewhere before coming here
☐ Anglican
☐ Apostolic
☐ Aust Christian Churches (AOG)
☐ Baptist
☐ Brethren
☐ C3 Church
☐ Catholic
☐ Christian Outreach Centres
☐ Christian Reformed
☐ Christian Revival Crusade
☐ Churches of Christ
☐ Lutheran
☐ Methodist
☐ Missionary Alliance
☐ Orthodox
☐ Presbyterian
☐ Salvation Army
☐ Seventh-day Adventist
☐ Uniting
☐ Vineyard Fellowship
☐ Other *(please specify):* _____

9. In what year were you born?
Please complete the year: **1 9** ☐☐

10. Are you:
☐ Female ☐ Male

11. What is the highest educational qualification you have completed?
☐ Primary school
☐ Some secondary school
☐ Completed secondary school
☐ Trade certificate
☐ Diploma or associate diploma
☐ Bachelor degree from a university or equivalent institution
☐ Post graduate degree or diploma

12. Which term best describes your present marital status?
☐ Never married
☐ In first marriage
☐ Remarried after divorce
☐ Remarried after death of spouse
☐ In a defacto relationship
☐ Separated
☐ Divorced
☐ Widowed

13. Do you have a spouse or partner who is also completing a survey form here?
☐ Yes ☐ No

This form will be scanned - Please mark boxes ■ and WRITE NUMBERS CLEARLY to help scanning process

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14. What is the postcode of the place where you usually live?
Please write in the squares:

15. What is your employment status? *(Mark ALL that apply)*
☐ Employed full time (30 hrs or more)
☐ Employed part-time ☐ Self-employed
☐ Unemployed ☐ Retired
☐ Student ☐ Other
☐ Full-time home duties / family responsibilities

16. Where were you born?
☐ Australia ☐ Other Africa
☐ New Zealand ☐ North America
☐ Pacific Islands ☐ Central or South America
☐ United Kingdom/ Ireland ☐ Korea
☐ Northern or Western Europe ☐ China/ Hong Kong
☐ Southern Europe ☐ Vietnam
☐ Eastern Europe/ former USSR ☐ Philippines
☐ Middle East/ North Africa ☐ India/ Sri Lanka
☐ Republic of South Africa ☐ Other Asia

17. Are you of Aboriginal or Torres Strait Islander origin?
☐ Yes ☐ No

18. Where were your father and mother born?
Father Mother
☐ ☐ Australia
☐ ☐ Another country where English is the main language
☐ ☐ Another country (where English is not the main language)

About Your Faith

19. Over the last year, do you believe you have grown in your Christian faith?
☐ No real growth
☐ Some growth
☐ Much growth, mainly through this parish
☐ Much growth, mainly through other groups or churches
☐ Much growth, mainly through my own private activity

20. How often do you spend time in private devotional activities (eg prayer, meditation, Bible reading alone)?
☐ Every day / most days ☐ Occasionally
☐ A few times a week ☐ Hardly ever
☐ Once a week ☐ Never

21. Do you identify with any of the following approaches to matters of faith? *(Mark up to TWO options)*
☐ Catholic or Anglo-Catholic ☐ Pentecostal
☐ Charismatic ☐ Progressive
☐ Evangelical ☐ Reformed
☐ Liberal ☐ Traditionalist
☐ Lutheranism ☐ I do not identify with
☐ Moderate such descriptions

22. How important is God in your life?
☐ God does not matter to me at all
☐ Fairly important, but many other things are more important
☐ God is more important to me than almost anything else
☐ God is the most important reality in my life

About You and This Congregation

How often do you experience the following during church services at this congregation?
(Mark one box on EACH line)

	Always	Usually	Some-times	Rarely /never
23. Preaching very helpful to my life	☐	☐	☐	☐
24. Inspiration	☐	☐	☐	☐
25. Joy	☐	☐	☐	☐
26. Boredom	☐	☐	☐	☐
27. A sense of God's presence	☐	☐	☐	☐
28. Growth in under-standing of God	☐	☐	☐	☐
29. Being challenged to take action	☐	☐	☐	☐

