Breaking Toxic Triangles: How Courageous Followers stand up to Destructive Leadership

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Abstract

Instances of Destructive Leadership abound. It is a growing phenomenon with very real consequences and yet it remains under-researched. The scant work that exists on Destructive Leadership tends to focus on leaders and generally discounts the role of followers. Responding to calls for models which recognise that outcomes are often co-created by leaders and followers, this study explores how followers stand up to leaders to mitigate destructive outcomes. This study anchors its arguments to the Toxic Triangle framework (Padilla 2013), which focuses on the confluence of Destructive Leaders, Susceptible Followers, and Conducive Environments. The insights from this study augment the Toxic Triangle by adding Courageous Followers to the framework. Using Power and Structuration theories as theoretical lenses, the study analyses the *discursive actions* undertaken by Courageous Followers to shift the power balance while attempting to collapse the Toxic Triangle.

The study analyses twelve longitudinal episodes from three cases of Destructive Leadership that spanned decades. Given that the cases entailed shifts in power balance and the fact that discourse and power are said to be indistinguishable from each other and mutually constitute each other, the study adopted Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as a method. CDA explored the tension between agency and structure as the power balance shifted. The findings showed that when faced with Destructive Leadership, *discursive actions* related to *building and maintaining coalitions* were necessary (but not sufficient). '*Rubiconising* which was acting decisively to cross a point of no return was also found to be an effective discurisive act. Courageous Followers had to 'activate' individuals and entities across levels to confront the Destructive Leadership phenomena which tended to span micro-macro level boundaries and across social systems. Thus, *boundary spanning* was a key action that shifted the power balance. Courageous Followers often succeeded through *intensifying* their actions across levels *(i.e., persisting using various avenues and structures)*. Somewhat counter-intuitively, the act of *internally confronting* Destructive Leadership proved ineffective.

The emergent theoretical frameworks identify discursive actions that can collapse Toxic Triangles despite being at a power disadvantage. This research has implications for how societies, organisations and followers might combat Destructive Leadership. The study suggests policy changes that could be made to institutionalise structures to mitigate destructive outcomes and makes a case for researchers to treat outcomes as artefacts that are co-created by leaders *and* followers.

To all the women and men throughout history that had the courage to resist destructive leadership. Our world has been improved by your sacrifice.

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While my name might be on this thesis, the completion of this thesis is a testament to the assistance, guidance and encouragement from many people. I would like to recognise those people that constituted my informal and formal team on this journey.

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Declaration

This thesis:

- Contains no material which has been accepted for the award to the candidate of any other degree or diploma, except where due reference is made in the text of the examinable outcome;

- To the best of the candidate's knowledge contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text of the examinable outcome;

- Where the work is based on joint research or publications, discloses the relative contributions of the respective workers or authors;

- This thesis is less than 100,000 words in length exclusive of reference list and appendices;

- Melody Powell edited parts of this thesis. The editing addressed only style and grammar and not its substantive content; and

- This thesis used archival data with no participants and did not need Ethics Approval from the Swinburne University of Technology.

Alain de Sales

June 22nd, 2020

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Overview

This chapter is an introduction to the thesis exploring *how followers do stand up to Destructive Leadership*. The chapter provides the reader with the background and context to the research, the specific research problem and associated research questions. This chapter will introduce an overview of the research paradigm and the methodology used in this research project. It will also outline the different theoretical contributions of this project.

1.2 Research Background and Context

> *"What more can be done to achieve effective leadership?"*
> *Justice Hayne asked this question in his report on Australia's recent Royal Commission into Misconduct in the Banking, Superannuation and Financial Services Industry (Hayne 2019, p.5)*

The above quote is just an example of a crisis of leadership that is gripping society across the public and private sectors. The current knowledge of the leadership has scarcely prevented Destructive Leaders from rising to the apex of institutions across different areas. In fact, Destructive Leadership is a far-reaching global challenge that is growing and costly (Schyns & Schilling 2013; Tepper 2000; Winn & Dykes 2019).

