Exploring the intersections of Race, Class, and Gender in Arts Leadership

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A case study on Black, Asian, and minority ethnic leaders within the British and Finnish arts and cultural field

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ABSTRACT

Thesis

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Exploring the intersections of Race, Class, and Gender in Arts Leadership: A case study on Black, Asian, and minority ethnic leaders within the British and Finnish arts and cultural field	82 + references and appendices
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Abstract

This qualitative case study examines Black, Asian, and minority ethnic (BAME) leadership through both foundational theories that surround race, class, and gender, and intersectional feminist approaches, in order to support a greater understanding of how and why these categorisations influence the experiences of BAME arts and cultural leaders.

The theoretical framework is a comprehensive review of the existing literature related to the main topics of the thesis, including leadership; race, class, and gender; and cultural policy. This thesis makes use of two methodological approaches—interpretivism, and standpoint theory. The primary data consists of four

semi-structured interviews with arts and cultural leaders situated in Britain and Finland.

The research reveals that BAME leaders' professional working experiences have been influenced in various manners, due to the intersections of their race, class, and gender. The experiences faced by BAME leaders included but were not limited to: barriers to entry due to structural racism; race, class and gender bias; and race-based normative organisational structures.

Keywords
Britain, Class, Cultural Policy, Feminism, Finland, Gender, Intersectionality, Leadership, Race

Additional information

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

The lack of diverse representation within the staff makeup—as well as the programming—of arts and cultural organisations within Europe and the United Kingdom (UK) is widely acknowledged (Arts Council England 2019; Network of European Museum Organisations, 2016). The vast majority of institutions have begun discussing these issues, with leaders within the arts and cultural field admitting that they are falling behind on their diversity targets, or struggling to introduce and support diverse voices within their spheres of influence (CAMEo, 2018; Saukkonen, 2007).

Furthermore, for decades, writers, intellectuals, theorists, and social science researchers have been debating issues of diversity within working environments, as well as the experiences of cultural workers within the field of arts (hooks 1995 and 2000; Ahmed 2017; Collins 1991; Davis 1981; Higginbotham 2001). However, evidence (Arts Council England, 2020a) still shows that individuals who are responsible for the governance and leadership of arts and cultural organisations consistently formulate into a homogeneous group that inadequately reflects the diverse configurations of our societies at large. Consequently, only a small number of cultural professionals who identify as Black, Asian, and minority ethnic (BAME) hold leadership positions within the arts and cultural field.

Thus, evidence shows (Ahmed, 2012; Konrad, Prasad and Pringle, 2006) that critically examining the topic of diversity—and more specifically, diversity within working environments—is important, as it impacts individuals within the institution as well as audiences attempting to enter the institution. A space not representative of the constituents it is meant to serve is likely a space of sameness, with limited capacity to grow and change. In order to analyse one

element of a larger dialogue—diversity in the field of arts and culture—this thesis aims to explore the experiences of the few BAME leaders that are working within the field, in order to bring to the fore the unique perspectives of BAME arts and cultural leaders. Specifically, I am interested in how categories such as race, class, and gender intersect to influence (or otherwise inform) their professional work experiences.

This thesis will focus on BAME leadership through the lenses of intersectional feminist theories, which reflect on the intersections of a cultural worker's race, class, and gender, and how these interplay with their position as a leader. Gathering this complex but important knowledge will further enhance understandings of (conscious and unconscious) biases and exclusions within the arts management field. It is also an important topic of discourse, both on a micro level—as a person's professional work experience can determine their career choices within the field—and a meso level, as the foundational organisational structure of arts and cultural institutions can influence the types of leaders the field makes space for.

Furthermore, the central premise behind this thesis is to analyse and amplify the voices of underrepresented minorities in leadership positions, in order to accumulate greater knowledge of their experiences within the arts and cultural field, which can lead to better understandings of how the intersections of race, class, and gender influence a BAME individual's professional work experiences, and shape their subjectivity. Acknowledging someone's subjectivity is an act of recognising that people's perceptions of things are informed by who they are (and who they are seen to be), along with their environments, and their past experiences (Cowman and Jackson, 2003, p.49). For instance, a BAME subject will encounter institutions differently than their non-BAME colleagues. I have chosen to interview BAME subjects based on my own experiences of encountering institutions differently from my non-BAME colleagues; what I noticed as a racialised minority person was rarely on the radar of others. Through this study, I aim to formulate the subjectivity of a BAME leader, in

order to examine the influences of race, class, and gender on leadership in the contexts of Britain (where I grew up) and Finland (where I now reside).

At the time of writing this thesis, the UK is a sovereign state that comprises four countries: England, Scotland, Wales, and Northern Ireland. Great Britain comprises England, Scotland, and Wales, whilst Britain comprises England and Wales only. While my focus is on BAME leaders in Britain, its soon-to-be-discussed cultural policy has been shaped and informed by UK cultural policy, hence the need to make clear these overlapping contexts. In 2016, the UK voted to leave the European Union, and this ongoing transition period continues today. Finland as a nation celebrated its one hundredth birthday in 2017, and became part of the European Union in 1995.

This thesis explores how four BAME professional leaders experience working within/for arts and cultural organisations, and how these professional experiences are influenced by aspects of their race, class, and gender. It will also discuss the ways in which identity factors influence leadership, including their leadership style, and how they view the diversity commitments of arts and cultural institutions. As this thesis examines leadership through the social identities and experiences of BAME leaders who are considered a marginalised group, the idea of otherness factors throughout the thesis. Otherness alludes to the way in which society constructs identity categories that are then imposed on contemporary arrangements of power, and is useful when talking about how minority and majority identities are constructed (Bauman, 1991; Grossberg, 2011). People with minority identities are often othered by those with hegemonic power to create an 'us versus them' dynamic that reinforces inequality.

The case study focuses on four professional leaders: two in Britain and two in Finland. The interviewees are: a British national raised in the United Kingdom; an American national who has been working in the British arts field for more than 17 years; a Finnish national; and an Indian national who moved to Finland four years ago. All four interviewees self identify as BAME women, and thus this thesis investigates the intersection of race, class, and gender through focusing

on this perspective. However, it is important to acknowledge that within the studies of race, class, and gender, there are many different perspectives to focus on, and while my research is limited by the length and scope of the Masters thesis form, I endeavour to recognise these intersections in a nuanced and expansive way.

The rationale for choosing to investigate cases situated in two different contexts is multi-pronged. Within the fields of arts and culture, people regularly work together on an international level, and many governmental institutions focus on internationalisation in their policies (for example, Frame, 2020; British Council, 2020) and funding priorities. This results in regular cooperation, networking, and a crossover of arts and cultural leaders working together within Europe and the United Kingdom. I wanted to investigate if there were any similarities between BAME leaders' work experiences through the lenses of race, class, and gender, regardless of their being situated in Finland and Britain.

Additionally, as a British minority scholar myself living in Finland, I am highly interested in investigating the differences or similarities of cultural workers residing in those two countries. For example, the UK has a reputation for being multicultural, while Finland often reinforces the myth of homogeneity and whiteness that is prevalent in the Nordic regions (Keskinen, Skaptadóttir and Toivanen, 2019). The UK is known to be a hierarchical and classist society with its history of the monarchy and landed gentry, while Finland's socialist history and support of free education has helped to create its (debatable) reputation as a country focused on equality, with no enshrined social classes. Despite government pledges, the gender imbalances in the UK continue to widen; whilst Finland is arguably ahead of the UK (number three in the World Economic Forum global ranking), gender imbalances are still present within society (Abdulkarim, 2019; Neate, 2019). It should be noted that much of the data collected around gender inequality focuses on binary understandings of gender. I will soon elaborate upon and problematise the limits of this frame.

My desire to research BAME leadership within the arts and cultural sector came from my own lived experiences as a Black working-class woman aiming to work within this field. While there are barriers of entry to every field (Adams, 2019), it is important to recognise that the arts field has a reputation for elitism due to its unique relationship between a person's identity and their structured cultural practices (Bourdieu, 1992). It can be difficult to feel like you would be welcome in some institutional spaces when you sense that there are not many individuals similar to you (either as a Black person, a woman, or a working-class person), both within the presented artworks, or in the people working in arts organisations.

From a very young age when visiting museums or galleries, this was something I became increasingly aware of. Throughout these experiences, I have understood that the reason for this lack of inclusivity has had no relation to individuals not striving to work within the field, but due to structural oppressions—such as those based on gender—due to entrenched habits or cultural norms (Thorpe, 2015). Fortunately, this has slowly started to change, and within the UK, a small number of BAME individuals have advanced to more visible roles within the sector, while curators have worked to address imbalances around gender and race in their collections, for example, recent exhibitions by Walker (2019) and Godfrey and Whitley (2017).

Subsequently, for this thesis, I speak from the position of a Black, working-class woman who understands and has experienced how the intersections of my race, class, and gender have influenced how I have entered and navigated the arts and cultural field. For example, my current position as a co-founder of a non-profit cultural organisation was formed due to the need for further support for underrepresented artists and arts workers. I understand these intersections in relation to the concept of intersectionality, which examines how the socially and culturally formed categories of race, class, and gender interconnect on many varied levels, and allow for particular forms of inequality in society to perpetuate. Sensing that these intersections have affected me, I was interested to learn more about the experiences of others. This research is important,

because it brings to the forefront the experiences of individuals similar to myself, but who have been able to maneuver through the arts and culture field to become leaders, even though these systems of oppression are still in place. This thesis is a way to counteract the lack of marginalised voices being made visible within these fields.

This thesis therefore includes research on arts and cultural workers in leadership positions in Britain and Finland; defines cultural policy; and summarises the cultural policy frameworks for both Britain and Finland (which derives from—and has been influenced by—broader UK cultural policies). I will provide a brief overview of the historical foundations of cultural policy on a macro level, and also present the recent cultural policy diversity objectives outlined in each context.

The rationale for examining leadership diversity through the lenses of race, class, and gender is because until recently, the vast majority of studies on race—and also I believe to some degree, the intersectionalities of gender and class—have been both misrepresented and absented, as they have often been centred around the views and experiences of dominant group representatives (Andersen, 1993, p.39). This has led to the exclusion of many BAME groups from studies, and "from the application of ethnocentric concepts to the study of racial-ethnic groups" (Andersen, 1993.p.39). This paper focuses on BAME individuals, as scholars have acknowledged that the perspectives of BAME people (that is, they are speaking, and not being spoken about) within qualitative research practices have been neglected, given that race, for example, is regularly neutralised or ignored within academic discourses (Minnich, 1990; Nkomo, 1992). I seek to contribute to filling in this gap in theory by enunciating the practical experiences of BAME leaders within the fields of arts and culture.

In addition to the current gap in Arts Management theory, a second motive for pursuing this thesis topic is that as a minority scholar, there is a unique opportunity to present the perspectives of minority subjects with a sensitivity and nuance that comes from our shared subjectivities, and might not be

captured by non-BAME researchers. According to Blauner and Wellman (1973, p.329), "There are certain aspects of racial phenomena, however, that are particularly difficult, if not impossible, for a member of the oppressing group to grasp empirically and formulate conceptually." Andersen (1993, p.40) subsequently notes that a way to overcome this is to "encourage studies of race and ethnic relations by minority scholars themselves, on the assumption that they are better able to understand the nuances of racial oppression." Furthermore, "minority scholars are also less likely to experience distrust, hostility, and exclusion within minority communities" Andersen (1993, p.41). This area of study is thus of particular interest to me as a minority scholar investigating this sphere to further enrich the theoretical field of Arts Management.

The main target audience for this thesis are all actors working within the arts and cultural sector, particularly those in leadership positions and positions of power and governance. This includes those working in arts organisations—such as national museums—and individuals who work in the wider arts field, for example, independent cultural producers and curators. This thesis targets freelance as well as institutional arts and cultural workers, in an effort to foster structural changes that make the field's staff makeup more representative of the people it aims to serve. It also aims to broaden understandings of how leadership can be approached and the barriers faced by aspiring leaders whose particular subjectivities might struggle in the face of structural inequalities related to their race, class, and gender. My hope is that this thesis will aid readers in their overall approach to working fruitfully with diversity and inclusion, and reassure other minority arts and cultural workers that the challenges they face do not have to be faced alone.

1.2. Aim of the study

Given the aforementioned challenges to supporting diversity in the arts and cultural field, this thesis aims to investigate the professional work experiences of

BAME leaders working with and for arts and cultural institutions, through the lenses of race, class, and gender. It also explores what impact those experiences may have had on their capacity to reach and maintain leadership positions.

The main research question is:
What influences do race, class, and gender have on Black, Asian, and minority ethnic professional leaders' working experience within the arts and cultural field?

The following are supporting questions:
How does the race, class, and gender of a Black, Asian, and minority ethnic arts and cultural leader influence their work processes? What effect does race, class, and gender of a Black, Asian, and minority ethnic professional leader have on their leadership style?

To clarify, as a leader's *working experiences* can include many different aspects, the thesis focuses on their experiences of leading others; how the interviewees ensure their ideas and opinions are heard when working with others; and how the interviewees perceive the diversity commitments of the institutions that employ them, or who they collaborate with.

The aim of the thesis is to draw on both foundational theories that surround race, class, and gender, and intersectional feminist approaches, in order to support a greater understanding of how and why these categorisations influence the experiences of BAME arts and cultural leaders.

Intersectionality takes into consideration how an individual's identity and subjectivity—for example, that of a Black woman—is shaped by a number of social categorisations (primarily race, class, and gender, but also sexuality, and ability) that overlap and are interdependent, to often reinforce and amplify disadvantage and discrimination (Crenshaw, 1991). Although I have presented

the theoretical frameworks of race, class, and gender separately for the sake of clarity and ease of understanding, I acknowledge that each category can and does intersect. Additionally, while many other categories have been written about in relation to intersectionality, I chose to focus on the more dominant theoretical foundations of race, class, and gender.

A quick introductory note about gender (and sex): I undestand both as operating along a spectrum, rather than the relatively recently societally enshrined binaries of male/female and women/men. While much theory reinforces these binaries (and equates feminism as a domain for women's rights), I follow intersectional feminist thinkers (for example bell hooks and Sara Ahmed) who acknowledge and include everyone within their feminisms, including non-binary, gender non-conforming, and trans people (and men!). So when some of the quoted material reinforces these binaries—or otherwise strikes me as problematic—I will attempt to acknowledge this through the addition of [*sic*] within quotes.

Finally, in providing an outline of the historical foundations of cultural policy in Finland and the UK, along with more recent diversity objectives, I aim to magnify the relevant frameworks from which the arts and cultural field of both contexts operate. This enables me to contribute to and build upon research related to diversity within the arts and cultural field, and especially highlight the viewpoints of minority subjects and minority scholars within academic discourses.

1.3. Research Approach

The experiences of arts and cultural workers are the main focal point of this thesis, and feminist epistemologies comprise its philosophical foundations. I was guided in this direction by acclaimed Black feminist theorist hooks (2000, p.8), who notes that "Feminist theorists acknowledged the overwhelming

significance of the interlocking systems of race, gender, and class."

Additionally, due to the human interest factor within the research, the thesis is founded in interpretive qualitative research, and the case study method will also be applied to ensure a comprehensive examination of the four cases. The key data collection method is semi-structured interviews, because of the aim to analyse and understand a select group's experiences. A semi-structured interview approach can also allow for the interviewee to share additional knowledge, giving the interviewer a chance to discuss further the points considered significant by the person interviewed (Brinkmann, 2018, p.579), which is important for this thesis. The data analysis of this study will be completed through a mixture of grounded theory and a thematic analysis method.