30. If innovative change was proposed to the worship service you attend at this church (eg style of music, seating layout etc), what would your response tend to be? Would you...
☐ Strongly support such changes
☐ Support such changes
☐ Be neutral/unsure
☐ Oppose such changes
☐ Strongly oppose such changes

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *(Mark one box on EACH line)*

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/ Unsure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
31. Music and singing is an important part of church worship for me	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
32. I have found it easy to make friends within this congregation	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

33. If you know someone who is a new arrival here do you personally seek to make them welcome?
☐ Yes, always ☐ Rarely or never
☐ Yes, mostly ☐ Not applicable (I don't
☐ Yes, sometimes meet new arrivals here)

34. Are you involved in any community service, social action or other groups *not* connected to this congregation? *(Mark ALL that apply)*
☐ Yes, community service, care or welfare groups
☐ Yes, social action, justice or lobby groups (eg environmental, human rights, local issues)
☐ Yes, sports, recreation or hobby groups
☐ Yes, school or youth groups (eg P & C, Scouts)
☐ Yes, another kind of group (eg arts, cultural, political)
☐ No, I'm not involved with such groups

35. In the past 12 months, have you done any of the following? *(Mark ALL that apply)*

☐ Lent money to someone outside your family
☐ Cared for someone who was very sick
☐ Helped someone through a personal crisis (not sickness)
☐ Visited someone in hospital
☐ Given some of your possessions to someone in need
☐ Tried to stop someone abusing alcohol or drugs
☐ Donated money to a charitable organisation
☐ Contacted a parliamentarian / councillor on a public issue

36. Which of the following best describes your readiness to talk to others about your faith?

☐ I do not have faith, so the question is not applicable
☐ I do not like to talk about my faith; my life and actions are sufficient
☐ I find it hard to talk about my faith in ordinary language
☐ I mostly feel at ease talking about my faith and do so if it comes up
☐ I feel at ease talking about my faith and look for opportunities to do so

37. Would you be prepared to invite to a church service here any of your friends and relatives who do not currently attend a church?

☐ Yes, and I have done so in the past 12 months
☐ Yes, but I have not done so in the past 12 months
☐ Don't know
☐ No, probably not
☐ No, definitely not

38. If you knew someone was drifting away from church involvement, how likely is it that you would take the time to talk with them about it?

☐ Certain   ☐ Hard to say
☐ Very likely   ☐ Unlikely
☐ Likely

How satisfied are you with what is offered here for children and young adults?
(Mark one box on EACH line)

	Very satisfied	Satisfied	Neutral /unsure	Dissat- isfied	Very dissatisfied
39. For children aged under 12 years	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
40. For youth aged 12-18 years	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
41. For young adults aged 19-25 years	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

42. About how much do you give financially to this congregation?

☐ I give 10% or more of net income regularly
☐ I give about 5% to 9% of net income regularly
☐ I give less than 5% of net income regularly
☐ I give a small amount whenever I am here
☐ I do not contribute financially here

Leadership and Direction

43. Do you currently perform any of these leadership or ministry roles here? *(Mark all that apply)*

☐ Teaching/preaching   ☐ Lead/assist in church services
☐ Music ministry   ☐ Management/admin role
☐ Children's ministry role   ☐ Committee/task force member
☐ Youth ministry role   ☐ Pastoral care/visitation role
☐ Small group leadership   ☐ Some other role
☐ Social group leadership   ☐ No such role

44. Have this congregation's leaders encouraged you to find and use your gifts and skills here?

☐ Yes, to a great extent   ☐ Not at all
☐ Yes, to some extent   ☐ Don't know
☐ Yes, to a small extent

45. Does this congregation have a clear vision, goals or direction for its ministry and mission?

☐ I am not aware of such a vision, goals or direction
☐ There are ideas but no clear vision, goals or direction
☐ Yes, and I am strongly committed to them
☐ Yes, and I am partly committed to them
☐ Yes, but I am not committed to them