The cost of Destructive Leadership is real and has practical implications. For instance, from a business perspective, estimates state that abusive supervision alone conservatively costs U.S. companies AU$50.8 billion per annum and affects 13.6% U.S. workers. Ergo, even a 1% decrease in just abusive supervision could save AU$508 million (Coin News 2019; Tepper 2007, p. 262; Tepper et al. 2006a, p.119; XE 2019). A recent study in Australia showed that Destructive Leadership is pervasive, and disproportionately impacts women (Webster, Brough & Daly 2016). Destructive leadership significantly affects the mental health of those being subjected to it causing issues such as stress, depression, anxiety, fear and various physical manifestations (ibid.).

Destructive Leadership thus often has substantial impacts on the lives of people. Across history the costly consequences of Destructive Leaders have led to genocide, abuse, criminal activity, loss of shareholder value or bankruptcy (Kusy & Holloway 2009; Lipman-Blumen 2005b; Padilla 2013; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). The bankruptcies of Enron and Worldcom, the tragic events at

Jonestown, the child sex abuse scandals at Penn State and in the Catholic Church, and Hitler's Germany are all occurrences that show the destructive potential of leadership in various forms (Thoroughgood et al. 2016). The record shows that often organisations themselves require saving from destructive leaders, this presents significant problems for practice and research.

The *Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse* emphasised that leadership, governance and culture are critical to child safety (Commonwealth 2017). The final report by the Royal Commission mentioned the importance of 'leadership' over 80 times (ibid.). The report also emphasised that those in leadership positions need to change as they primarily create culture (ibid.). However, while leadership is important, this thesis argues that the Royal Commission's report further underscores the continual leader-centric focus when investigating destructive outcomes. When a destructive episode occurs, the primary focus is on leaders, as opposed to the group processes and the larger historical, institutional, and societal forces that also contribute to the outcomes (Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Thus, it is important and timely to study how one might mitigate the toxicity of Destructive Leaders and how Destructive Leadership spreads.

Leadership theories have continually incorporated debates, changes and advancements, however, there are still many elements to explore to achieve effective leadership. Avolio (2007) asserted that if the accumulated science of leadership produced a *periodic table* of relevant elements, one may have concluded that leadership studies had focused on a very limited set of elements. The author argued that this is because of the predominant emphasis on the leader, while mostly neglecting several other potentially relevant elements such as the follower and context (ibid.). However, very few empirical studies have focused on a confluence of these factors (Shaw, Erickson & Harvey 2011). Hence, this PhD thesis contributes by broadening the lens of leadership through exploring interactions between leaders, context and followers to move away from the *leader as a saviour or demon* mindset (Collinson 2005; Lipman-Blumen 2005a).

As explained in the literature review, followers and followership are important in the leadership process. Over thirty years ago, Bennis and Nanus (1985, p.4) asserted that from thousands of empirical investigations of leaders in the last seventy-five years no clear and unequivocal understanding exists that distinguishes leaders from non-leaders. This is more relevant in this century, as there is even more ambiguity in this subset of social science (Vroom and Jago 2007). Research has explored how followers impact their leaders' behaviours (Wofford, Whittington & Goodwin 2001; Shamir, House & Arthur 1993; Klein & House 1995). Yet a lot of research and training is leader-centric. Crockett (1981) and nearly three decades later Dixon (2009) described