1.4. Structure of the thesis

There are six main chapters within this thesis, as well as additional relevant sub-chapters. We begin with an introductory chapter that summarises the focal topic of the thesis, and showcases the challenges around diversity faced within the arts and cultural field within Europe, thus outlining the problem formulation of this thesis. Furthermore, the introduction section of the thesis includes the aim of the study, which is to investigate the professional work experiences of BAME leadership, through the lenses of race, class, and gender. The introductory chapter also includes a section on my research approach.

The second chapter includes the theoretical framework, which is a comprehensive review of the existing literature related to the main topics of the thesis, including race, gender, and class; cultural policy; and leadership. The rationale for including the theoretical frameworks surrounding race, class, and gender is to provide a clear foundation for each category, in order for the reader to more readily understand the experiences and testimonies presented in the study.

The third chapter consists of the research method, which includes the methodological approach applied to this thesis, its data collection process, the data analysis procedure, as well as critical reflections on the research formation.

The fourth chapter presents the findings of the study and an analysis of the discourses gathered through the interviews. In addition, this chapter will also present the results of the findings, which are supported by the analysis of the interviews. The fifth chapter focuses on the final conclusion, highlights the key findings of the thesis, and explores how those findings are linked with the theories outlined previously within the theoretical framework.

The sixth and final chapter of the thesis includes a discussion focused on research topics which may be researched in the future, the managerial implications of the findings, as well as my personal philosophical and managerial thoughts around the subject.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The first section presents theories on leadership, including my thinking around influence, power, legitimate power, decision making, and leadership style. This will provide an understanding of the overlapping elements of leadership, and how these aspects contribute to the identity formation of a leader.

The second section relates to race, class, gender, and leadership, and outlines my foundational understandings of the three categories, coupled with reflections on the ways in which they are socially constructed. I situate my thinking around the categories of race, class, and gender as being interconnected, given that intersectionality supports the idea that these categories do not act in isolation from each other. However historically, race, class, and gender have been theorised independently of one another, so I begin here, then explore theories that examine elements of race, class, and gender

within the context of leadership theory.

The third section presents a brief introduction to cultural policy, and outlines some historical foundations for the forming of cultural policy within Britain and Finland. This segment is then followed by reflections on the recent diversity agendas presented within the cultural policy frameworks of both countries.

2.1. Leadership

2.2.1. Influence, power, and leadership

Many authors and academics have discussed leadership during the last half century, and the vast majority of the research I encountered was conducted within the United States, Canada, and Western Europe (Yukl, 2006, p.430). A review of this available literature illustrates that there are various definitions of leadership within academic research. For example, according to Kotter (2001), leadership is "coping with change, setting a direction, aligning people, and motivating and inspiring" (p.86), whereas House, Dorfman, Javidan, Hanges, and Sully du Luque (2014) state that "leadership is the ability of an individual to influence, motivate, and enable others to contribute toward the effectiveness and success of the organization of which they are a member" (p.17).

Moreover, the abundance of interpretations around leadership has led to challenges in determining a single definition (Fleishman et al 1991; Karmel 1978; Northouse 2010), and not all academics agree that leaders should be separate from managers; Mintzberg (2013) notes that "Instead of distinguishing leaders from managers, we should be seeing managers as leaders, and leadership as management practiced well" (p.8). However, it is important to distinguish leaders from management, as their sources of power, influence, and the ways in which they fulfil an organisation's requirements are different. As such, the description stated by House et al (2014) is the definition that I find the

most suitable, as it illustrates the required capacities of a leader, but also shows the connection between those abilities and organisational leadership.

Within leadership theory, two aspects regularly appear: one is influence, and how this is applied over one person or a group of people (Byrnes, 2015; Robbins and Denzo, 1995; Schermerhorn, 2013; Smircich and Morgan, 1982; Yukl, 2006); the other important element is power. Understanding the concept of power in a theoretical sense is valuable when trying to realise how people are able to influence others (Mintzberg, 1983; Pfeffer 1981; Yukl 2006), given that the construction of power and influence are elements that make the characteristics of an organisation an entity (Handy, 1999). Furthermore, according to Dahl (as cited in Morgan 1997, pg.171), "power involves an ability to get another person to do something that he or she [*sic*] would not otherwise have done." This is important to note, as it demonstrates the overlapping elements of power and influence, which in turn highlights the relationship between leadership and power.

There are many methods in which organisational leaders can obtain power, and the first and most evident origin of power is the position that the leader holds (Morgan, 1997). According to leading organisational behaviour theorist Handy (1999), this source of power is defined as "'legal" or "legitimate power". It is the power that comes as a result of the role or the position in the organisation. The occupancy of a role entitles one to all the rights of the role in that organisation (p.128).

"Position power" or "legitimate power" is significant, as it demonstrates to subordinates that a person in this position is important to the organisation (Kanter, 1979). Nonetheless, Follett (as cited in Clegg, Courpasson, and Phillips, 2006) argues that power should not be centred on an individual's role, but should instead be spread throughout an organisation by sharing authority and obligations rather than placing emphasis on hierarchy and ultimate authority (p.75-76). However, this ignores very practical areas of organisational management, as most individuals need leaders to determine the aims of the

organisation and ensure that those goals are met. This is confirmed by Zand (1996), who highlights that individuals working within an organisation do not innately envision the challenges faced by the whole organisation, as they have limited views of the organisational aims. As such, they require leaders to construe their objectives and prepare resources so that goals are reached (p.138).

Interestingly, the "legitimate power" of a leader's position does not automatically entitle them to power. Handy (1999) notes:

> The value of position power as source depends ultimately on the value placed on the guarantor of the position. Position power has to be ultimately underwritten by either physical power or resource power. If the occupant of a particular role either (a) does not receive backing from the organization, or (b) the organization is not seen as controlling desired or coercive resources, then the occupant of the position will find that his [*sic*] influence attempts will fail, because his [*sic*] power source is invalid. (p. 128)

This demonstrates that a leader who only holds "position power" may ultimately have no effect on an organisation if this fundamental aspect of leadership power is not accompanied by other sources. However, Foschi (2000) argues that due to the social importance placed on identity, an individual's race and gender impacts their perceived leadership ability. This action is known as "double or multiple standards", which is based on a number of characteristics (race, gender, class) of an individual, and used to assume a person's scope of attributes (p.21). It seems, therefore, that Handy (1999) has failed to recognise additional aspects outside of physical and resource power, as theory has shown that identity categories (race, class, and gender) also impact "position power".

To conclude, previous literature has identified two key elements that define leadership—influence and power. This is due to the notion that the construction of both elements inform the characteristics of an organisation into an entity.

There are different aspects within influence and power, such as “position power”, that can impact a leader. Given the aforementioned arguments by (Follett, 2006; Handy, 1999) in regards to influence and “position power”, I argue that both scholars have failed to distinguish “double or multiple standards” and its influence on “position power”, especially in relation to leaders who identify as BAME. Now that key elements of leadership have been discussed, the following section considers one of the main themes within leadership: decision making.

2.2.2. Decision making in leadership

Academics would agree that decision making is one of the main themes at the centre of leadership and organisational studies (Rainey, 2014; Simon, 1997). According to Eisenhardt and Zbaracki (1992), understanding the process of decision making is critical, as it concerns those foundational decisions that shape the direction of an organisation (p.17). However, theorists have debated how the decision-making process should best be accomplished.

According to classical theorist Weber (as cited in Miller, Hickson and Wilson, 1999) decision making should be rational, dispassionate, impersonal, and use objective logic (p.43). Counter to this, Mintzberg and Westley (2010) argue that the rational approach to decision making is uncommon, and that decisions are made in various manners, and by using different approaches (see table 1).

Table 1

Characteristics of making decisions

Characteristics of the Three Approaches to Making Decisions		
"Thinking first" features the qualities of	*"Seeing first" features the qualities of*	*"Doing first" features the qualities of*
science	art	craft
planning, programming	visioning, imagining	venturing, learning
the verbal	the visual	the visceral
facts	ideas	experiences

Source: Mintzberg and Westley, 2010. p. 77

Upon reflecting on my own experiences, a rational and impersonal approach to decision making would be extremely difficult to achieve, due to the way that we as humans think and process information. A number of theorists agree, and contend that the vast majority of decision makers within organisations would find it extremely difficult to perform in such a rational and impersonal manner due to limitations in the human thinking process (Cyert and March, 1992; Pinfield, 1986). These principle theoretical viewpoints provide a basis for understanding the process of decision making, but what I will discuss next is what factors influence decision making.

Herzner (2018) maintains that only six areas influence the manner in which individuals make decisions: principles, goals, assessment, judgement of risk, organisational culture, and complexities (p.25). Papadakis, Thanos, and Barwise (2010) agree, highlighting that considerable studies have shown that the broader context (e.g the organisation, the particulars of the decision, national culture) influences how decisions are made, more so then the leaders' demographic characteristics (p.51). However, other authors such as Kramer (2004) and Brouthers, Brouthers, and Werner (2000) contend that research has revealed that decisions are influenced by the leader's identity more so then the broader conditions. It appears that these theorists are assuming that decisions are influenced by either the broader conditions or the leader's identity—but not

both—whereas from my own experiences, I would argue that at times, the arts and cultural field support a combination of identity and also organisational aims that influence decision-making processes. Cray, Inglis, and Freeman (2007) have alluded to why this might be, as they argue that although the manner of decision making within the arts field is similar to those in other sectors, components unique to the arts sector (for example, larger involvement with a broader variety of stakeholders, the pressure for visible change) influences how decisions are accomplished (p. 295). While these observations have taken into consideration the unique environment in which the arts and cultural field operates, it has failed to explicitly recognise factors such as a leaders' identity. These contradictory observations highlight the complexities of how decisions are processed, and how factors such as a leaders' identity or organisational goals influences this process.

To conclude, the majority of theorists believe that the process of decision making is rarely rational, with many still contesting what factors influence the decision-making process—the broader organisational context, or a leader's identity (for example, race, class, and gender). Another main theme of leadership—which closely relates to decision making—is leadership style.

2.2.3. Leadership style

Within leadership theory, style, and behaviour are common areas of study, as theorists recognise that in order to lead effectively, a leader has to have particular leadership skills. Hiriyappa (2008) notes that leadership style is defined by exact instructions to staff members in relation to when, how, and what work needs to be executed within an organisation (p. 204). This suggests that leadership style is focused on the method(s) a leader takes to provide an organisation with the direction it needs, in order to thrive.

According to critical leadership theorist Dugan (2017), studies on leadership style began in the 1930s, and today comprise three meta categories: Task,

Relational, and ChangeOriented are the overarching themes addressing leadership style (see table 2) .

Table 2

Meta categories

MetaCategory	Sample Behaviors
Task AKA: initiating structure, instrumental, directive, performance orientation, concern for product, production orientation	• Organize and assign work to improve efficiency • Explain and clarify rules, policies, expectations, and priorities • Monitor performance and goal achievement • Provide worker feedback and accountability • Direct and coordinate work activities • Resolve problems that disrupt performance
Relational AKA: consideration, supportive, maintenance, concern for people, employee orientation	• Socialize with workers to develop positive relationships • Use symbols, traditions, and stories to build group cohesion • Provide support, encouragement, and coaching to workers • Solicit feedback on decisions that directly affect workers • Foster agency among workers in how best to achieve goals • Assist in resolving issues and conflicts in constructive ways
ChangeOriented	• Monitor environment to address threats and opportunities • Engage in active vision setting for innovation • Encourage and facilitate creativity and innovation • Foster collective organizational learning • Communicate importance and nature of change processes • Facilitate implementation efforts related to change processes

Source: Dugan, 2017. p. 124

Theorists argue that these meta categories are limiting, as they do not take into account situational and circumstantial considerations (Judge, Piccolo, and IIies, 2004; Yukl, 2006). Counter to this, DeRue, Nahrgang, Wellman, and Humphrey (2011) assert that meta categories are beneficial, as they show lasting impacts and are particularly valuable when linked with other leadership theories. I agree with Judge et al (2004) and Yukl (2006), as it is important for a leader to take into consideration circumstances and situations. Additionally, upon reflection, my own experience has shown that there is no 'correct' leadership style, and that different situations will influence a leader's style and behaviour. Bolden, Hawkins, Gosling, and Taylor (2011) agree, stating that there is no universally appropriate leadership style or behaviour that can be applied to all situations (p. 48). It therefore appears that a singular standardised approach to leadership style would not be possible, given the influence of varying circumstances.

In direct relation to leadership style and identity, Eagly and Carli (as cited in Dugan, 2017) argue that race, class, and gender "do not influence how well an individual enacts task and relational behaviors, but they do influence in powerful ways how these behaviors are perceived by others" (p.128). Turner, Reynolds and Subasic (2008) disagree, arguing that once a leader becomes a group member (e.g within an organisation or arts institution as an entity), the leader's own identity no longer influences their leadership style, as the behaviours of the collective are internalised (p.61). It appears, therefore, that theorists are still debating how much influence an individual's identity has on their leadership style and behaviour. My experiences have helped me to deduce that in order to internalise the group's identity, one first has to overcome how their behaviour is perceived by others, which is difficult to verify, particularly when suspecting they are being marginalised due to their race, class, and gender.

To summarise, meta categories of leadership style and their limitations continue to be debated by leadership theorists, but it can be argued that within this relatively young field, no one style of leadership has been identified as universally applicable to all situations. In relation to leadership style and

identity, theorists continue to debate the level of influence the demographic categories of race, class, and gender have on leadership style. As a way of investigating the influence of race, class, and gender further, the following chapter outlines how each of these social categories influence leadership.

2.2. Race, Class, Gender, and Leadership

2.2.1. Race and leadership

Prior to discussing race and leadership, this section firstly outlines some foundational race theory. During the 19th and 20th century, the presiding view within science was that race was biological (Andreasen, 2000, p.653). Today, the majority of theorists have deserted the biological concept of race due in part to its connection to brutal histories of eugenics and forced sterilisation, instead positioning this line of thinking as rife with fallacies (for example, Biondi and Rickards, 2002; Mukhopadhyay, Henze, and Moses, 2013).

According to a number of theorists (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000; Delgado and Stefancic, 2000; Elliott, 2011; Pincus, 2006; Omi and Winant, 1986), race is a social construct. I infer that my own experiences of being racialised has been due to dominant cultural beliefs around race, and not for any scientific reason, as this form of classification is understood as a visible marker of otherness, and a way for individuals who believe in racial categorisations to assume a position of dominance over others, to reinforce inequality. Pincus (2006) elaborates, highlighting that race drives members of society to treat one another in divergent manners, and in accordance to the racial group in which an individual assumes another person belongs to (p.51). Moran (as cited in Elliott, 2011) expands on this, stating that as race is a dominant cultural perception, the very idea of race itself strengthens people's racial comprehension of the world (p.182), clearly showing that race as a social construction can greatly influence a person's life and work experiences.

In relation to race within the society and consequently within working environments, Wingfield and Feagin (as cited in Fitzgerald, 2014) argue that we currently exist in a post racial society (p.432). However, from my own perspective, I would challenge this claim, given that the bulk of the dominant (white) racial group are highly unaware of their own biases, and of the manner in which the perceived normative work environments they construct affects other subordinate groups. Hartigan (1997, p.500) agrees, stating that "It is precisely the lack of an obvious racial bias within the seemingly neutral institutional practices and discourses that characterizes white privilege and establishes whiteness as an unmarked, normative position." In relation to race, this highlights that due to an organisation's lack of recognition of the powerful cultural idea of race and the impacts it has on different people, whiteness has been established as the normative position within organisational structures. As a result, any aspects outside of this normative position—for example a BAME arts and cultural leader—may be presented as being uncustomary.

Bonnett (1997) illustrates that often it is a racial(ised) group or those that are 'others' that are categorised as different from the norm. As a result, race can have an effect on how a person is able to operate within institutional and organisational spaces. Furthermore, due to the establishment of the normative position and its proximity to whiteness, theorists Scott (1982) and Higginbotham (1989) have stated that Black women [in particular] have been excluded from powerful roles within organisations. Leading intersectional Black feminist theorist Collins agrees, stating that (1991, p.5) the maintenance of these types of biased practices within organisations has allowed for Black women, in particular, to not have any visibility within organisations.