46. To what extent does this congregation's leaders take into account the ideas of the people here?

☐ A great extent   ☐ Not at all
☐ Some extent   ☐ Don't know
☐ A small extent   ☐ There is currently no leader here

47. How confident are you that your congregation can achieve the vision, goals or directions it has set for itself?

☐ I am fully confident we can achieve them
☐ I am partly confident we can achieve them
☐ I am not confident we can achieve them
☐ They are not clear enough to me to be able to evaluate this
☐ Don't know

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *(Mark one box on EACH line)*

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neutral/ Unsure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
48. This congregation is always ready to try something new	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
49. Leaders here inspire me to action	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
50. Leaders here always communicate clearly and openly	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
51. Leaders here encourage innovation and creative thinking	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

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Do you agree or disagree with the following statements? *(Mark one box on EACH line)*

52. Leaders here keep us strongly focused on connecting with people in the wider community	Strongly agree ☐	Agree ☐	Neutral/ Unsure ☐	Disagree ☐	Strongly disagree ☐
53. This congregation has good and clear systems for how it operates	Strongly agree ☐	Agree ☐	Neutral/ Unsure ☐	Disagree ☐	Strongly disagree ☐
54. Leaders here are strongly focused on directions for the future	Strongly agree ☐	Agree ☐	Neutral/ Unsure ☐	Disagree ☐	Strongly disagree ☐
55. Leaders here help our congregation identify and build on its strengths	Strongly agree ☐	Agree ☐	Neutral/ Unsure ☐	Disagree ☐	Strongly disagree ☐
56. I have a strong sense of belonging to the denomination of this church	Strongly agree ☐	Agree ☐	Neutral/ Unsure ☐	Disagree ☐	Strongly disagree ☐

57. We all have different strengths to contribute at work or in daily life. Which of the following do you do well? *(Mark up to FOUR options)*
☐ Listen: Listen deeply to others
☐ Connect: Build good relationships with others
☐ Envision: Help people discover direction
☐ Explore: Help people creatively explore fresh ideas
☐ Inspire: Inspire commitment from others to new possibilities
☐ Empower: Help others to make their contributions
☐ Structure: Create clear, positive systems
☐ Communicate: Generate clear reliable communication
☐ Optimism: Build optimism and hope, even in challenging times
☐ Act: Know the right moment to move to action
☐ Resolve: To stay on course when things get difficult
☐ Learn: The ability to learn and grow from experiences

58. Which of the following aspects of this congregation do you personally most value? *(Mark up to THREE options)*
☐ Wider community care or social justice emphasis
☐ Reaching those who do not attend church
☐ Traditional style of worship or music
☐ Contemporary style of worship or music
☐ Sharing in Holy Communion / the Eucharist / Lord's Supper
☐ Social activities or meeting new people
☐ Sermons, preaching or Bible teaching
☐ Small prayer, discussion or Bible study groups
☐ Ministry to children or youth
☐ Praying for one another
☐ Practical care for one another in times of need
☐ Openness to social or cultural diversity
☐ Presence of a church school or pre-school

59. In your opinion, which of the following should be given greater attention by this congregation in the next 12 months? *(Mark up to THREE options)*
☐ Spiritual growth (eg spiritual direction, prayer groups)
☐ Worship services that are nurturing to people's faith
☐ Building a strong sense of community within the congregation
☐ Creating a clear vision for the congregation's future
☐ Encouraging people here to discover/use their gifts
☐ Encouraging new approaches to ministry and mission
☐ Supporting social justice and aid to people in need
☐ Encouraging people here to share their faith or invite others
☐ Ensuring new people are included well in church life
☐ Ministry to children and youth
☐ Growing into a larger congregation
☐ Starting a new church or mission venture

About your children

60. Please answer the questions below for each of your children who are still alive, starting with the eldest.
If you have more than five children, just answer for the first five.