that organisations contain mostly followers, but we hardly get trained on how effectively to follow. Most of the focus is on leadership, and leader-only structures, but as illustrated in Figure 1.1 below, in practice these structures are virtually non-existent (ibid.). Meindl (1995), a pioneer in expanding leadership theory, and Pillai, Kohles & Bligh (2007) also referred to the prevailing perspective of leadership research as being too leader-centric.
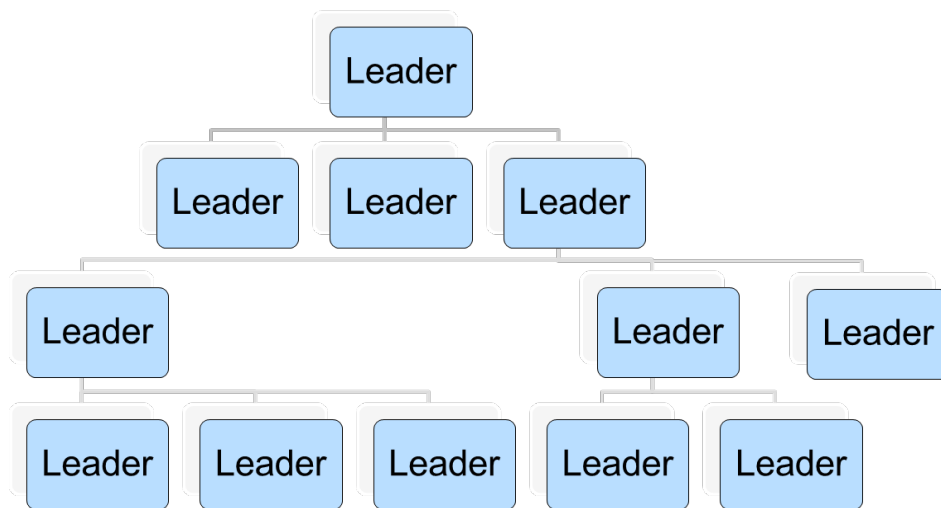
Figure 1.1: An All Leaders Organisation
(Adapted from Dixon (2009, p.34))

The above preamble shows that there is a need for research into leadership and followership as interdependent concepts to improve effective outcomes. Irrespective of an individual's position in an organisation, at different points of time they would have to assume both leadership and followership roles and thus need to develop competencies to be successful in both. Both followers and leaders do not neatly fit into one category, but are transient and shift between categories depending on the situation (Kean et al. 2011; Shondrick & Lord 2010). There have been implicit references to followers as passive recipients of leadership throughout leadership theory, with a bias that has perceived leaders as causal agents that shape events (Yukl 1999; Avolio 2007). Conversely, several authors argue that leadership is a co-creational process between the situation, leaders, and followers (Ehrhart & Klein 2001; Maslyn & Uhl-Bien 2001; Lord & Hall 2005; Shalit, Popper & Zakay 2010; Lord & Shondrick 2011). This PhD research project will expand the research into followership and show that followers are a key component in leadership theory, and we need to study the role of followers in greater detail especially with respect to Destructive Leadership.

1.3 Research Problem

We live in a connective era, leading to increasing interdependence and diversity which pulls society in opposite directions (Lipman-Blumen 2010). With the added complexity and the rapid change of pace, established forms of leadership may no longer serve us (ibid.). Rapidly changing times adds to the complexity of reducing Destructive Leadership. To be successful in this connective era, we will need a wide array of individuals to join in the leadership process (ibid.). In particular, Destructive Leadership highlights the need to expand our understanding of leadership. Yet, most Leadership and Destructive Leadership literature primarily focuses on leaders. We know very little about the role of followers in this dynamic. Over a 19-year period, only 14% of leadership research appeared to discuss followers (Bligh 2011). It is safe to assume that even less would have examined followers resisting Destructive Leaders. Often, self-interest drives Destructive Leadership and is a far-reaching global challenge (Schyns & Schilling 2013; Tepper 2000). There is inadequate knowledge about the processes that aid in the ascension of Destructive Leaders, and about how followers react to Destructive Leaders (Johnson et al. 2017; Thoroughgood et al. 2016; Winn & Dykes 2019).

Research has ignored Followers or Followership in determining outcomes (Bligh & Kohles 2012; Epitropaki et al. 2013; Foti et al. 2014; Uhl-Bien et al. 2014). While research into Destructive Leadership is in its relative infancy, we need to view it as socially constructed between leaders and followers, and the situational context (Padilla 2013; Shaw, Erickson & Harvey 2011). Related research has referred to the *flammable material* concept where aligned followers enhanced leadership and thus enhanced the probability of positive outcomes (Howell & Shamir 2005; Klein & House 1995, p.185). Conversely, this flammable follower material could enhance negative outcomes as well with the dark side of leadership (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). In addition, we need to understand why the false promises of Destructive Leaders seduce followers, to create defence mechanisms to counter the effects of Destructive Leadership (Lipman-Blumen 2005a). Therefore, it is clear that irrespective of the outcomes, followers are crucial to leaders achieving their objectives and contribute to outcomes.