However, more recent evidence shows that there has been a slight change in BAME women representing organisations, but this change has been extremely small (see Bradley, 2020 and Janjuha-Jivraj, 2019). Critical feminist theorist Ahmed believes (2017, p.5) that this lack of significant changes could be due to the belief that at times, people operating within these spaces may assume that institutions can "bring whiteness to a close" once one representative of a

different racial group joins an organisation. However, the assumption that if an organisation slightly modifies their racial demographic, it will result in changes to the normative position, is questionable. Moran (as cited in Elliot, 2011, p. 182) contextualises and problematises this claim further, noting that many dispute the very idea of a racial divide, and contend that discrimination based on race has generally been eradicated in Western societies, and that they now live in a post-race world. As a result, criticisms based on race are seen, by some, as a way to receive unjustifiable preferential treatment.

Academics have been critical of how leadership research and analysis has been conducted over the years, as the majority of it is positioned as race neutral, and the assumptions made are generalised as applicable to all people (Minnich, 1990; Nkomo, 1992; Parker and Ogilvie, 1996). Knippenberg and Hogg (2004) argue that there have been recent developments in key areas of social identity theory in relation to leadership and power (p. 14), but nonetheless, these developments are relatively new, and mainly focus on leadership, power, and group processes (e.g Duck and Fielding,1999; Haslam and Platow, 2001) without directly addressing racial and other biases.

Moreover, on a practical level, my own experiences have shown that organisations could learn a great deal from diverse leadership. Johnston and Packer (1987) agree, stating that as the work force becomes increasingly diverse, organisations would benefit from understanding leadership from a multicultural point of view. Critical communication and social justice leadership theorist Parker (2008) explains that "In order to envision a more inclusive framework for understanding leadership in the 21st century, we must move beyond race-neutral theorizing in conceptualizing important cultural processes, such as leadership" (p.15). This indicates that leadership research should also take into consideration race, or at the very least acknowledge racial challenges in light of efforts to make working environments more diverse.

To conclude, race is a social construct, however due to prevailing cultural beliefs around race, this system of classification is often enacted to ascribe visible

markers of otherness to particular people. As a result, the race of a leader—especially those not in close proximity to whiteness—may influence how said leader is able to operate within an organisation. Less visible markers of otherness also influence the sphere of leadership, and one such topic of social categorisation is class. The following chapter outlines class in relation to leadership.

2.2.2. Class and leadership

Western cultures have enshrined two main perspectives of the topic of class—Karl Marx and Max Weber. According to Breen and Rottman (1995), both theorists shared a number of commonalities and differences in their approach to articulating how social class functions. They both believed that class stratas stemmed from people's economic situations, however Marx determined class in terms connected to production, which accentuated the structural limitations of positions available to members of a capitalist society. Weber, on the other hand, focused instead on systems, whereby various individuals were assigned to positions within a capitalist structure (p.30).

Today, social class is one of the most commonly used but inconsistently described categorisations amongst theorists (Côtê, 2011; Evans and Mills, 1998). According to Milner (1999), in a sociological sense, social class is used to signify a social group that is "primarily determined by 'economic' considerations such as occupation, income and wealth" (p.1), which are (seemingly) objective categories. However, a number of theorists define social class as a group that is not only determined by economic considerations, but also other subjective factors. This subjective description focuses on an individuals' perceived position in relation to others within a society (Kraus, Piff, and Keltner, 2011; Storck, 1997 as cited in Côtê, 2011). On reflection, my own experiences lead me to believe that the objective elements of social class have greatly impacted BAME individuals within the work environment. I concur with Kennelly's (2003) study, which found that white employers base employment decisions on

negative social class stereotypes (for example, perceived lower education, or coming from single parent families) that are often tied to Black womanhood, which suggests that an objective approach to social class certainly impacts BAME individuals.

As mentioned, there are many approaches and theories in relation to social class, however, feminist theorists argue that tradtional social class studies inadequatley examined women's oppression under capitalism, and there are various aspects of women's lives that class analysis concepts could not define (Hennessy, 2003,p. 57). It appears, therefore, that preliminary theoretical views on social class have laid certain foundations for understanding class, but have neglected to adequately represent the voices of marginalised groups. Based on my literature review, there is evidence to show that further research around the experiences of people—especially BAME individuals—needs to be conducted. Collins (1991, p.45) agrees, stating that social class theory has failed to sufficiently explain many experiences with social class, particularly Black women's, because various aspects of social class analysis—for example social status—have been built on the occupational prestige of work traditionally assigned to men.

In relation to class and leadership, a number of theorists demonstrate that there are also class-based differences throughout the workplace (Côtê, 2011; Kraus et al, 2011; Roberts, Kuncel, Shiner, Caspi and Golberg, 2007). Bullock (2004) explains that class-based dissimilarities spread throughout institutions, as people within the workplace have varied levels of earning histories, education, and housing needs (p.227). Stephens, Markus and Phillips (2014) argue that class-based difference develops within the workplace, because the social class categories prompt various ways of reasoning, feeling, and behaving (p.623). It appears that there are complex reasons why social class influences the workplace, and many theories are ripe for contestation.

Leading gender and social status sociologist Ridgeway (2004) explains that class-based differences emerge from the group dynamics out of which

leadership arises, encircles, and is forced into the sociocognitive models that individuals use to form a group, a leadership dynamic, and to situate themselves in regards to identity categories (p.73). This means that the organisational structure of the establishment fortifies and recreates the class-based social cognitive models that people bring to institutional settings. As a result, Berger, Fisek, Norman, and Zelditch (1977) explain that individuals within organisations associate higher socially valued groups with greater performance expectations, and thus framing them as more acceptable leaders.

Counter to this, Ridgeway (2004, p.78) contends that identity categories—such as class, and its associated status—are only of importance to a group in specific situations (for example, group goals or tasks). This implies that it is possible for individuals to consciously monitor their own class biases. I don't believe this is possible, given I have seen evidence of (sometimes unconscious) class-based discrimination as largly present within working environments. This is confirmed by Goldthrope and Marshall (as cited in Breen and Rottman, 1995), who state that there is "a remarkable persistence of class-linked inequalities and of class-differentiated patterns of social action, even within periods of rapid change at the level of economic structure, social institutions and political conjunctures" (p.154). Furthermore, Bullock (2004, p.227) found that when analysing the correlative nature of these connections, the results demonstrate how class privilege is maintained, resulting in the many difficulties that people are faced with when trying to pierce social class barriers.

The aforementioned theorists have identified that in relation to leadership and social class, there are a number of aspects influencing an individual's advancement in the workplace. One significant thought is that due to the importance placed on socially-valued sections of society, some social class groups are granted a larger number of leadership opportunities, whereas other groups are not. Furthermore, the literature has also highlighted that social class-based dissimilarities are present but largely unacknowledged within working environments.

2.2.3. Gender and leadership

When researching categories of social division, another aspect that appears across a wide range of research is (binary) gender. According to Lorber (as cited in Grusky and Szelényi, 2011), in Western societies, the presumed assumptions around gender are so heavily embedded into society's frameworks that many people do not question them. As a result, gender is so omnipresent that individuals assume that it developed in human genes (p.318). This affirms the importance of gender within Western societies, and the misconception that gender is genetic. However, gender is not a genetic variation as purported by a number of theorists, but a social construct (Halperin, 2014; Unger, 1979; West and Zimmerman 1998), meaning that, according to West and Zimmerman (as cited in Myers, Anderson and Risman, 1998) it is "constructed through psychological, cultural, and social means" (p.167).

To elaborate further, binary gender groupings such as men and women, or binary gender traits like masculinity and femininity, are socially created classifications. Within the gender spectrum, the range of the groups (i.e who they relate to) and their content (i.e what is needed to *be* a man or woman) are subject to apadation and development (Alsop, Fitzsimons, and Lennon, 2002, p.27). Critical gender theorist Butler (2007) argues that neither sex nor gender has any ontological standing, as gender is socially conditioned and performative—a controlled 'doing' instead of a fixed and central identity. The social construction of gender is a complex topic, and as mentioned, until recently gender was dominantly constructed as binary. However, this is slowly changing, and many recent discussions focus on gender being understood as a spectrum (Dea, 2016).

I support the need to continue analysing the social construction of gender and advocating for the acceptance of non-binary genders. My working experiences have included instances of gender bias and the reinforcement of gender stereotypes, which mirror many people's attitudes about gender within broader

society. Consequently, I believe that my perspectives on gender and how it has been socially constructed are an important area to discuss, as the category intersects with other forms of socially constructed categories, such as race and class. Pratt and Erengezgin (2013) agree with this intersectional lens, stating that gender discussions and practices are essential to processes of racialisation and social class, as they run through each other in different but frequently fortifying manners (p.108).

According to Chemers (as cited in Hoyt, 2010), due to a number of reasons—including assumptions that there is (binary) gender equality in leadership, and the dominance of male theorists mostly apathetic to the topic of leadership and gender—issues relating to this area of research were mainly disregarded until the 1970s. Nevertheless, due to changes in society and also the increasing number of women (and non-male people) in leadership roles, since the 1970s, interest has risen, particularly in relation to the study of women in leadership positions (Hoyt, 2010, p.302).

Many theorists would argue that there is no proven relationship between gender, leadership style, and the success of a leader (Dobbins and Platz, 1986; Powell, 1990; van Engen, Leeden, and Willemsen, 2001). However, according to Browne (as cited in Knippenberg and Hogg, 2004), due to "evolution", women hold insignificant amounts of attributes and motivations that are needed to obtain esteemed positions (p.86). Browne's (2004) assumption is clearly problematic, not least because it is based on biased and binary evolutionary theory. This is refuted by Yukl, who states that (2006) gender-based discrimination throughtout the 20th century has been upheld by the biased hypothesis that men are better leaders then women. This type of discriminatory idea has arisen based on the assumption that successful leadership in establishments relies on leadership characteristics which have been framed as favoured 'male' traits and behavioural patterns (p. 427).

This performance of cliched binary gendered traits and behaviours have been socially conditioned to be acceptable (and expected) when enacted by some

people, and not others—for example, the aggressive or stoic male, and the nurturing or frivolous female. Even though a substantial amount of academic research has acknowledged that there is no connection between gender stereotypes, leadership styles, and the leader's success, still today the gender biases which have been set in place over many years have only slightly shifted, especially among male managers (Brenner, Tomkiewicz, and Schein, 1989; Powell, Butterfield, and Parent, 2002: Yukl: 2006).

Furthermore, according to Kanter (as cited in Handy, 1999, p.140), "Historically, women in management have found their opportunities in routine, low-profile jobs, in staff positions or in supervisory jobs managing stuck subordinates." This could be related to the gender biases that are currently in place within organisations. Morgan (1997) agrees, stating that establishments can still be dominated by gender-related biases, and that organisations can be predisposed to giving power to men. As a result, many organisations can hinder the growth of more inclusive establishments by concealing career development and job opportunities—practices that allow men to flourish in their careers, and subsequently attain leadership positions. This is known as the "glass ceiling" issue, meaning that women (and others) often can see opportunities for them to obtain leadership positions, but there is an invisible barrier that keeps them from progressing above certain positions within an establishment (p.191).

For example, in a study framed through gender binaries, Prescott-Smith (2018) notes that in the UK, these opportunities include men being given the chance to pursue leadership positions within projects at a higher rate than women. This is significant, as it indicates that even though biases towards gender are changing, there are still barriers in place in relation to who gets to obtain leadership positions within organisations.

Morgan (1997) also highlights that the values organisations uphold are heavily connected to male stereotypes. As a result, organisations often endorse leaders that are analytical or assertive (stereotypes attributed to men), however, when women present the same characteristics, they are criticised as being overly

analytical or too assertive (p.191). This demonstrates the complexity of gender bias within the workforce, and also the challenges regularly faced by women and others in leadership positions.

The relationship between leadership and gender is thus very complex, and many aspects of leadership (position power, traits) and gender stereotypes impact one another. This becomes even more complicated when both the gender and the race of a leader is analysed; in my research, I was drawn to the small field of research reflecting on Black women's leadership experiences. According to Hine and Thompson, 1998; Payne, 1995 (as cited in Parker, 2008), Black women's leadership is grounded in a culture of endurance, defiance, and community building, which has largely been ignored by academics analysing leadership.

Additionally, due to gender and racial biases within institutions, the leadership characteristics that are often demonstrated by and ascribed to white middle-class men—and consequently seen as the normative characteristics—are often in conflict with (and contradict) people's assumptions about Black women. As such, this conflict and tension may influence the manner in which individuals working within organisations support the leadership style of Black women (in particular), as workers are encouraged to adapt to the leadership norms set before them (Parker, 2001, p.45).

These norms work to enshrine certain subjectivities as being more adept, and prepared, and entitled to tackle the challenges leadership offers. It is worth now reflecting on some intersections between race, class, and gender. Gündemir, Homan, de Dreu and van Vugt (2014) stated that the limited representations of diverse leadership within organisations situated in the Western world have contributed to a pro-white and male leadership bias. As a result, this has led to further underrepresentation of racial minorities in leadership roles (p.7).

Notably, according to a number of theorists, the racial biases that BAME leaders encounter has resulted in those groups being placed at a disadvantage when facing assessments of their leadership capacities (Beatty, 1973; Ford, Kraiger,

and Schechtman, 1986; Greenhaus and Parasuraman, 1993; Greenhaus, Parasuraman, and Wormley, 1990; Knight, Hebl, Foster, and Mannix, 2003; Orpen, 1981; Powell and Butterfield, 1997; Rosette, Leonardelli, and Phillips, 2008; Yarkin, Town, and Wallston, 1982). However, due to the intersections of race, gender, and class that impact BAME people, it seems likely that this type of leadership bias can also impact a leader based on their gender and not solely on their race.

Nevertheless, even though many people are faced with this type of leadership bias, not all hope is lost. According to Yukl (2006), "A greater variety of perspectives increases creativity, and full utilization of a diverse workforce will increase the amount of available talent for filling important jobs" (p.453). It is therefore evident that there is a need for more diverse organisations, and, without such changes, arts and cultural institutions will not be able to obtain the expertise they require in order to flourish in an evermore diverse society.

The theories presented highlight some of the gender-based biases which women, in particular, face within the work environment, while acknowledging that much research limits its analysis within binary gender categories. Many organisations also uphold predisposed views that privilege one gender over others, which consequently prevents the career growth of some. Furthermore, the theories also concluded that due to both gender and racial bias within organisations, BAME women leaders are often subject to multiple disadvantages within working environments.

2.3. Cultural Policy

2.3.1. Defining cultural policy

Cultural policy is a subsection of what is often referred to as 'public policy'. This type of policy frequently refers to governance on international, national, or regional levels, and their inception, implementation, and evaluation of public

issues (McGuigan, 2004, p.5). Similarly to public policy, cultural policy—according to Eräsaari (as cited in Pyykkönen, Simanainen, and Sokka, 2009)—is "A meta-concept [...] used in governing and coordinating, in decision making and regulation, in evaluation and diagnosis" (p.56). Miller and Yúdice (2002) explain that:

> Cultural policy refers to the institutional supports that channel both aesthetic creativity and collective ways of life—a bridge between the two registers. Cultural policy is embodied in systematic, regulatory guides to action that are adopted by organizations to achieve their goals. (p.1)

Miller and Yúdice (2002) expand on this by stating that cultural policy is bureaucratic and not creative—on an administration level, cultural policy is used as a means to fund, develop, present, showcase, validate (and deny) people and/or projects that are classed as artists or artistic work. Governments, foundations, communities, and universities provide advice, support, finance, and teaching guidance for people who are artists, through cultural policy. Interestingly, these governments and foundations who support artists often determine and enforce the criteria that allows the use of the word "artist" and/or "creative" (p.1). This indicates the manner in which cultural policy can be used, on a governance level, to shape and frame societal views of artistic work—or more specifically, who is allowed to be an artist, and what is permitted to be creative work.