	Eldest Child	Child No 2	Child No 3	Child No 4	Child No 5
What is his/her age in years?	___ years	___ years	___ years	___ years	___ years
Does he/she live at home? Yes	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
No	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Does he/she attend church regularly? *(Mark all that apply)*

	Eldest Child	Child No 2	Child No 3	Child No 4	Child No 5
Yes, here	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Yes, somewhere else, same denomination	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Yes, at another denomination	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
No	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Don't know	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Thank you for your help today

Appendix 5. Quantitative Dependent and Independent Variables

Dependent Variables

Dependent Variable 1 Collective agency (DV1-CA)

In Question 45, participants were asked: *Does this congregation have a clear vision, goals or direction for its ministry and mission?*

The available responses were:

    a.   I am not aware of such a vision, goals or direction
    b.   There are ideas but no clear vision, goals or direction
    c.   Yes, and I am strongly committed to them ***
    d.   Yes, and I am partly committed to them
         Yes, but I am not committed to them

The indicator employed as a dependent variable for collective agency was the aggregated results at a congregational level for response c) – strongly committed.

Dependent Variable 2 Collective efficacy (DV2-CE)

In Question 47, participants were asked: *How confident are you that your congregation can achieve the vision, goals or directions it has set for itself?*

The available responses were:

    e.   I am fully confident we can achieve them
    f.   I am partly confident we can achieve them
    g.   I am not confident we can achieve them
    h.   They are not clear enough to me to be able to evaluate this
    i.   Don't know

The indicator employed as a dependent variable for collective agency was the aggregated results at a congregational level for response a) – fully confident.

Independent Variables

In the conceptual framework, a range of leader and leadership development variables were identified. Leader development focuses on individuals, involving individual human capital (Day, 2000) and embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986), while collective leadership development involves social capital (Day, 2000) and includes structural and cognitive aspects (O'Connor and Quinn, 2004). Four independent variables were used in this study: human capital; bonding social capital; bridging social capital; and cognitive social capital.

Independent Variable 1: Human Capital (HC).

Responses to questions 44, 19, and 49 were used to create a composite indicator.

- Have this congregation's leaders encouraged you to find and use your gifts and skills here? [strongly agree]
- Over the last year, do you believe you have grown in your Christian faith? [Much growth, mainly through this parish]
- Leaders here inspire me to action [strongly agree]

When combined the three items had a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.772.

Independent Variable 2: Bonding Social Capital (BND).

Responses to questions 5, 49, and 33 were combined as a composite indicator.

- Do you have a strong sense of belonging to this congregation? [Yes, strong/growing; Yes, strong/stable]
- I have found it easy to make friends within this congregation [strongly agree]
- If you know someone who is a new arrival here do you personally seek to make them welcome? [Yes, always/mostly]

When combined as a composite indicator, these four items had a Cronbach's Alpha of 0.732.

Independent Variable 3: Bridging Social Capital (BRG)

Responses to questions 52, 4, 58 were used to form a composite indicator.

- Do you regularly take part in any activities of this congregation that reach out to the wider community? [Yes, in community service, social justice or welfare activities]
- Are you involved in any community service, social action or other groups not connected to this congregation? [A - Yes, community service, care or welfare groups; B - Yes, social action, justice or lobby groups; E - Yes, another kind of group]
- Which of the following aspects of this congregation do you personally most value? [Yes, wider community care or social justice emphasis]

When combined these five items had Cronbach's Alpha of 0.668 (DeVellis, 2003).

Independent Variable 4: Collective Cognitive Capital (COG)

Responses to questions 50, 51, 53, and 54 formed a scale.

- Leaders here always communicate clearly and openly [Strongly agree]
- Leaders here encourage innovation and creative thinking [Strongly agree]
- This congregation has good and clear systems for how it operates [Strongly agree]
- Leaders here are strongly focused on directions for the future [Strongly agree]

These items formed a reliable scale with Cronbach's Alpha of 0.929.

Appendix 6. Australian Government Social Inclusion Website

Social Inclusion

Thank you for visiting the Social Inclusion website.

On 18 September 2013 the Prime Minister, the Hon Tony Abbott MP, was sworn in by the Governor-General. On this day, the Governor General signed the Administrative Arrangements Order and the Social Inclusion Unit and the Office for the Not-for-Profit Sector was disbanded.