To address the seduction of false promises, the conceptual frameworks of the *Toxic Triangle* and the *Susceptible Circle* take a more holistic view of Destructive Leadership (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a). These frameworks consist of the confluence between *contingencies* in the form of a *Conducive Environment; Destructive Leaders* and *Susceptible Followers* which contribute to a Destructive Leadership process and outcomes. The frameworks describe *Susceptible Followers* as two self-interested groups. The first being *Conformer Followers* that comply with

Destructive Leaders out of fear and because of unmet needs (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.183; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a, p.902; Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.16). The other being the *Colluder Followers* that actively support and collude with the Destructive Leaders to further their agendas (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.183; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a, p.902; Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.16). Finally, instability, perceived threats, certain cultural values, and absence of checks and balances are components of the Conducive Environment (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.183; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a, p.902; Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.16).

Unlike most leader-centric research into Destructive Leadership, the *Toxic Triangle* framework includes the important role of followers and context in contributing to negative outcomes. To get a more holistic view of Destructive Leadership, we need to move away from leader-centric definitions and broaden the scope of study to include the followers and contextual factors that contribute to it. Thus, this thesis has subscribed to the definition of Destructive Leadership as:

> A complex process of influence between flawed, toxic, or ineffective leaders, susceptible followers, and conducive environments, which unfolds over time, and on balance, culminates in destructive group or organisational outcomes that compromise the quality of life for internal and external constituents and detract from their group-focused goals or purposes (Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.7)

The Destructive Leadership process with the susceptibility of followers and the manipulation of context takes many guises. For instance, in the recent United States of America (US) presidential election the US president Trump utilised alleged perceived threats from terrorists, Muslims, Mexicans, China, and the economy to gain power (Bump 2017; Frank 2016). According to several reports Trump's behaviour has contributed to acts of repression on his behalf resulting in women of all ages being subject to threats of rape and death for speaking out against Trump; and an increase in vigilante violence and terrorist attacks against brown and black Americans linked to state-led incitement (Moss 2018). Thus, as per the above definition the Trump administration has compromised the quality of life for several constituents and therefore is an example of Destructive Leadership. The literature has described this behaviour as a leader utilising or creating conducive situational factors to gain powers by manipulating susceptible *Conformer Followers* (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012b; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). *Conformer Follower*s tend to be easily manipulated and can be fearful or dissatisfied (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). In Australia, satisfaction with government is the lowest it has been in nearly 25 years, with trust in the government and political parties declining over that period (Evans, Halupka & Stokes 2019; Lupton 2019; McAllister, Pietsch & Graycar 2012). It can be argued that the highly visible political disengagement is making people lose faith in institutions and further creating a *Conducive*

Environment for Destructive Leaders to manipulate to gain power.

The disengagement of followers is not just restricted to the political domain; it contributes to the Destructive Leadership process across domains including in the world of business. In business, many consultants have accepted assignments for projects with prestigious companies and expected to find highly motivated and committed employees, only to discover unhappy and cynical people (Hopper 2008). Dissatisfied staff usually remain silent (Pelletier 2012). A large cross-industry survey on the effectiveness of their organisations and managers found that approximately 85% of teams do not communicate well, have trust, or feel empowered (Covey 2004). Further, approximately 90% of team members do not hold each other to account or feel highly energised and committed (ibid.). This thesis holds that to a large extent this reduction in empowerment, trust, accountability and commitment results from what may be called a traditional leader-follower relationship. The traditional leader-follower relationship is dangerous in that it frames followers as blind loyalists who have no agency. This unquestioning "traditional" expectation gets magnified in the presence of a Destructive Leader (Lipman-Blumen 2005a). Conversely, "non-traditional" relationships are needed to keep Destructive Leaders in check (Chaleff 2009).