However, cultural policy can influence a broader number of areas outside of those parameters set by governance. A range of academics highlight that cultural policy can lead to a number of social and economic changes, which may include but are not limited to: the increase of social involvement, fostering community growth, the maturing of identity, as well as the implementations of both financial and creative development on local and national levels (Evans, 2001; Landry, 2002; Stevenson, McKay, and Rowe 2010). This highlights that

cultural policy can simultaneously impact society and the economy.

According to McGuigan (2004), the rationale behind the governmental use of cultural policy is that it is of utmost importance that the economic benefits of cultural practices be categorised through this lens. However, cultural policies are revised many times and at different frequencies, and as a result, these non-standard categorisations no longer adhere to clearly defined cultural reasoning (p.1). Additionally, due to the nature of cultural policy, it can be applied narrowly or more broadly, and on many levels: local, national, and international (McGuigan, 2004, p.5).

Moreover, since the 1980s, cultural policy has shifted from being narrowly focused on the arts, to encompassing a much broader stance, which includes elements of lifestyle and cultural practices (Bennett 1995, 1998; Miller and Yúdice 2002; Stevenson 2000; Yúdice 2004). Nevertheless, McGuigan (2004) argues that even though there have been attempts by various bodies to widen the remit of cultural policy, it is still closely linked to arts policy (p.34).

In addition, as the framework of cultural policy shifted in the 1980s, so have the regulatory powers, and the ownership of certain policies. According to Hesmondhalgh (2002), "Long-standing traditions of public ownership and regulation have been dismantled. Important policy decisions are increasingly carried out at an international level" (p.2). Furthermore, Stevenson, Rowe, and McKay (2010) highlight that even though cultural policy has shifted over the years, in policy papers, the definition of the word 'culture' (and how culture is defined) is seldom stated. This has led to local governmental bodies having a more comprehensive awareness of this sphere than other national or international bodies (p.250). Above all, even though cultural policy has developed over the years, it is also important to note that according to Sassatelli (as cited in Meinhof and Triandafyllidou, 2006), the main aim of cultural policy has been to encourage the growth of identities, which would then—according to

policy makers—lead to a fully socialised and amenable civilian (p.24).

2.3.2. Cultural policy in Finland

From a historical viewpoint, the advancement of cultural policy in Finland is linked with the construction of the country's independence, its growth as a welfare state, and the region's expanding internationalisation (Kangas, 2001, p.57). In 1967, Finland implemented new legislation which chartered a central arts cabinet and eight specialist state and regional arts committees. These committees are comprised of artists, cultural establishments, and arts organisations, all of which are responsible for the procedures, decision making, and exposure of cultural activities in Finland (Fitzgibbon and Kelly, 1999).

Since the 1970s, cultural democracy has been a policy aim in Finland, and cultural governmental boards across Finland were given the role of arranging and reviewing cultural activities, which became obligatory in the 1980s (Fitzgibbon and Kelly, 1999, p.228). As such, Finland—which forms part of the Nordic region—operates under a social welfare system, meaning that the country offers public support systems, such as financial aid and cultural facilities; additionally, the state assists with arts and cultural operations. According to Kangas (2001), part of the welfare state belief is that cultural policy with instrumental importance will lead to positive benefits to society at large (p.62).

In the 1990s, Finland faced an economic recession, and decided to join the European Union. This, along with worldwide governmental and political changes, started to impact views about the range and type of support a social welfare system should provide. This shift was reflected in the government's cultural policy paper during this period, which presented a new value-based direction aimed at reducing public directives towards a more profit-oriented and privatised public system (Häyrynen, 2013). This eventually led to cultural

policy partnerships (instead of direct financial backing) and facilitation by the government, both of which became more prominent (Kangas, 2001, p.74). For example, Cliche, Michell, Wiesand, Heiskanen, and Dal Pozzolo (2002) explain that private foundations have also contributed to the field of art, which has led to artists gaining funding from other (larger) sources, rather than solely from governmental schemes (p.77). On the surface, the implementation of a more profit-driven approach to cultural policy seems beneficial. However, the danger is that the cultural values of having a social welfare system (for example, cultural support for underrepresented members of society) are forgotten. Siisiäinen (2002) agrees, stating that areas of cultural production that have no visible commercial benefits—particularly areas regarding the needs of minorities or cultural subgroups—were managed on a more discretionary basis (p.299).

Nevertheless, according to a non-departmental public body, Finland's art and culture is strongly supported by the public, and issues around these fields have never been marginalised by the government. As a result, cultural policy issues—such as diversity targets—have rarely been a dominant concern for governmental organisations and political administrators (Arts Council of Finland, 1995, p.72). However, Saukkonen (2013) disagrees, arguing that due to Finland's historical formation of the country's national identity, the Finnish method of organising diversity has ensured controversy and contradictions. The country has assembled a particular combination that on the one hand, has resulted in far-reaching cultural rights, but then also enshrined a narrowly construed representative community. As such, it fosters a unique combination of multiculturalism and nationalism (p.270). The position held by the Arts Council of Finland indicates a denial or ignorance of the country's particular mixture of cultural diversity, and how this may impact society since the 1990s until today.

Recent reports have shown that Finland is one of the most racist countries within Europe towards Black individuals (European Union Agency for

Fundamental Rights, 2018), an attitude which is buffered by persistent beliefs in its "homogeneity and whiteness" (Keskinen, Skaptadóttir and Toivanen, 2019). According to Alvarez (2005), the concept of a Finnish minority is more comfortably presented in the form of "the world's most pampered minority, the endangered Swedish-speaking Finn", while the indigenous Sámi people (who collectively speak the North Sámi, Inari Sámi and Skolt Sámi languages) continue their own prolonged battles for recognition and equal rights in the face of legacies related to the Finnish state's colonial and eugenics-based practices. This is a way to begin highlighting the many complex layers and history of multiculturalism, nationalism, and racism situated within Finland.

Recently, the Ministry of Culture and Education (2017) outlined that:

> Cultural policy refers to the set of measures relating to cultural expressions, activities, products and services created by individuals, groups and communities, as well as the manner in which they are disseminated, distributed, used, preserved and conveyed as cultural heritage and as part of cultural environments. (p.9)

Additionally, in relation to diversity, the Ministry of Culture and Education (2017) states that "The tasks and objectives of cultural policy are also connected with promoting creativity, diversity and inclusion in society at large" (p.13). This highlights that issues in relation to diversity and inclusion within society are currently being addressed by the government through the use of cultural policy. However, according to Saukkonen (2013), the public money available for supporting diversity and inclusion has been inadequate when comparing the available funds to the growth in immigrant and minority communities in Finland (p.286). The Ministry of Culture and Education Report (2017) also states that support and finance systems have not been able to meet the demands of society, given the recent increases to the foreign language population in Finland and Helsinki (p.18). It appears, therefore, that governmental bodies

understand the importance of cultural policy and the impacts policies can have on diversity and inclusion, but nevertheless, are not adequately providing the arts and cultural fields with the funds they require in order to begin to address diversity and inclusion. This illustrates a division between the needs of members of Finnish society, and the government's chosen financial commitment to the issue.

As Finland becomes more varied demographically, the need for cultural services—as well as work within the arts and culture sector—is growing (Ministry of Culture and Education Report, 2017, p.24). According to Kangas (2001), part of the welfare state belief is that cultural policy with instrumental importance will lead to positive benefits to society at large. Additionally, as part of the welfare sector, the cultural field developed public programs that used both the idea of equality and the criterion of high artistic character (p. 62). Consequently, it seems as if there is a reliance on cultural policy programs to address the growth that is demanded of cultural services to create job opportunities. Cupore (2017) argues that research has revealed that cultural policy programs are not enough to progress accessibility and equality within the arts and cultural sector (p.1).

Upon reflection, my own experience has shown that in order for cultural policy programs to have an impact, its goals need to be supported on a number of levels (for example, financially, and governmentally). However, most importantly, arts and cultural organisations need to have an understanding of the needs of broader society, its demographics, and how society will be developing in the future—but not all organisations believe this is a necessity. Saukkonen (2013) agrees, noting that many organisations continue to produce approaches as if the formation of Finnish society has not evolved (p.290). Evidence of this (see table 3) points to a number of shortcomings in regards to cultural diversity, and includes a point on the arts and cultural sector not holding unified positions.

Table 3

Finnish Cultural Policy SWOT analysis

Strengths	Weaknesses
- Culture has assumed an increasingly important role - There is consensus on public funding; funding provided by foundations is a useful additional resource - Strong national institutions - Extensive regional network of arts and cultural institutions - Rich and growing cultural heritage, which can be used in an effective manner - Art education plays a strong role in basic education; general art and cultural education is supported by basic art education and liberal adult education - There is great demand for cultural services in Finland and they are also actively used - Digital cultural and information material has become more extensively available - The people working in the sector are highly educated and competent - New forms of expression	- Because of its fragmented nature, the sector does not speak with one voice - Support and funding structures have not adapted to changes in the operating environment (agents, internationalisation, diversified field of actors, etc.) - Problems with artists' livelihood, social security, etc. - There are few profitable business operators in the sector - Widening gaps in access to cultural services and to culture as a leisure pursuit - Not all population groups are active users of cultural services - There are problems with equality and barrier-free access (in services, training and cultural professions) - Immigrants are not well-represented in cultural life - Regional structure of cultural actors is fragmented
Opportunities	**Threats**
- Forms of public funding will be updated in a controlled fashion and there will also be more funding from other sources - There will be new ways of organising, disseminating and funding services (also across sectoral boundaries and administrative branches) - The demand for experience and well-being services will be directed at arts and cultural services - The audience base will expand as inclusion efforts bear fruit (among immigrants and other groups) - The structures helping to provide children and young people with equal opportunities for artistic and cultural leisure pursuits will become stronger - Growing diversification in demand and higher service expectations among the audiences will act as incentives for developing activities - New product and service innovations will be introduced (cf. the Museum Card and the Kaiku Card) - There will be more cooperation between cultural institutions and independent groups, while at the same time cultural facilities will be increasingly used for a multitude of purposes - The potential of creative sectors as a growth area will be realised - Concentration of population will create creative centres - New digital products, services and business activities will be introduced - New solutions will be found to the problems concerning artists' livelihood and social security - Prerequisites for internationalisation and structures supporting the process will become stronger - Expertise will be shared within the sector and used in other sectors	- As general attitudes are becoming increasingly polarised, basic cultural policy values, such as democracy and diversity, and the justification for public sector funding will be questioned - There will be less understanding for the role of culture - Funding for the sector will fall to critical levels; the gambling company will lose its monopoly - Actors in a small linguistic and cultural area will lose out in global competition - Artists' status will remain weak - Concentration of the population will make access to services increasingly unequal - There will be a more marked division between active and passive cultural service users - Children and young people will become less active consumers of arts and culture and the consumption will be on an increasingly unequal basis - Business structures and support systems do not support the development of creative sectors - Royalties will end up outside Finland as multinational distribution platforms become more common - In the ongoing media transition, commercial interests will have priority over quality criteria - The division of responsibilities between central, regional and local government will remain unclear - Cooperation between administrative branches will remain in stagnation

Source: Ministry of Education and Culture, 2017, p.29

To summarise, Finland operates under a social welfare system, as a result, the state provides public support systems for the arts and cultural field. However, interestingly during the 1990s, the cultural diversity of Finland significantly developed, and as a result, the country's cultural policy frameworks have been altered in order to reflect this change. Even though the cultural diversity of Finland has grown considerably, it is evident that the nation still faces a number of challenges. As a result, the nation acknowledges that they are currently unable to ensure that there is adequate support to create environments in which the individuals working within and in collaboration with arts and cultural organisations realistically reflect the diversity of Finnish society.

2.3.3. Cultural policy in the UK

Unlike Finland, cultural policy has been present in the UK for centuries. According to leading cultural studies theorist Bennett (1995), the consolidation of both culture and the social within policy dates back to the Victoria era. Then in 1979, following the election of Margret Thatcher for the Conservative Party, there was an immense shift in governmental policy towards neoliberalism. This neoliberal turn resulted in an immense change to arts provisions, shifting from a welfare model—which had been carried out during the postwar era—to an enterprise model (Fitzgibbon and Kelly, 1999; Mirza, 2006; Stevenson, McKay and Rowe 2010).

1997 brought another major change within governmental policy, and the enterprise model of cultural policy significantly shifted for the third time with the election of 'New' Labour, the new centre left government of the UK. Subsequently, the Labour Party altered the state of culture by instigating different cultural actions, such as restoring free admissions to public museums and galleries (Stevenson et al, 2010). Stevenson et al (2010) highlights that these changes to cultural policy models have been widely accepted within the UK, both on a monetary and rhetorical level (p.257).

In recent times, cultural policy has been used as a tool to tackle a number of issues, for example: changing the manufacturing structures of towns and cities; combating the effects of global population movement; plus attempting to mitigate the adverse impacts of unemployment (Bianchini and Bloomfield, 1996; Colbert, 1998; Stevenson et al, 2010). Stevenson et al (2010) suggests that this highlights that within the UK, all facets of governance expect cultural policy to have an impact on an array of issues larger than those generally related to the arts and cultural field (p.248).

Moreover, in relation to cultural policy and how policies are implemented

within the UK, Cliche et al (2002) affirms that the government has a system in place that enables the provision of public money to institutions, in order for them to manage art and cultural initiatives. The incorporation of this policy has been implemented on a high administrative level, and due to this fact, investment within the culture industries is frequently a governmental priority (p.78).

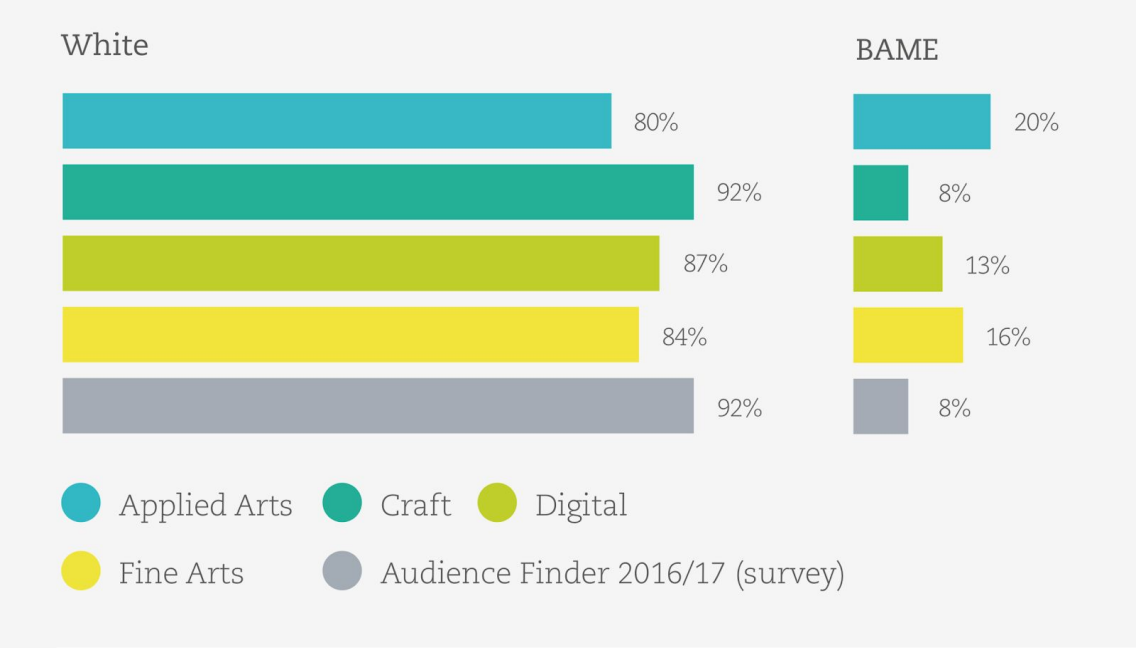
This convention is better known as 'The Arm's Length Principle'. This principle has allowed for the government to provide Arts Council England (non-departmental public funding body) with public funding, but most importantly, Arts Council England works independently from the government. Thus, Arts Council England are able to make decisions related to the arts without any input from elected government officials. Consequently, people and organisations who work with or alongside Arts Council England may sense that they are free from any direct government interference (Pick, 1993, p. 87). However, Besch and Minson (2001) argue that this approach hinders constructive dialogue around decision making between actors within the arts community, funders, applicants, and the public (for example, the lack of explanation to failed applicants on the reason(s) why their application lacks relevant merit) (p.63). In light of this evidence, it seems that further discourse between arts bodies, the government, and the public is required in order to enhance and develop the field. However, these conversations need to happen in a manner that will protect Arts Council England from any external interference from interested groups (Fitzgibbon and Kelly, 1999; McGuigan, 2004).