The Minister for Social Services, the Hon Kevin Andrews MP, will have responsibility for the community sector, volunteering and philanthropy. The Minister for Human Services, Senator the Hon Marise Payne, will have responsibility for service delivery policy.

Content from the former Social Inclusion website is available on the National Library of Australia's Trove web archive.

http://www.socialinclusion.gov.au/ Accessed: 21 September 2013

No longer accessible.

Appendix 7 List of Interviewees and Documents Used in Analysis

No.	Migrant Community Organisation (MCO) Interviewees
1	BERNICE 21 November 2015.
2	COLIN 10 January 2015.
3	CON 17 November 2014.
4	FIONA 10 January 2015.
5	KIM 4 December 2015.
6	ROBERTA 27 February 2015.
7	SANDRA 20 February 2015.
8	SERA 18 November 2014.

Document	MCO Documents Referenced in Analysis Chapter
A	MCO. 2016. Migrant Community Organisation Website [Online]. Sydney: MCO. Available: address withheld [Accessed 5 November 2016].
B	MCO Annual Report 2006
C	MCO Annual Report 2011-12
D	MCO Annual Report 2013-14
E	MCO Annual Report 2014-12
F	MCO Annual Report 2015-16

No.	Settlement Services International (SSI) Interviewees
9	AARON 12 September 2014.
10	ABDUL 19 September 2014.
11	DANELLE 10 September 2014.
12	ERNEST 24 September 2014.
13	FRED 9 September 2014.
14	HELENA 18 September 2014.
15	MEGAN 12 November 2014.
16	MELANIA 12 September 2014.
17	PATRICIA 4 September 2015.
18	PETRA 22 September 2014.
19	REESE 5 February 2015.
20	RHONDA 8 December 2014.
21	RIHANNA 4 November 2014.
22	SENIOR 12 May 2016.
23	Suzie 18 Sept 2014.
24	Bernard 10 September 2014.
25	Petal 25 September 2014

Document	SSI Documents Referenced in Analysis Chapter
G	SSI Strategic plan
H	2011-12 Annual Report
I	2012-2013 annual report
J	SSI 2014. Annual report 2013-2014. Sydney: Settlement Services International.
K	SSI 2015. Annual Report 2014-2015. Sydney: Settlement Services International.
L	SSI 2016a. 2015-2016 Annual Report. Sydney: Settlement Services International.
M	SSI. 2016b. Community Engagement [Online]. Sydney: Settlement Services International. Avail.: http://www.ssi.org.au/services/community-engagement [Accessed 5 Nov. 2016].
N	SSI. 2016c. SSI Allianz Refugee Scholarships [Online]. Sydney: Settlement Services International. Available: http://www.ssi.org.au/ [Accessed 24 September 2016].
O	COLLINS, J. 2015. Ignite small business start-ups: Igniting the Entrepreneurial Passion of Newly-Arrived Refugees in Sydney [Executive Summary]. Sydney: Settlement Services International.