Additionally, according to some theorists, the reason cultural policy in England is valuable for society is due to the belief that through culture, people are able to more thoroughly comprehend one another, and also strengthen cross-cultural relationships with each other (McGuigan, 2004; Mirza, 2006; Stevenson et al, 2010; Stevenson, McKay, and Rowe, 2010). However, a number of theorists maintain that the implementation of cultural projects that intend to help individuals foster further understanding of one another are only beneficial to

those that already possess a significant amount of monetary and cultural capital (Fitzgibbon and Kelly, 1999; Lewis, 1990; Lim,1993). My own encounters working on the promotion of cultural projects led me to believe that a disproportionate amount of attendees present as white, and identify as having a middle class background. This could indicate that cultural policy is not encouraging diverse cross-cultural exchanges, as it seems that those attending arts and cultural activities (see figure 1) form similarly homogenous groups comparable to those leading arts and cultural organisations.

Figure 1

White/BAME arts and cultural attendees



Source: The audience agency, 2019, p. 8

This is also illustrated in a report stating that more than 50% of visual arts attendees are well-educated professional workers who are comparably more wealthy than the broader population of the UK (The Audience Agency, 2019).

The aforementioned current cultural policy aims of England are failing to foster cross-cultural exchange amongst audiences, which is mimicked by the lack of diversity amongst leaders within the arts and cultural field. The recent Arts

Council England strategy 2020-2030 document, 'Let's Create', includes their approach to fostering diversity (four protected characteristics defined by the UK Equality Act: race, disability, sex, and sexual orientation) as well as an array of focal points (Arts Council England, 2020b, p.9). This document highlights that there continues to be an extensive lack of diversity within the publicly funded arts and cultural organisations (Arts Council England, 2020b, p.9). In relation to this, Arts Council England (2019) states:

> Overall, there are moderate increases in the proportion of BME [Black and minority ethnic background], disabled LGBT and female workers within the total NPO [national portfolio workforce] and MPM [major partner museums] workforce. The data continues that people from a Black and minority ethnic background and disabled people are under-represented across the workforce and leadership of the sector compared to the total working population. (p.10)

These diversity workforce and leadership challenges could be interpreted as a failure of cultural policy, as Matarasso and Landry (1999) explain that it is essential for cultural policies to safeguard and cultivate the concerns of minorities. The reason for this is due to the specific cultural life of ethnic minorities, which would present additional vitality to the arts and cultural fields (p.36). However, Bennett (2001) reaffirms the importance of bodies such as Arts Council England tackling diversity actions, and states that evidence suggests that an arm's-length approach improves the possibility that there will be powerful and continuing advocacy for diversity (p.48). As such, it is evident that cultural policy as a tool within the arts and cultural sector does not adequately address social issues such as diversity, particularly in relation to diverse leadership representation across England. However, without bodies such as Arts Council England and the continuation of the arm's-length approach, current diversity initiatives could be hindered.

Nevertheless, a small amount of arts and cultural organisations are making strides in the field by addressing the lack of diversity within their own structures. There has been some progression, and a number of BAME people have gained leadership positions within the fields (Arts Council England, 2019). However, Bennett (2001) indicates that progress has been too slow, as arts and cultural organisations often resent the diversity conditions they are recommended to meet. It is also frequently contended that the standards of merit required by arts and cultural organisations are explicitly or implicitly racist and/or ethnocentric (p.57). Consequently, there is evidence that the progress around diversity has been extremely limited by the very individuals tasked with improving diversity within the field of arts and culture.

To conclude, cultural policy has been present within the UK for centuries, and through the decades, cultural policy has significantly shifted from a welfare model to a new enterprise model, leading to 'The Arm's Length Principle'. This has resulted in cultural policy being used as a tool to attempt to address different issues ranging from population movement to unemployment. However, England's present cultural policy aims have been unsuccessful in fostering cross-cultural exchange and diversity amongst audiences, and internally within the and cultural organisations.

2.4. A Short Summary

There are many aspects of leadership theory that can be analysed through the construction of social identities. The formulation of a leader is built through influence and elements of power, such as position power. Leadership themes including decision making and leadership style continue to be debated as limitations; for example, the level of influence that race, class, and gender have on access to leadership roles and leadership style, remains contested.

When examining the social categories of race, class, and gender in the context of

leadership, a theoretical perspective suggests that each system of classification holds a degree of influence on a leader's experiences of being within or in dialogue with an organisation. External factors such as the historical framework of cultural policy—and the current cultural policy diversity aims set out by the UK and Finland—continue to negatively impact BAME leadership within the arts and cultural sectors. To tackle these nuanced conditions, intersectional feminism is the lens I will use to analyse the data. The theoretical perspectives of leadership and cultural policy have alluded to a gap within theory written from this perspective, or more broadly has failed to acknowledge these social categorisations, and their influences on how BAME leadership is supported within the field of arts and culture.

3. RESEARCH METHOD

This chapter presents the research methodology for this study. Chapter 3.1 and its subsections introduce race, class, and gender in qualitative research, then outlines the methodological approach of the study, which is a case study. Following this, Chapter 3.2 and its subchapter present the study's data collection method. Chapter 3.3 outlines the data analysis approach, and then Chapter 3.4 includes my critical reflections on the limitations and problematics of the research process.

3.1. Methodological Approach of the Study

"Research is an act of self-discovery, as well as a process of learning about others" - Reinharz

When seeking to understand the foundations of qualitative research, paying attention to the choice of suitable methods is crucial, as Flick (2006) highlights:

> The essential features of qualitative research are the correct choice of appropriate methods and theories; the recognition and analysis of different perspectives; the researchers' reflections on their research as part of the process of knowledge production; and the variety of approaches and methods. (p.14)

As such, I make use of two approaches—interpretivism and standpoint theory—in the methodology of this study. According to Rubin and Rubin (1995):

> The interpretive approach focuses on how people understand their worlds and how they create and share meaning about their lives. Social research is not about categorizing and classifying, but figuring out what events mean, how people adapt, and how they view what has happened to them and around them. Interpretive social researchers emphasize the complexity of human life. Time and context are important and social life is seen as constantly changing. (p.34-35)

I therefore approach my data with an awareness that in addition to their 'objective' testimonies, my interviewees have also transmitted subjective opinions, emotions, and values that are not easily quantifiable or able to be observed. Thus an interpretative approach is required when approaching these phenomena.

In tandem with interpretivism, I privilege the second wave feminist research practice of standpoint theory. According to Andersen (1993), feminist scholars argue that standpoint theory acknowledges that analysts and their subjects are located in particular social-historial settings, and that knowledge is socially-situated. As such, research cannot be understood as a way to eliminate the presence of the researcher or, for example, negate those categories constructed by society such as race, class, and gender (p.41-42). It also guides us to identify and acknowledge power relations, encouraging us to begin our

research processes through asking questions of those who have historically been disempowered (rather than those who have benefitted from hegemonic power structures), in an effort to foster more just societies.

This study thus includes both approaches, as the interpretive approach helps to address the intricacies of human life and how individuals understand their worlds, whilst standpoint theory guides understandings of the overlapping elements of race, gender, and class upon power dynamics and knowledge production. Both approaches take into consideration the fact that social life is ever changing and based on constantly unfolding encounters, rather than being something that is stagnant. This allows for me, according to Collins (1991, p.29), to "continue to draw on this tradition of using everyday actions and experiences in their theoretical work".

Both approaches are also fundamentally dissimilar from the traditional positivist view that unbiased, objective research is possible; this thinking conveniently ignores that the researcher is required to interpret elements of the study. As such, these approaches are selected as they allow for the researcher to begin from minoritised positions, which is of importance for many minority researchers, such as myself.

As such, both methods have been adopted and applied for this paper, as they align with the study's aim to present a nuanced understanding of how race, class, and gender influence the interviewees' working experiences within the arts and cultural field.

3.1.1. Case study research method

When considering qualitative research methods, the choice around what is the most appropriate approach derives from critically reflecting on the aim of the

research, the questions which are asked, the data collected, and the analysis strategy. In this thesis, the aim of the research is to investigate the professional work experiences of BAME leaders within the arts and cultural field, through the lenses of race, class, and gender. The main research question is: What influences do race, class, and gender have on Black, Asian, and minority ethnic professional leaders' working experience within the arts and cultural field?

In order to answer this research question, I selected a qualitative case study method, after being convinced by Richards and Morse (2013) describing that a case study is normally understood as an examination of a certain social aspect or structure. As such, it is a method that aims to realise social circumstances or processes by unpacking how it evolves in one or a number of cases. Namely, the cases investigated are always cases of some situation, process, or experience (p.76). Subsequently, the reason why I have chosen a qualitative case study method is because this method aligns with aims of the study. Here, the phenomena I'm trying to understand relates to social situations and how leaders who identify as BAME experience situations, processes, and experiences that have brought their race, gender, and class to the fore in their working environments.

Yin (2014, p.4) agrees, stating that "the distinctive need for case study research arises out of the desire to understand complex social phenomena. In brief, a case study allows investigators to focus on a 'case' and retain a holistic and real-world perspective". Furthermore, Richards and Morse (2013) also indicate that "case studies have long been used in social research, traditionally by researchers wishing to give voice [*sic*] to less-prominent social groups or types" (p.77). So not only does this method enable me to investigate the complexities of intersecting identity categories, it also allows me to provide a platform to listen to underrepresented members of society who work in the arts and cultural field.

A case study need not be defined or limited by its size. According to Swanborn,

2010 (as cited in Schwandt and Gates, 2018), cases can be micro (people and their relations), meso (organisations), or macro (governmental, nations). They can also focus on one actor or numerous actors, and can include either single or several cases (Eisenhardet, 1989). O'Leary (2004, p.116) argues that one of the disadvantages of case studies is that they require information from one or a small number of cases, often resulting in placing greater demands on those case(s) to be characteristic of a broader group's experiences.

However, the limitations of case studies highlighted by O'Leary have little impact on this study, as the possible cases that could be analysed are restrained by factors outside of my control, such as an existing lack of diverse representation of BAME people in leadership positions (particularly in Finland), which has resulted in a small sample size of possible interview subjects. Although my study is limited to four cases, all share similar testimonies around being racialised and discriminated against due to perceived gender and class. While I can't claim that this means they are representative of all BAME people's experiences in the arts and cultural field, this does point to the existence of structural and societal barriers that BAME people face.

3.1.2. Selecting the cases

O'Leary (2004, p. 117) states that "one of the most crucial determinations in conducting any case study is selecting the right case", and that researchers should be conscious that the applicability of the case study findings—and how their final outcome can contribute to furthering the thinking in their field—greatly depends on the selected cases. As such, when screening the potential individuals for my case study, I used a one-phase approach. According to Yin (2014), this should be used when there are only 12 or so possible candidates that could be potential cases, and when pre-screening involves discussing possible cases with others (p.95).

I started researching potential interviewees while in the process of formulating my research proposal, in November 2018. I then began collecting a range of views by asking peers, colleagues, and acquaintances who work within the field of arts and culture in both Finland and England if they knew of any individuals who are BAME leaders working in the field. In the English context, I proceeded to research various arts and cultural organisations, and review who is listed as employees on their websites. I also read the arts and cultural sections of online newspapers, scoured magazines, and used social media platforms as a tool to discover potential interviewees. In August 2019, I had the opportunity to work at the Venice Biennale, where I visited many exhibitions and started researching who had curated or produced exhibitions related to the experience of BAME individuals as a means to discover potential interviewees.

Throughout this process, a small list of ten individuals was assembled, and from that list my interviewees were selected. Concurrently, as part of a pre-screening process, I asked ten people if they could name one BAME person working in the arts sector in Finland (many could not), and I then refined this to focus on people who would be perceived as arts leaders. For England, with its larger population, there were naturally more targets to shortlist, so I focused on those with more high profile and visible leadership roles in the field. In order to avoid tokenism and to mitigate the situation of having the voice of one minority individual representing all BAME people, I aimed to select two cases to interview in Britain and Finland. I also wanted to acknowledge that all research has limitations of time and capacities, therefore, I decided to limit the interviews to four in total. As a way of acquiring a strong perspective in relation to BAME leadership, all of the interviewees meet the following criteria:

1. Self-identified as Black, Asian, and minority ethnic
2. Held a leadership position within an arts organisation and/or their own arts organisation
3. Established a career in the field of contemporary art

While I didn't initially place any limitations on the interviewee's gender identity, they all confirmed their pronouns were she/her and that they identified as women. These criteria supported the aim of the case study research—to obtain a greater understanding of the professional work experiences of BAME leadership through the lenses of race, class, and gender within the field of arts and culture.

Within any qualitative research, anonymity is an important ethical concept (Ryen, 2004). When conducting my research, anonymity was discussed with each of the interviewees, as I was aware of a recent upsurge in researchers understanding that research interviewees may want to be identified rather than automatically assuming people want anonymity (Tilley and Woodthorpe, 2011). Following my prompts, both interviewees based in Finland requested to be named, whilst one in Britain wanted to be anonymised, and the other did not explicitly agree either way. As a result, I made the decision to anonymise both of the British-based cases, by using pseudonyms (Wiles, 2013), and by removing identifying information like names of past and current employers. The interviewees work or were working in different arts and cultural organisations, and met all the aforementioned criteria.

These cases were:

1. Museum Director, Britain
2. Senior Curator, Britain
3. Choreographer and Artistic Director of UrbanApa, Finland
4. Co-Founder and Board Member of the Museum of Impossible Forms, Finland

The selection of these interviewees were rationalised for a number of reasons. The first was that I wanted to select interviewees who were at different points in their careers, but who all held leadership positions within the arts and cultural field. Secondly, I wanted to investigate BAME leadership in two different

countries in a way that wasn't comparing and contrasting the countries, but that took into account my subjectivity as a trans-cultural and minority researcher, thus helping me to better understand the challenges and strategies that inform BAME leadership.

I chose the first interviewee as they held a leadership position within a high profile museum. It was founded in 2007, but has a long history, growing from and forming part of a larger trust which was established in the 1930s to care for a collection and a legacy. Furthermore, as this museum employs more than 2000 people, I wanted to interview someone who had experienced leading a large organisation. The second interviewee was selected as they have held a number of leadership positions within the arts and cultural field. When the interviews took place, they were the Senior Curator of a leading gallery, but they have also held other leadership posts at a number of arts institutions internationally, and within high profile art events. Their curatorial practice also seeks to profile BAME artists and make visible narratives related to BAME experiences. I was interested in their perspective given they had held these various leadership positions, and due to their strong knowledge around how leadership and BAME identities intermingle.

For the Finland-based cases, I chose the third interviewee as they are a high profile leader with a strong reputation as a leader in the field of choreography and advocacy. For many years, they have been leading their organisation UrbanApa; working closely with various arts and cultural organisations; and showcasing their work locally, internationally, and in collaboration with the public broadcaster YLE. The fourth interviewee was chosen as I wanted to better understand the position of a leader who holds the position of a Board Member for an organisation. I also selected this person as they were not a Finnish national, like myself, so I felt that it was important to also have the voice of an individual whose subjectivity was similar to my own in this way.

3.2. Data Collection

3.2.1. Interview

The data for this thesis was predominantly sourced by using the collection method of interviews, which Kvale (1983) describes as a method "whose purpose is to gather descriptions of the life-world of the interviewee with respect to interpretation of the meaning of the described phenomena" (p.14). The data collection method of interviewing was chosen instead of other methods, as one of the aims of my research is to showcase the experiences of others, and create spaces for listening and hearing others speak.

The primary data of this thesis was a collection of four semi-structured interviews, which according to Berg (2004, p.80-81), is used when "[the] interview involves the implementation of a number of predetermined questions and special topics." As such, after researching an adequate amount of theory to understand the area of the inquiry in order to generate the questions (but, given the nature of the questions, not enough so that I was able to forecast the answers provided by the interviewees), I applied the method of semi-structured interviews. I also chose this method as it would allow me to gain further insights into the interviewees' perspectives, which according to Peräkylä and Ruusuvuori (2018, p.669), is one of the main reasons that researchers use interviews—they enable the researcher to "research areas of reality that would otherwise remain inaccessible, such as people's subjective experiences and attitudes." I also chose the interview method as it is a particularly important data collection method within feminist research, as it allows for me (as the researcher) to offer interviewees (who share similar identities as me) a *potential* basis for emotional understanding, egalitarian, and mutual rapport (Duncombe and Jessop, 2012).

Following an extensive research and preparation phase, the interviews all took place in January 2020 (see the schedule in Appendix A). Two of the interviews

were conducted face-to-face in Helsinki, while the other two were conducted over the phone. The list of questions (see interview sample questions in Appendix B) was prepared in advance, and even though all questions were structured around the same topic, slight changes to the questions were necessary given each interviewee was working within and for different organisations. Permission to record the interviews were sought and granted, thus all interviews were recorded. Each interviewee was asked seven questions, and then given the opportunity to provide further details or reflections, if needed, at the end of the interview.

3.3. Data Analysis

When approaching data analysis, researchers can consider the data using a number of different methods. According to Guest, MacQueen, and Namey (2012, p.3), "approaches to qualitative data collection and analysis are numerous, representing a diverse range of epistemological, theoretical, and disciplinary perspectives." However, the main goal of the analysis is to "move from raw data to meaningful understanding. In qualitative analysis, understandings are built by a process of uncovering and discovering themes that run through the raw data, and by interpreting the implication of those themes for the research question" (O'Leary, 2004, p.195).

To ensure that data from my interviews were adequately gathered, the interviews were all recorded and transcribed in order to effectively prepare for the analysis process, and to make sure that everything that the interviewee said was captured. Once the interviews were transcribed, they were then systematically analysed so as to identify themes (see coding and memo sample in Appendix C) under which similar experiences could be framed. I focused on identifying these themes within the data through further analysis and comparisons of the data using a combination of grounded theory and thematic analysis. According to Strauss and Corbin (1998, p.12), grounded theory means

“theory that was derived from data, systematically gathered and analyzed through the research process.” I have approached grounded theory with certain feminist principles in mind, such as attempting to be caring, empathetic, mindful, and generous when analysing the data.

Furthermore, according to Guest, MacQueen, and Namey (2012, p.10), thematic analysis “moves beyond counting explicit words or phrases and focuses on identifying and describing both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, themes.” The reason for implementing elements of both grounded theory and thematic analysis to analyse the data was because I understood that different aspects of both of these approaches would best serve how the interviews could be represented, framed, and contextualised. For instance, thematic analysis was effective, as it allowed me to uncover patterns within the data, whereas grounded theory enabled me to continuously reflect and take time throughout the research process, which is a tenat of my feminist practice. Once the data was organised through coding, it was then contextualised amongst current theories through focusing on the key themes revealed through the data analysis approach.

3.4. Critical Reflections on the Research Process

“In the spider-web of facts, many a truth is strangled”
- Paul Eldridge

In order to generate new knowledges and understandings of the world we live in, all research—whether qualitative or quantitative—must be credible. Morse et al (2002) notes that in the 1980s, scholars Guba and Lincoln replaced the ideas of reliability and validity with the similar but more nuanced concept of "trustworthiness", focusing on four aspects: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. These concepts were developed as specific methodological approaches for illustrating qualitative rigour. In order for

credibility to be achieved, there are a number of indicators which need to be addressed in research. Given the nature of research and my aforementioned position as a BAME person, I understand that I approach my role as a researcher through the lenses of my experiences, beliefs, and values, which prevent me from striving for a mythical 'total objectivity' in my research. However, it does allow for neutrality, and I aim to arrive at non-biased findings and conclusions.

Given the study's data collection method, the reliability of social studies may not be valid or consistant, as this data derives from people's experiences. However, dependability is a functional alternative measure which understands that encapsulating a 'standard' might not be possible. Additionally, dependability achieves standardisation assurance through methodological procedures that are systematic and consistent (O'Leary, 2004, p.60). As such, the dependability of this study was considered both when choosing the data and in the analysis process.

I used a structured and well-documented methodological procedure both when collecting the data and approaching its analysis. In order to achieve aspects of dependability, interviewees were provided with transcripts of their quotations, allowing them to propose small amendments (for example, to slightly formalise more colloquial speech) and to clarify direct quotes.

The sample size of the interviewees was not large enough to ensure the external validity of this study, however, transferability is more achievable. According to O'Leary (2004, p.63) "rather than make 'claims' about populations, transferability highlights that lessons learned are likely to be applicable in alternative settings or across populations." This is significant given that the individuals represented in this thesis are discussing their experiences. By striving for transferability, I am not implying that one BAME leader's experience is commensurate to all BAME leaders, but that some aspects may be recognisable in other settings or countries. Although generalisability (also referred to as external validity) can not easily be applied to interviews, the

themes that arise from these narratives can be applied to a much larger context.

4. ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

This chapter presents the analysis and results of the case interviews, and begins with a short introduction of each case. During the data analysis phase of this study, four themes arose as a result of the case study interviews. The main themes identified were: 1) decision-making processes; 2) leading others; 3) making your 'voice heard' as a leader; and 4) diversity in organisations. Within this section, each theme has been divided into subchapters, and the results are presented in the chronological order of the interviews. My decisions about what data was significant enough to form a specific experience or situation were based on both the interviewee's own accounts, and the themes that emerged through the process of analysis.

4.1. Presenting the cases

All of this biographical and employment information has been taken from official sources and the interview materials. However, as requested, the UK interviewees have been given pseudonyms to maintain anonymity, and identifying details from work histories—such as exhibition or institution names—have been removed.

Sonya Lindfors is a Helsinki-based artist that works with choreography, facilitating, community organising, and education. In 2013, she received an MA in choreography from the University of the Arts Helsinki. She is the founding member and Artistic Director of UrbanApa, an interdisciplinary and counter hegemonic arts community that offers a platform for new discourses and feminist art practices. UrbanApa facilitates workshops, festivals, labs, mentoring, and publications, among other things.

Lindfors's recent stage works—*We Should All Be Dreaming* (2018), *COSMIC LATTE* (2018), and *Soft Variations* (2019)—centralise questions around Blackness and otherness; Black body politics; representation; and radical utopian dreaming. Lindfors is interested in creating and facilitating antiracist and feminist platforms, where a festival, a performance, a publication or a workshop can operate as the site of radical collective dreaming. Lindfors has been awarded several prizes, the latest of which is the ANTI Festival's international Prize for Live Art in 2018.

Chloe Smith's curating career began through receiving an internship for people of colour in a local museum. She then trained as an Assistant Curator before being promoted to Curator, and held this position for eight years. After this experience, Chloe became the Curator in International Art and Curator of Contemporary British Art at two leading museums. During this period, her curatorial work centered on diversifying presentations of the museum's collections, and working with international artists. She was then appointed Senior Curator at a leading institution.

Angela Miller has worked as an independent curator and consultant, and as a senior manager at an arts and cultural funding organisation. Miller began her career through an internship position before studying curating. In 2015, she became the Director of an arts organisation. In the past, she has held various leadership positions including being an Independent Advisor to a Government Art Collection, a member of a Visual Arts Advisory Group, and a member of a governmental commission group. She has also been on the selection committee for a major international biennale. In 2019, Miller was appointed Director of a leading British museum.

Vidha Saumya is an artist, co-founder, and board member of Museum of Impossible Forms, Helsinki. In 2018, she completed her MA in Visual Culture and Contemporary Art from Aalto University, Helsinki; she holds a Diploma in Visual Communication Design, Srishti Institute of Art, Design and Technology (2008), and a BFA (Painting) from the Sir J.J. School of Art, Mumbai (2005).

4.1. Decision-making processes

When analysing the data, the first theme that emerged was the leader's decision-making processes, and how these were impacted by their race, class, and gender. The data revealed that the majority of the interviewees believed that race, class, and gender affected all leaders, and as a result, a person's identity also impacted their decision-making processes. Additionally, one of the interviewees stated that they felt that the cultural norms of a country in which the leader is situated also impacts a leader's decision-making processes, regardless of their race, class, and gender.

Lindfors began by indicating that the race, class, and gender of any leader—including those who are part of a dominant group—impacted all aspects of their decision making. In relation to herself, Lindfors stated, "Well, I guess everything. Me being a Black woman, in Finland, in a very white country, defines my life, whether I want it [to] or not!". Whilst referring to a member of the dominant group, Lindfors reflected:

> So if you are a white cis, hetero man, it will have everything to do with what decisions you make, even though you might [not] notice it yourself. Whiteness doesn't create friction with the surrounding norms, so its effects are harder to understand. That's why I'll try to bring the focus back to whiteness and reveal how it operates. Whiteness is not neutral, in fact neutrality does not exist. The identities, policies, experiences, and histories have the exact same effect and weight on a white straight director's or facilitator's decisions and curation than anyone else's. (Lindfors, 2020)

These statements indicated that Lindfors had a strong self awareness of her own race and gender, and how this constructed her as 'other' in all aspects of her life. Interestingly, when Lindfors responded, she did not mention class, either in

regards to herself or others, in relation to the decision-making process. It is thus difficult to ascertain whether her experiences in leadership decision making have been impacted by this factor. This prompts me to consider whether categories such as race and gender may have a stronger recognisable influence on a leader's decision-making processes, then social class. This could also relate to a limitation of Lindfors' own perceptions, which could be informed by broader narratives of Finland being a classless society, attributable to its socialist policies (like free education and social security) creating the illusion that 'everyone is equal'.

Smith answered in a similar manner, stating that:

> All of the decisions I make are affected by the fact that I am a Black woman and I'm trying to move through the world. . . I can't think of any situations where I divorced who I am from the decisions I'm making. (Smith, 2020)

Smith's responses revealed her conscious awareness of her race and gender, but her social class position is not explicitly mentioned. While class is more readily acknowledged within the UK compared to Finland, this could again suggest that some BAME leaders might turn less frequently to the lens of social class, compared to the more dominant lenses of race and gender, when forming their subjectivity as leaders. Smith also recognised that her race and gender affects her decisions, which is evidence that these categories do influence a leader's decision making. Moreover, gender and race are readily understood in relation to visibility and perception, whilst class is not as easily 'seen'. This is despite shifting gender norms meaning that societally, we are learning not to make assumptions about gender based on someone's appearance. However, we can safely say that in this moment, this thinking has yet to permeate our societies, and most people would automatically assign all the interviewees the markers of 'BAME' and 'woman' upon meeting them.

Miller believed that for everyone, their race and gender impacted their decision making. Interestingly, Miller added that:

> I suppose that's the thing, whether it is conscious or not. If you're a white male, heterosexual able bodied person, you're going to make your decisions based on that [those norms]. Even knowingly, or unknown, until you choose to be conscious of your whiteness, your masculinity, you'll always be making these slightly biased decisions. So I would say me being a Black woman absolutely influences everything that I do. (Miller, 2020)

Miller started by sharing her belief that for all people, the intersectionality of their race, class, and gender impacted their decision-making process. Interestingly, Miller shared that she found it important for a leader to have an understanding of how their own race, class, and gender impacts their decision-making processes. Such a response suggests that within decision making, there are two important elements that should be recognised by leaders—firstly, that your decision making is influenced by your race and gender, and secondly, to recognise and consider ways to ensure that your own subjectivity is not prompting you to make biased leadership decisions.

Additionally, Miller mentioned that "I have encountered people recently who are aware of the horrible biases and prejudices and privileges which have allowed them to be where they are, and they are questioning that." This suggests that while there has been a shift towards consciousness-raising amongst leaders within the field of arts and culture, it has only recently been recognised by some arts leaders, and is a relevantly new phenomena within the field of arts and culture.

Saumya stated that she believed that the decision-making process of a leader

differs, and is also dependent on the culture of the context they are in. Saumya was raised in India, and believes that the process of decision making there was primarily through the approval of others:

> It puts into you in a kind of a culture or a way of behaving where you are constantly seeking approval. You want somebody else to do something first, and then you will take the lead, or you will do something. It's not a blanket statement, but I'm saying that it is there in some sense. (Saumya, 2020)

In Finland, Saumya learned that the process of decision making can be done in other ways, and by using different strategies. “This act of organising, collecting, forming a bigger group, asking for something collectively . . . is a streak that is missing a lot of times, not just in India, but also in the Indian diaspora. Because we constantly want to lead on our own” (Saumya, 2020).

Here, Saumya’s statements move beyond the intersection of an individual's race, class, and gender in decision making, by acknowledging the connections between the individual and the larger culture of the society in which a person is located. Furthermore, Saumya demonstrates how countries place different values on a leader’s decision making. This indicates that as a leader, the ways in which you make decisions and the context in which you learned to make those conclusions should be consistently evaluated and interrogated, and this process can help to ensure that your decision making is less likely to be biased, but also not so restricted by cultural norms.

4.2. Leading others

The second theme that emerged from the data was related to leadership style, and how race, class, and gender impacted the interviewee’s approach to leading

others. The interview data divulged mixed responses: two interviewees revealed that class was a large contributor to a person's leadership style; one interviewee believed that the intersections of race, class, and gender equally impacted a leader's ability to lead others; the final interviewee understood that their race was the predominant factor that impacted how they lead others.

Lindfors began by commenting, "Because of my middle-class background, I have been able to do a kind of hierarchical climb, I have access to language that makes me appear more professional." Lindfors also stated that due to the nature of her work and the fact that it focuses on Blackness, she has experienced a type of "friction between Blackness and contemporaneity", and that "people don't consider Black work as contemporary as white work." As a result of this subjectivity, Lindfors shared that she had to do "a lot more [of] this performance of professionalism, or performance of proving that this [her work] is really interesting."

Lindfors' comments revealed that she recognises that her class positioning has enabled her to access some types of leadership tools valued by organisations, such as being comfortable with using coded language and the particular vernacular of the art field, along with skillfully executing a dialogue of 'professionalism'. This highlights a connection between a person's socio-economic background, and what is deemed by individuals in power as an acceptable performance of professionalism when leading others. The data also exposed that within the arts and cultural field, other leaders have questioned the work produced by a BAME leader, solely based on racialised understandings of the work. This revealed that some BAME leaders face prejudices when attempting to lead others, and shape the direction of programming in the arts field.