No.	Uniting Church in Australia Interviewees
26	BARRY 11 December 2014. Diversetown Uniting Church SEIFA Quintile 1
27	BETTINA 11 December 2014. UptonMews Uniting Church. SEIFA Quintile 5
28	BRIAN 5 December 2014. UptonMews Uniting Church SEIFA Quintile 5
29	CAROL 17 November 2014. BlueCollarBurb Uniting Church. SEIFA Quintile 2
30	CRAIG 16 February 2015. UCA Presbytery. Uniting Church Presbytery
31	EDWARD 9 December 2014. Middleville Uniting Church SEIFA Quintile 3
32	GRAHAM 8 February 2015. Uniting Church Presbytery and Congregation Quintile 5
33	KARL 11 December 2014. Diversetown Uniting Church SEIFA Quintile 1
34	KEITH 11 December 2014. Diversetown Uniting Church SEIFA Quintile 1
35	KEVIN 10 November 2015. NSW-ACT Synod. Uniting Church in Australia
36	MARK 8 December 2014. Middleville Uniting Church. Seifa Quintile 3
37	MARYANNE 2 December 2014. NSW-ACT Synod. Uniting Church in Australia
38	MELANIE 8 December 2014. Middleville Uniting Church. SEIFA Quintile 3
39	PAULINE 16 December 2014. NSW-ACT Synod. Uniting Church in Australia
40	PENELOPE 24 March 2016. NSW-ACT Synod. Uniting Church in Australia
41	POLLY 11 January 2015. Diversetown Uniting Church. SEIFA Quintile 1
42	ROBERT 3 December 2014. UptonMews Uniting Church. SEIFA Quintile 5
43	SCOTT 8 December 2014. Middleville Uniting Church. SEIFA Quintile 3
44	STEPHEN 11 December 2014. Diversetown Uniting Church SEIFA Quintile 1
45	TIMOTHY 17 November 2014. BlueCollarBurb Uniting Church. SEIFA Quintile 2
46	WILLIAM 17 November 2014. BlueCollarBurb Uniting Church. SEIFA Quintile 2

Document	UCA Documents Referenced in Analysis Chapter
P	UCA Assembly Standing Committee, 1992. Basis of Union. Sydney, Uniting Church National Assembly.
Q	NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, U. C. 2016. About the Uniting Church in Australia [Online]. Uniting Church in Australia National Assembly. Available: https://assembly.uca.org.au/about/uca [Accessed 1 December 2016].

R	NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, 2017a. Multicultural and Cross Cultural Ministry [Online]. Uniting Church in Australia Assembly. Available: https://assembly.uca.org.au/mcm [Accessed 15 January 2017].
S	UCA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. 2017a. National Conferences [Online]. Uniting Church in Australia Assembly. Available: https://assembly.uca.org.au/mcm/resources/other-resources/item/1005-about-national-conferences [Accessed 15 January 2017].
T	UAICC 2017b. Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress: What We Do [Online]. Adamstown, NSW: Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress. Available: https://uaicc.org.au/ [Accessed February 21 2017].
U	DUTNEY, A. 2012. President's installation address. Journey Online, August 2012, p.7.
V	ASSEMBLY STANDING COMMITTEE 2015. The Uniting Church in Australia Constitution In: AUSTRALIA, U. C. I. (ed.). Sydney: Uniting Church National Assembly.
W	UCA NATIONAL ASSEMBLY. 2017b. Youth and Young Adults [Online]. Uniting Church in Australia Assembly. Available: https://assembly.uca.org.au/youth-and-young-adults-faith-development [Accessed 15 January 2017].
X	UME. 2016. About Uniting Mission and Education [Online]. Sydney: Uniting Mission and Education, Uniting Church Synod of NSW-ACT. Available: http://ume.nswact.uca.org.au/about-us/ [Accessed August 12 2016].
Y	2016. National Young Adult Leaders Conference [Online]. Sydney: National Assembly, Uniting Church in Australia. [Accessed 22 March 2017].
Z	DUTNEY, A. 2016. Leadership Development Council (LDC) Report. Adelaide: Presbytery and Synod of South Australia.
AA	UL17. 2017. Uniting Leaders 2017: Growing Leaders to Grow the Church [Online]. Adelaide: Uniting Leaders Conference. Available: http://www.unitingleaders.com.au/ [Accessed 16 January 2017].
BB	UME. 2016. About Uniting Mission and Education [Online]. Sydney: Uniting Mission and Education, Uniting Church Synod of NSW-ACT. Available: http://ume.nswact.uca.org.au/our-work/leadership-development/ [Accessed August 12 2016].
CC	1994. Covenanting Statement: 1994 [Online]. Sydney: National Assembly, Uniting Church in Australia. Available: https://assembly.uca.org.au/resources/covenanting/item/135-covenanting-statement-1994 [Accessed 28 July 2016].
DD	UAICC 2017a. Community Development [Online]. Adamstown, NSW: Uniting Aboriginal and Islander Christian Congress. Available: https://uaicc.org.au/what-we-do/community-development/ [Accessed February 21 2017].
EE	DiverseTown Church Life Profile Table Congregation statistical overview - Email from minister 6 March 2017
FF	2012 BlueCollarBurb National Church Life Survey Congregational Profiles 2006, 2011 NCLS Research, Sydney
GG	2012 MiddleVille National Church Life Survey Congregational Profiles 2006, 2011 NCLS Research, Sydney
HH	2012 UptonMews National Church Life Survey Congregational Profiles 2006, 2011 NCLS Research, Sydney