Smith commented that her race, class, and gender "can't fail to" influence the ways in which she leads others, stating that:

> If I were putting together a group exhibition, I know myself. I know I would never wind up in a situation with [a] resulting checklist [that] was completely homogeneous, and where somehow, all of the people I thought were the best fit, none of them were women or none of them were from parts of the Global South . . . having had a lived experience where you're not always included or considered means that hopefully you bring to bear a certain amount of cheerful consideration and inclusion, in your style of leadership. (Smith, 2020)

Additionally, Smith commented that in relation to leadership styles and leading others:

> There is a sense in which I'm experiencing the world as a Black woman, that as a style of leadership or a way of being in the world, perhaps rings more true than, you know, standing in the front or actively wanting to take a position of standing above people. (Smith, 2020)

Such responses indicated that due to her own lived experiences of being excluded, the manner in which she leads others was amplified by her need to push for non-homogeneous working environments. Subsequently, we can deduce that some BAME leaders deliberately diversify their teams based on their own experiences of exclusion. What was also interesting in Smith's statement regarding leadership styles and leading others was that it exposed a connection between those two elements of leadership and the leader's identity (in terms of race, class, and gender).

Miller highlighted that she believed that the way in which you lead others is impacted by a person's class status:

> People from private school say that they are indoctrinated from the outset, and you know you will lead the world. You will be able to take advantage of these opportunities and [in a] way that state school children aren't . . . I think schooling plays a big part in how you present yourself as a leader. (Miller, 2020)

When reflecting on leading others, and how her gender in particular might shape her approach, Miller added:

> There's a perception that women have got softer skills, and I don't necessarily know that it's my gender that gives me that. I think I have all sorts of life experiences that have led me to be the kind of leader that I am now. I'm prepared to be vulnerable. Sometimes I'm consensual, I'm collaborative. But I know when I have to make a decision about something—that's come with experience, confidence. (Miller, 2020)

Miller's comments show a clear connection between the kind of education system one can enter (which is based on class status), implying that the types of leadership training one receives (and what kind of power one feels entitled to claim) significantly differs in private vs state schools. Thus, exposing the privileges connected to class status also illustrates how the social class position of a leader has influenced their work opportunities. Furthermore, it could be concluded that this position has also resulted in organisations replicating society's class values within their own frameworks. Miller's comments also drew a connection between her gender and the manner in which she led others, indicating that her experiences as a woman has shaped her work experiences, and fostering a connection between gender stereotypes and leadership styles.

Saumya explained that her race and use of language is important in leading others:

> I think in that sense, it [language] definitely affects, and as a Brown body present in a primarily white space, I mean in the sense that we are in Finland. I do understand, and I'm very aware of what it means to put my words out in a space. (Saumya, 2020)

Saumya also highlighted that it was through the proximity of observing others that she was able to gain further insights into how to lead people, and that over time, she learned how to use language as a tool in leadership. Throughout Saumya's answers, she also reflected upon how she understood her personal transformation after obtaining a leadership position.

Saumya's statements suggest a connection between language and race, illustrating that BAME leaders are often consciously aware of how they speak, and how this might contribute to them being racialised, or having their race scrutinised by others; this implies that BAME leaders who are situated in a country where they are racialised as 'other' face additional barriers when establishing themselves as leaders. It is therefore important to note that Saumya highlighted that observing other leaders is one useful tool when learning how to lead others.

4.3. Making your 'voice heard' as a leader

The third theme that emerged from the data was the importance of leadership tools, which helped the leader in how they approached being able to make their 'voice heard' when leading others. Ahmed uses this term when talking about the challenges BAME people face in institutional settings (Ahmed, 2017). All of the interviewees used a number of tools in order to be 'heard' as a leader.

Lindfors highlighted that as she works with a small team in leading her own

organisation, it is easier to ensure that her voice is heard, compared to when she works with external art and cultural organisations. Lindfors stated:

> At times I can use my personal artist brand and my privilege to enter some institutions and then bring somebody else with me. So that's also one of the strategies of the platform, but at the same time, how to try to share authorship, ownership of the platform? So really, concretely, how to share power and responsibility? (Lindfors, 2020)

Lindfors also expressed that due to living in Finland with its relatively small population of slightly more than 5.5 million people, the voices that are heard form part of an already small community:

> In Finland, the amount of Black voices in the field is still very limited. This is one reason why these issues, time after time, become marginalised. That's also why this year's theme for Stop Hatred Now is New Standards. So I'm also trying to strategically find a way to come out of the margins, make issues around diversity and intersectionality the new standard, the standard for quality. (Lindfors, 2020)

Furthermore, Lindfors added that due to her obtaining external recognition as a successful choreographer and Artistic Director, she feels that it has enabled her to be heard by other organisations and institutions. She has thus been able to bring new platforms—such as Stop Hatred Now (an anti-racist and intercultural platform)—to the Finnish arts field, which has further amplified her voice, and the voices of others who are racialised and/or face discrimination, both in Finland and in other countries.

Lindfors comments indicated that she uses two different strategies to amplify her voice. One is to use her personal artist brand to access and provide a point of

entry for others to arts and cultural institutions. Another strategy is to use her platform to lead the conversation in the arts and cultural field by igniting discussions that are relevant to the broader art scene. In relation to the first strategy, such a response discloses the importance of being recognised by external organisations, and how without this, an aspiring leader may not be able to access other institutions with power. The second strategy revealed that it's often necessary for BAME leaders to actively build their own platforms and institutional structures, to ensure that their opinions and experiences are included within broader discourses of the arts and cultural field.

In regards to being able (or not being able) to make 'your voice' heard as a leader, Smith feels that "this is where that intersectionality comes in"—being recognised and listened to can be twice as difficult, given that she is a woman and a woman of colour. Smith also noted that a person has to be "strategic and choose your battles . . . there are times when you do pick your battles, as you say, or sometimes you may have allies, who say, like, well as Zoe said [and] there are times when people do hear things better from others."

Smith elaborated that she sometimes used a strategy that makes use of others with different presence and power to enunciate her beliefs, in the hope that they might be received with less friction, stating that:

> Could it be that something will be better received if it comes from the artists—because of their status in the art world—or from a patron, you know, can you have a quiet word with someone, and that can be just as effective? (Smith, 2020)

Smith's responses affirmed two strategic tools which enable a BAME leader to be heard. One was that she used her own voice at the 'correct' moments, and the second was to speak through others. Interestingly, Smith's comments also confirmed that there are additional barriers faced by BAME people that straddle

the crossroads of two or more identities, revealing that the experience of making your 'voice heard' as a BAME leader can be twice as difficult if you are Black and a woman. It can be deduced that the intersection of a person's race and gender contributes to the difficulties faced by BAME leaders trying to get their voices heard, which prompts them to use various strategies to counter this, even when they hold leadership positions (and purportedly are positioned as someone with clout and authority).

Miller shared that they have implemented a number of strategies to help them communicate their needs and wishes as a leader. For Miller, a key factor in this is "having the courage of my conviction, like judging the mood of the room, finding allies. I guess it's seeing people who've, you're hearing people that are kind of shining with you, and building on some of what they're saying." Miller expanded on the importance of creating and sharing narratives when saying:

> I think one of the really big pieces of work to do as a leader is to talk about our own stories—tell stories of how you've arrived at that point. I think that's a role for everyone (Miller, 2020)

These viewpoints showed that Miller uses different strategies as a leader, which enables her to not only voice her beliefs, but also ensure that her opinion is heard. Interestingly, the comments indicated that Miller used allyship as a way to ensure that her opinions are noted. This revealed that finding allies is an important method that BAME leaders can use. Furthermore, the need for Miller to use her voice to tell stories was intriguing, as it showed the significance of sharing strategies with other leaders. It also highlighted that part of having your voice heard includes sharing comments individually, sharing within your organisation, but also sharing with the wider community.

Saumya explained that when leading others, learning how to ensure that her voice is heard is about language. "I think I have the benefit of language. I am

constantly improving the manner in which I speak". In addition to fostering a consciousness about language, tone, and terminology, Saumya highlighted that she also uses other very practical means, such as observing leadership tutorials online. Saumya also spoke about vulnerability, sharing that "early [on], I really didn't know how to reply. I would constantly become an easy target for being gaslighted."

Saumya's responses revealed that she valued the need to continuously enrich and refine her language as a leader, in order to make her 'voice heard', suggesting that it is important for BAME leaders to foster consciousness around language and the precision of expression, which can help to carve out a subjectivity that is consistent with their broader values. This also recognises that being able to speak one's values (and convince others of one's worth) is part of being an effective and admirable leader. Interestingly, the need to regularly improve upon the methods that ensured that her voice was heard had arisen from Saumya's own experiences of being the target of gaslighting—a tactic that some people use as a way of gaining power, by making another person question their reality and doubt what they experienced. This showcased one negative experience that Saumya encountered within her leadership environment; strategies that ensure that your voice is heard are necessary for countering such experiences.

4.4. Diversity in organisations

The final theme that emerged from the data brought together the threads of leadership, diversity within organisations, and an organisation's perceived commitment to diversity in light of the interviewees' own experiences working with/in organisations. The data revealed that all of the interviewees felt that there is a gap between an organisation's symbolic commitment to diversity, and their own lived professional work experiences.

Lindfors stated that upon reflecting on her experiences of leadership and diversity in organisations, she has witnessed a lack of representation of BAME people in leadership roles, which potentially has grown from barriers related to race, class, and gender. Lindfors shared that:

> I can't name one art institution that has a full time Black or person of colour in their workforce. I'm thinking through the places I am in closer contact with, or I have been working in, like Kiasma, the National Theatre, Ateneum, Zodiak. I can't name a single one. So yeah, there's a huge gap. (Lindfors, 2020)

Lindfors also speculated that especially for organisations, "This structural change is so painful and uncomfortable because it would actually mean that some people might have to leave or make space for new people." Additionally, Lindfors believed that not only do organisations struggle with accountability in relation to diversity, but individuals do also. This results in an individual lack of commitment or unwillingness to address diversity issues within the organisation. Lindfors noted that in the face of this reticence, on an individual level, BAME people might try "to assimilate, you try to make yourself as close to whiteness as possible, so you don't stand out in the wrong way."

These comments show that while ostensibly, organisations might be using the language of diversity and representation externally, internally, many are not extending their conception of diversity to their hiring practices. Lindfors' response illustrated that the leading Finnish arts and cultural organisations are not employing racially diverse team members, proving that structural barriers are in place that do not allow for a racially diverse workforce. Furthermore, Lindfors' comments also demonstrate that the unwillingness to change who visibly holds power in organisations may be linked to the reluctance of key individuals within organisations to acknowledge that they have benefitted from structural inequality, and that they have the capacity to relinquish power and

make space for more diverse future leaders.

Moreover, on an individual level, Lindfors' responses highlighted the complexities felt by some BAME individuals who are underrepresented within an institutional context, and might therefore think twice about using the language of diversity; when they are at work, they may try to distance themselves from other underrepresented people in order to be closer to 'whiteness', and to not be tokenised as always challenging the status quo. This suggested that challenges in relation to diversity take place on both an individual and organisational level.

When reflecting on organisations and their commitment to diversity, Smith stated that broader summations were difficult, and it depended on the organisation in question. However, Smith did add that:

> Certainly I wouldn't say broad brush that [there are] no institutions who do these things well or [are] capable of it, but certainly I guess I recognise that institutions understand that fundamentally in order to be relevant and to succeed—and in many cases now, in order to be, or to continue to be, publicly funded—[they] have to demonstrate more of a commitment to diversity, in all of its forms—racial and class based. (Smith, 2020)

Additionally, Smith highlighted that the intensity of the drive to be accountable and change the lack of diversity within an organisation has shifted, and "certainly in years prior, even decades prior, it was a little bit easier to absolve themselves [of] any institutional responsibility." So while this drive might be intensifying, Smith added that:

> Of course there's certainly more work to be done, both in terms of the diversity of leadership, and the diversity of board structures. Those types

> of things from the top impact the way, you know, an organisation is run all the way down. That affects hiring, that affects programming, all of those things. (Smith, 2020)

These comments showed that in relation to leadership and diversity within organisations there is a change happening. According to her response, this is because there is an understanding within these organisations that increasing the diversity of the institution will not only benefit the organisation financially, but also its standing in broader society. This could indicate that within the UK, there is a drive to diversify the arts and cultural fields, because certain values (economic and cultural) have been ascribed prominence in relation to such diversification.

Miller highlighted that there is a gap between the way in which an organisation uses the language of diversity, and the organisation's own internal structure. She notes that previously, she understood that organisations had approached her to take on a leadership role in order to try and 'fill' the organisation's diversity gap. Often this happened when government bodies published new funding plans that aimed to tackle barriers that have prevented the realisation of more diverse workplaces. Miller shares that "When people were thinking about applying for funding, applying for the next NPO, I just started getting phone calls and emails saying, 'we're just starting to think about diversity. Can we come and talk to you?' My view was, only if you want to have a meaningful conversation about collaboration."

Upon reflecting on the sincerity of these invitations, Miller also shared that "There's total mismatch between what people say that they're doing in relation to diversity—and now inclusion—to actually what's happening. Some people don't have a clue. And actually, fear is the overriding feature of people."

Miller's comments demonstrated that additional 'work' to foster diversity and

educate others is often placed onto BAME leaders, and many organisations default to placing responsibility for tackling the challenges around diversification onto BAME people within the fields. Miller's response also elucidates tensions around how organisations are only willing to diversify when there is a clear 'reward', such as increased eligibility for federal funding. Moreover, Miller revealed that on an individual level, there is evidence that people are finding diversification very difficult, and the pressure to change elicits initial responses like 'fear'.

Saumya's responses also highlighted that there are gaps between an organisation's symbolic commitment to diversity, and her experiences as a leader working within an organisation. Additionally, Saumya stated that as a leader operating within an organisation, you have to constantly seek to widen the spectrum of diversity. Saumya notes that:

> I guess there are several gaps. We've had a writing workshop in Arabic, and we've had a few programs maybe in Finnish, but mainly English remains, really, the language of events, under the programs that take place. So, for example, when we're talking about diversity and equality, I mean there are several languages being spoken in Finland and in Helsinki, but we've not had any programs [that include those]. (Saumya, 2020)

Here Saumya's comments illustrated that an organisation's perceived commitment to diversity should not simply happen externally, but it also needs to be seen internally. This can be achieved by implementing diversity into public programming, which again reveals that diversity in organisations needs to be implemented at both an individual level amongst those responsible for the organisation, but also through its programming.

5. CONCLUSIONS AND MAIN FINDINGS

The principal research question of this thesis was the following: What influences do race, class, and gender have on Black, Asian, and minority ethnic professional leaders' working experience within the arts and cultural field? The supporting questions were in relation to how the race, class, and gender of a Black, Asian, and minority ethnic leader influence their leadership style and work processes. In this chapter, I will present the principal findings, and illustrate how the findings correlate to the theoretical framework highlighted in chapter three. I will also discuss any practical managerial and theoretical consequences of the findings.

The following subchapters are divided into three sections. Firstly, I will discuss how the intersection of race, class, and gender influences a BAME leader's experience within the field, then I will discuss the types of influences race, class, and gender have on a leader's decision making and leadership style. Thirdly, I will discuss the key findings in relation to working with and for organisations, as these experiences are closely linked with the cultural policy frameworks of each context, and the cultural policy and diversity commitments presented by Finland and Britain. Lastly, the final section will include the limitations of the thesis and suggestions for further research.

5.1. Leadership

The main finding was that a BAME leader's professional working experience has been influenced in various manners, due to the intersections of their race, class, and gender. In some interviews, race and gender were explicitly mentioned, but the social class of a leader was not. This could be due to the fact that both race and gender are visible markers of 'otherness', and are thus more readily recognised (and recognisable). In other interviews, the influences of class were revealed as a dominant factor in the experiences of BAME leadership, which

shows that even though all of these categories intersect, the influence that they have on the experiences of BAME leaders is not explicitly noted or visible to the leaders at all points in time. With these intersections in mind, I will present my conclusions in an overlapping manner.

Each system of classification (race, class, and gender) holds a degree of influence on a BAME leader's working experience. The construction of a leader is built through influence and elements of power, including position power. I argued that scholars have failed to distinguish "double or multiple standards" and its influence on "position power". The data showed that there were no explicit comments on their own positions and abilities. A possible reason for this, however, is due to the practical limitations of this thesis, and that in order for this theoretical argument to be thoroughly investigated, a researcher would need to gather material from organisational workers and not just leaders.

In regards to gender, Morgan (1997) stated that gender-based biases can still be in place in some organisations. The data showed that one of the interviewees believed that all people make biased decisions, but what is important is that an individual understands whether or not this bias is conscious or unconscious. As such, it can be argued that it is critical for a leader—regardless of their gender—to understand and acknowledge that they will be biased to some degree, and to put managerial tools in place to tackle conscious and unconscious biased behaviour when leading others.

The findings also revealed that an interviewee believed that being recognised as a leader was twice as difficult given that she is a woman and a woman of colour. In order to overcome this difficulty, the interviewee used various strategies, some of which included choosing when to raise her voice, but also speaking through others. This meant that at times, the interviewee considered if information would be better received coming from another individual (with a more stereotypically authoritative subjectivity), for example, a patron. This finding illustrates the implications around self-censorship and making others feel comfortable, which particularly resonate with Black women operating

within organisations. Leadership theory directly related to this topic is currently limited, but theorists such as Hine and Thompson (1998), Payne (1995), and Parker (2001) have raised the need for further investigation into this topic.

Due to the conventional importance placed on the demographic characteristics of, and status ascribed to social class, class structures have been replicated throughout organisations. Consequently, the social class of a BAME leader continues to influence their working experiences, and the data revealed two examples of this—one through the interviewees' experience of leadership recruitment, and another due to education.

Kennelly's (2003) study found that white employers base employment decisions on negative social class stereotypes (for example, the perceived lower education, or single parent households) of Black women. The data revealed that one of the interviewees was able to navigate this type of discrimination by drawing on tools that she obtained through the educational opportunities available to her through her middle-class status. These tools have then allowed for her to 'perform' the expected behaviour of a leader. This indicates that on a practical scale, BAME leaders can utilise tools that enable them to counteract negative social class stereotypes.

Ridgeway (2004) explained that class-based differences emerge within organisations, as individuals encircled and reinforced models based on their own identity. As a result, objective social class factors—such as specific educational requirements—become the benchmark for all potential leaders. This then leads to a homogeneous work environment, as individuals reinforce models of 'excellence' based on their own identity. The interview data showed that BAME leaders have aimed to counteract this by ensuring that their teams are as diverse as possible. This reveals that on a practical managerial note, BAME leaders often adopt two roles: leading an organisation, but at the same time, also trying to ensure that the working environment reflects the diversity of the people in broader society.

5.2. Decision making

The data revealed that all of the interviewees thought that to some degree, race, class, and gender impacted their decision making. This confirms the argument stated by Brouthers, Brouthers, and Werner (2000) that decisions are influenced by the leader's identity more so then the broader organisational conditions. Evidently, it can be argued that given the evidence around how a leader's identity and subjectivity influences decision making, the arts and cultural sector need to diversify leaders and governance within organisations in order to ensure that all sectors of society are represented across all levels of decision making. Furthermore, as arts and cultural managers, we need to regularly review and take a critical look at how and why we are making our decisions, and who is sitting alongside us.

Due to the current race, class, and gender leadership imbalances present within the arts and cultural sector, Parker (2001) notes that leadership characteristics are often defined by white middle-class men, and framed as the 'norm'. In light of this, the data revealed that as part of one BAME leader's work process, she frequently questioned normalised leadership standards, particularly when making decisions as a leader. As such, it can be argued that the theory proposed by Parker (2001) is valid, and that BAME leaders are in a type of conflict with the current normalised leadership principles that are in place within the majority of organisations. On a practical managerial level, I argue that this is something that can be changed within organisations through self-reflection and awareness-raising, however, the willingness to change leadership 'norms' has to be a collective effort from all leaders within the arts and cultural sector.

Interestingly, the data revealed one unexpected finding, as one interviewee believed that their work processes—specifically those in relation to the decision making—varied and heavily depended on the culture of the context in which a person works as a leader. This finding may be due to the interviewee's India heritage, which she noted has a different approach to work processes then those

she has experienced in Europe. As this finding moves beyond an individual's race, class, and gender and into the wider topic of context-specific leadership, the theory outlined in chapter three does not cover this area of research. However, an investigation into this finding could be beneficial for research that explores the work processes of a leader's experiences in different countries.

5.3. Leadership style

The data showed that race, class, and gender influenced a BAME leader's working experience and leadership style in various ways. One interviewee stated that the reason why she was able to learn how to lead others was due to her social class status. This provided her with opportunities to obtain and practice a language of professionalism that was more conventionally aligned with leadership behaviour. This confirms the theory presented by Bullock (2004), who stated that people who are situated within a socially-valued segment of society are granted a larger number of opportunities. This demonstrates that the findings are supported by current theories around the study of social class and leadership. In light of this, it can be stated that there is a direct link between an individual's social class status, the social value of such a status, and how a person enacts learned styles of leadership.

Another interviewee stated that all aspects of race, class, and gender influenced her leadership style, and that this was due to her own experience of not always being included. As a result of being previously excluded, the interviewee ensured that as a leader, any team that she planned was not homogeneous. While I do not concretely know the reasons why the interviewee was previously excluded, the findings show that those experiences have influenced her leadership practices, as she strives to forge teams that include women and people from the Global South—a clear indicator that race, class, and gender have influenced her style of leadership. Furthermore, this finding confirms the theory highlighted by Hine and Thompson (1998), and Payne (1995), who state that Black women's leadership is set in a culture of endurance, defiance, and

community building which has been neglected by theorists analysing leadership. As a BAME leader, the interviewee had to endure being excluded; resist the exclusion of herself (and also others); and reshape her leadership style by ensuring that she builds more inclusive teams. However, as this theory signalled a link between a person's race and gender, the theoretical perspectives are limited, as class was not included in the scope of those theories.

Another interviewee indicated that the race of a leader impacted her leadership style, as she learned leadership approaches through observing others. Furthermore, as a non-native leader in Finland, the findings show that the interviewee believed that her race prompted her to use various leadership tools—including an awareness around language—which influenced her leadership style. This awareness of race and its impact on her use of language fluctuated within different spaces. The findings indicate that people link leadership tools—such as language—to a dominant group. The theory presented in chapter three found no direct correlation between leadership style and language. However, Parker (2008) theorises that due to the dominant group within Europe being white, heterosexual, middle-class males, the style of leadership constructued by them is enshrined and normalised as the standard. As such, it could be concluded that there is a link between leadership style and the accepted language used by a leader, based not only on their race, but also their class and gender.

5.4. Working with and for organisations

The cultural policy frameworks within both Britain and Finland greatly influence the arts and cultural sector. In direct relation to cultural policy and diversity, this thesis has concluded that in Britain, the current cultural policy frameworks in place have been unsuccessful in fostering cross-cultural exchange amongst audiences, and internally within arts and cultural organisations. In Finland, the current cultural policy structures are unable to ensure that individuals working within arts and cultural organisations adequately reflect the

diverse spectrum of broader society. In line with these conclusions, the data revealed that all of the interviewees felt that there is a gap between an organisation's symbolic commitment to diversity, and their own lived professional work experiences.

The data also revealed that one BAME leader in Finland believed that organisations found it difficult to diversify, even though they regularly use the language of diversity. This finding corresponds with the Ministry of Culture and Education's own reports (2017), which state that in Finland, there are a number of weaknesses in relation to cultural diversity. They also admit to finding it challenging to ensure that the leadership roles within arts and cultural organisations are also reflective of the diversity of broader society. On a practical managerial level, this cultural policy failure has led to BAME leaders having to develop their own strategies that enable them to be heard. Concretely, this has led to one interviewee having to independently organise cultural diversity events for the arts and cultural sector, in order to fill the gap between the needs of Finnish society and government cultural policy goals.

The findings also highlighted that in relation to diversity, not only do the structures of the organisation need improvement, but also areas such as public programming require more diversity. This finding could be linked to the aforementioned report published by the Ministry of Culture and Education (2017), which indicated that the need for cultural services—as well as work within the arts and culture sector—is growing. As such, it can be concluded that in Finland, it is both the internal make-up of staff within organisations, and governmental diversity efforts that need to be addressed, in order to improve all members of society's access to the arts and cultural field.

The theories presented showed that cultural policy was in place in both countries in order to foster creativity, diversity, and inclusion in society. The main findings show that in Britain, diversity within organisations very much depended on which organisation within the arts and cultural field was being

discussed. However, while there is a drive to change the lack of diversity, the arts and cultural field was heavily motivated by targets set by funding bodies, such as Arts Council England. This finding corresponds with the Arts Council England Report (2020b), which stated that even though there is an extensive lack of diversity within publicly funded arts and cultural organisations, there have been moderate increases over time. As a result, it could be concluded that arts and cultural organisations within England are making the necessary changes to improve their diversity efforts across the field. However, evidence shows that these efforts are only effective when organisational funding is at risk, and conditional on meeting diversity targets. The cultural policy frameworks set within both of these contexts are clearly failing to foster cultural diversity. However, evidence shows that Arts Council England's scheme to align diversity goals with funding is working. As such, this could be a method that Finland adopts, but the details would need to be adapted to best serve the Finnish context.

To conclude, according to Sassatelli (as cited in Meinhof and Triandafyllidou, 2006) the principal aim of cultural policy is to encourage the growth of identities which would then—according to policy makers—lead to a fully socialised and amenable civilian. However, the theory and findings presented in this thesis show that cultural policy has limitations, as it fails to cater to the growth of complex intersectional identities within our societies.

6. FINAL DISCUSSION

Examining the experiences of BAME arts and cultural leaders through the intersections of race, class, and gender was a complex process, as the thesis included a number of research areas including femininst theory, organisational theory, leadership theory, and psychology. It was challenging at times to condense, interweave, and critically analyse all of the theoretical and managerial perspectives I encountered, but I believe that this was achieved within the

limitations of a Master thesis' length and scope.

Overall, I believe that I met the goal of answering the original research question, and I was able to contribute to research by critically examining the topic of leadership diversity within the arts and cultural fields. Investigating the two different contexts has been insightful, but also highlighted that BAME leaders face similar barriers both on a micro and meso level, regardless of which context they are operating within.

As Arts Managers, the actions that we need to take in order to support BAME art workers and improve the diverse representation of the field are challenging, but not impossible. As presented in the thesis, the experiences faced by BAME arts workers included but was not limited to: barriers to entry due to structural racism; race, class and gender bias; and race-based normative organisational structures. Personally, I believe that there are many actions that Arts Managers can take in order to readdress the diversity imbalance currently present within the fields. This can be accomplished through changes to current hiring strategies, organisational bias training, and advocacy for changes to cultural policy. I am not implying that these changes will be easy to implement, but I strongly believe that in order to see larger changes happen in the fields, Arts Managers need to start from a position of self-awareness and self-reflection, and begin implementing smaller changes whenever possible.

6.1. Limitations and suggestions for further research

The findings and conclusions presented are the results of a complex research subject, and draw on the subjectivities of four BAME leaders. If I had completed in-depth or multiple interviews with each subject, then more comprehensive insights could have been explored, which may have led to different results. However, the experiences presented in my analysis and results section have produced fruitful and insightful findings. A further limitation to this thesis is the existing lack of diverse representation of BAME people in leadership positions—as such, my study was limited to four cases. However, this was in

part due to factors outside of my control, for example, structural institutional barriers and individual biases that have impacted the hiring of BAME leaders.

In order to conduct an extensive theoretical perspective of leadership using intersectional feminist thought, leadership theory—and more generally, the majority of theory outside of feminism—needs to acknowledge the limitations of so-called neutral research. This belief in neutrality has led to fundamental gaps within research, both in regards to who is speaking and who is spoken about, which ultimately contributes to the compounded absenting of marginalised voices. Currently the majority of leadership research focuses on white women (and binary definitions of gender), which largely neglects the concept of intersectionality and makes invisible other forms of measuring inequality within the arts and cultural field.

Further studies centred around the leadership theme of decision making could focus on the influence of a leaders' race, class, and gender on broader organisational goals. Additionally, further research could take an in-depth look into position power and the influence a leaders' race, class, and gender has on how this theory can be understood and implemented. Further studies on cultural policy and diversity schemes within Britain and Finland could include a comprehensive review of the previously outlined failings. Through conducting interviews and surveys, one could investigate the root of the diversity challenges faced in both contexts. A study investigating these cultural policy shortcomings could unearth new directions for future cultural policy and diversity plans.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Interview schedule table

Interviewee	Date	Length
Artistic Director of UrbanApa and Choreographer	14 January, 2020	0 h 40 minutes
Senior Curator	21 January, 2020	0 h 32.29 minutes
Board Member of Museum of Impossible Forms	27 January, 2020	0 h 44 minutes
Museum Director	29 January, 2020	0 h 38.16 minutes

Appendix B: Sample questions used in the interviews

1. Why did you choose a career in the arts and how long have you been working in the field?

2. Many institutions use languages of diversity as well as equality to promote their organisation but do you see a gap between the symbolic commitment of the organisation you currently lead/work in/ and your lived professional work experience?

3. What influence does your race, class and gender have on the decisions you make in relation to the public programming of the arts organisation you lead/work in/with?

4. How do the intersectionalities of your race, class and gender influence the way in which you lead others within your organisation/as a freelance worker/the organisation you work in?

5. As a professional leader, do you believe that your decision making process (handling set-backs or organising) differs from your white counterparts? If so, how?

6. In your experience, how have you been able to make your 'voice heard' when leading other team members within your/in an organisation?

7. As a minority (race and gender) do you feel that you've had to establish a distance between yourself and other minorities working within the same organisation/field in order to 'fit in' within a predominantly white arts sector?

Appendix C: Sample of interview coding and memo

	Code		Memo
Q1		Why did you choose a career in the arts and how long have you been working in the field?	
A1	Class Whiteness Education Race	This again, was it a choice actually? Um, well I think uh, many working with dance have this kind of same uh, story that I started as quite young. Uh, because **I also come from a quiet middle-class, uh, kind of supportive art supportive background**. Uh, my mom is a physician but she also was **a lot into dance and there was a lot of like music and dancing in my home as well.** So I started to dance quite young and then like, you know, at some point, Hey, do you want to come and do this gig? I started to like, I started to get some, some smaller gigs and then I applied for this, **which is just across the street, this high school for performing arts called Kallio. Also very exclusive and white. I was the only like person of colour during my, or no there, I think there was maybe one other person there were two and it was like 800 students.** So not many. And from there, **like many, many of my peers kind of applied to TeaK because you know, it's this trajectory that you go into Kallio and then you can apply to these art schools. So I just randomly applied, I was like, okay, I can apply because I've been dancing and then I got in.** So I often say that it was actually an accident and I was um, I was thinking that I would have applied to this, what is it in English, this word like this, like maybe political science or something like to study something else. But funnily I think I'm kind of dealing with similar issues or like questions around structures and also like how society is constructed. Even like, so I did, I chose, maybe I chose it, this, this other path, but still dealing with quite similar maybe issues then if I would have studied political science or sociology or something else.	Hear is is a mention of being a middle-class background, family that supportive the arts. Art school education leading to higher education at TeaK.