Appendix 8 Human Research Ethics Approval

MACQUARIE University

Approved - 5201400677

Mrs Yanru Ouyang <fbe-ethics@mq.edu.au>

28 July 2014 at 10:30

To: Prof Lucy Taksa <lucy.taksa@mq.edu.au>

Cc: Dr Nikola Balnave <nikki.balnave@mq.edu.au>, Mr Glen Brian Powell <glen.powell@students.mq.edu.au>

Dear Prof Taksa,

Re: 'Developing Relational Leadership in Voluntary Organisations as a Strategy for Social Inclusion.'

Reference No.: 5201400677

Thank you for your recent correspondence. Your response has addressed the issues raised by the Faculty of Business & Economics Human Research Ethics Sub Committee. Approval of the above application is granted, effective "28/07/2014". This email constitutes ethical approval only.

This research meets the requirements of the National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007). The National Statement is available at the following web site:
 http://www.nhmrc.gov.au/_files_nhmrc/publications/attachments/e72.pdf.

The following personnel are authorised to conduct this research:
Dr Nikola Balnave
Mr Glen Brian Powell
Prof Lucy Taksa

NB. STUDENTS: IT IS YOUR RESPONSIBILITY TO KEEP A COPY OF THIS
APPROVAL EMAIL TO SUBMIT WITH YOUR THESIS.

Please note the following standard requirements of approval:

1.   The approval of this project is conditional upon your continuing compliance with the
National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).

2.   Approval will be for a period of five (5) years subject to the provision of annual
reports.

Progress Report 1 Due: 28th Jul. 2015
Progress Report 2 Due: 28th Jul. 2016
Progress Report 3 Due: 28th Jul. 2017
Progress Report 4 Due: 28th Jul. 2018
Final Report Due: 28th Jul. 2019

NB. If you complete the work earlier than you had planned you must submit a Final Report
as soon as the work is completed. If the project has been discontinued or not commenced
for any reason, you are also required to submit a Final Report for the project.

Progress reports and Final Reports are available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/
human_research_ethics/forms

3.   If the project has run for more than five (5) years you cannot renew approval for the
project. You will need to complete and submit a Final Report and submit a new application
for the project. (The five year limit on renewal of approvals allows the Committee to fully re-
review research in an environment where legislation, guidelines and requirements are
continually changing, for example, new child protection and privacy laws).

4.   All amendments to the project must be reviewed and approved by the Committee
before implementation. Please complete and submit a Request for Amendment Form
available at the following website:

http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/
human_research_ethics/forms

5.   Please notify the Committee immediately in the event of any adverse effects on participants or of any unforeseen events that affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

6.   At all times you are responsible for the ethical conduct of your research in accordance with the guidelines established by the University. This information is available at the following websites:

http://www.mq.edu.au/policy/
http://www.research.mq.edu.au/for/researchers/how_to_obtain_ethics_approval/
human_research_ethics/policy

If you will be applying for or have applied for internal or external funding for the above project it is your responsibility to provide the Macquarie University's Research Grants Management Assistant with a copy of this email as soon as possible. Internal and External funding agencies will not be informed that you have approval for your project and funds will not
be released until the Research Grants Management Assistant has received a
copy of this email.

If you need to provide a hard copy letter of approval to an external organisation as evidence that you have approval, please do not hesitate to contact the FBE Ethics Committee Secretariat, via fbe-ethics@mq.edu.au or 9850 4826.

Please retain a copy of this email as this is your official notification of ethics approval.

Yours sincerely,

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