Regarding followers, Kelley (2008) asserted that followers are the primary defenders against Destructive Leaders and toxic organisations. Unless supported by followers who have the stature to help them, leaders seldom use their power wisely or effectively over extended periods (Chaleff 2009, p.1). Therefore, there needs to be parity between leader and follower roles (ibid.). The author referred to these individuals as Courageous Followers that have courage, power, integrity, responsibility, and a sense of service (ibid.). From the above, followers crucially contribute to Destructive Leadership, so the project will explore the role *Courageous Followers* can play in protecting us against Destructive Leadership.

While always important, courage in this dynamic global environment is extremely urgent, topical, and important. This importance is evidenced by the fact that *'Leadership: Courage Required'* was the central theme of the 2019 Annual Global Conference of the International Leadership Association[1] (ILA 2019). There is a need to study Destructive Leadership and determine how Courageous Followers can mitigate the effects of Destructive Leadership that adversely impacts the performance of organisations, groups or society. This PhD project will explore how Followers can

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[1] ILA is one of the largest global leadership events that brings together a global community of 1,200+ leadership professionals, such as government leaders, CEOs, community leaders, consultants, and scholars from over 50 countries, across multiple sectors, disciplines, professions, cultures, and generations.

collapse the Toxic Triangle produced by the confluence of context, followers and the Destructive Leaders (Padilla 2013).

Recent studies of Destructive Leadership have used the Toxic Triangle framework to draw attention to contextual issues (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018; Winn & Dykes 2019). However, there still does not appear to be any research on how followers can collapse a Toxic Triangle (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik, 2018). This PhD study will build on extant theories and models by examining the relationship between Destructive Leaders, different types of followers, and situational factors as key elements that can affect leadership outcomes.

This research project will examine how Courageous Followers can shift the power balance when confronted with Susceptible Followers (Colluders and Conformers) and Destructive Leaders. In doing so, this thesis generates insights on the behaviours and actions Courageous Followers used to tilt the power balance when confronted by the elements of a Toxic Triangle. In other words, this study will try to answer the question: *How do followers stand up to destructive leadership?* As mentioned above, despite a vast amount of literature on leadership and recent advances on followership, scholars have not yet examined how followers sucessfully oppose destructive leaders.

1.4 Research Questions

From the previous sub-sections, both Destructive Leadership and Courageous Followership are under-researched areas. The aforementioned Toxic Triangle model suggests that destructive outcomes are a confluence of different types of Susceptible Followers (i.*e., Conformer and Colluder Followers*), the Destructive Leader and Conducive Environmental factors (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). Further several scholars have suggested that Conformer Followers can change for the worse when influenced by Destructive Leaders and their Colluder Followers (Hogan & Kaiser 2005; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Therefore, when confronted with a Toxic Triangle, it is worth exploring if Conformer Followers can change for the better when inspired by an alternative positive vision of Courageous Followers.

There does not seem to be any thorough examination of Conformer Followers' potential susceptibility to an alternative noble vision of Courageous Followers—noble visions and grand illusions separates toxic and non-toxic leaders (Lipman-Blumen 2008). Further, there is a power gap between leaders and followers, Destructive Leaders and their Colluders actively work to create and enlarge this power gap (Bligh 2011; Hogan & Kaiser 2005; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Malakyan 2014). This project is looking to examine if the behaviours of Courageous Followers can

reduce this power gap when faced with Destructive Leadership. So, the primary research question is:

Research Question: *How do Followers stand up to Destructive Leadership?*

Since shifting the power balance is central to the research question, the mechanics through which we can observe power are important, several authors suggested that *Power* and *Discourse* are indivisible and mutually constitutive (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006; Foucault 1980; Hardy & Phillips 2004; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy 2004). Explained another way, by harnessing discourse, individuals can make or break rules and control resources to end up being on the positive end of power, while simultaneously those in power look maintain or change rules to benefit them, so they can maintain or increase the flow of resources towards them. Therefore, this thesis will examine the discourse of Courageous Followers, their impact on Conformer Followers and the potential impact on the power balance against Destructive Leadership. This has led to the development of the following secondary research questions:

Secondary Research Question 1: *How, if at all, do Courageous Followers influence Conformer Followers?*

Secondary Research Question 2: *How, if at all, do Courageous and Conformer Followers change the power balance and collapse the Toxic Triangle?*

1.5 Methodology

The findings from this project will hopefully empower people to change certain societal systems, therefore the thesis subscribes to the transformative or emancipatory paradigm. Bourdieu (1989, p.22) stated that "Science need not choose between relativism and absolutism: the truth of the social world is at stake in the struggles between agents who are unequally equipped to reach an absolute". One can research the transformative element of social activity with ontological realism and epistemic relativism, this is the basis of *Critical Realism* (Bhaskar 1998b). Further since the thesis explores how *Courageous Followers* used their agency to challenge the structures and systems of the Toxic Triangle, it analyses the phenomenon using Giddens' (1984; 1985) *Structuration Theory*, where both structure and agency are important, and can be seen as being consistent with *Critical Realism*.

Destructive Leadership involves an extended time-frame depending on the developing exchanges among leaders, followers, and the environment (Hogan & Kaiser 2005; Pearce, Conger & Locke 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). The concept of time is as important, as culture, politics, the

economy, ethnicity, religion, gender shape multiple environmental realities (Chilisa & Kawulich 2012). These multiple realities make up our social systems both in the present and past. When looking at the past, *Critical Realism* can take the shape of *Historical Realism* (McCullagh 1980).

It is for the reasons discussed above that this thesis simulated longitudinal *(not all actors across all episodes analysed were the same, but the environmental factors were mostly consistent)* exploratory research, using qualitative methods, with archival empirical material to address the research questions. Qualitative studies remain relatively rare in leadership as they are time intensive and complex (Conger 1998). However, they can be the richest of studies, often illuminating in radically new ways explanations to phenomena as complex as leadership (ibid.). This PhD project examines three historical leadership cases involving Toxic Triangles concerning power inequalities and changes between agents. Each case spans a 15 to 20-year period, contains four episodes and over 17 events. The cases cover mass social movements, politics and business.

Consistent with its *Critical Realism* ontology, this thesis adopts *Critical Discourse Analysis* (CDA) to generate answers to the research questions discussed above. As cited earlier, power and discourse are often indistinguishable and form a part of each other (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006; Foucault 1980; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy 2004). CDA practitioners state that the knowledge of leadership (or followership) is based on the actions of individuals (van Leeuwen 2009, p.145). These actions are often context sensitive and may depend on their aims, interests, goals, expectations or other mental representations which require a more complex form of CDA (van Dijk 1997, p.15). This thesis views actions as complex 'chains' of events and genre networks *(e.g., discussions, reports, debates)* within a network of practices (Fairclough 2009 p.176).

This PhD project adopts a complex form of CDA and moves beyond summarising, paraphrasing or quoting discourse by exploring chains of *discursive actions* and counter-actions of the various actors in the 12 episodes. CDA scholars describe this approach as analysing *'chains of mediated actions'* which are a chronological sequence of actions contained within *'funnels of commitment'* (Scollon 2001, p.166). These *chains of actions* and *funnels of commitment* (FOC) align well with the secondary research questions. The chains of actions first explored the initial Courageous Follower counter-discursive actions, then the Conformer Follower and Destructive Leadership reactions with their impact on the power balance. Finally, inductive methods and deductive methods from extant literature *(e.g., Structuration Theory, Power and Boundary Spanning literature)* recursively created and refined the analytical framework.

1.6 Contributions

Scholars argue that leadership is a co-creational process between the situation, leaders, and followers, but have a given most attention to leaders as causal agents (Lord & Hall 2005; Shalit, Popper & Zakay 2010; Lord & Shondrick 2011). This project looks at the confluence of conducive environmental situational factors, leaders and followers as co-casual actors and hence it also augments our understanding about the co-creation of leadership. It makes a case for treating outcomes as artefacts that are co-created by leaders and followers. This study also extends research into Destructive Leadership by examining the co-creation of Destructive Leadership using the Toxic Triangle framework (Padilla 2013). Here the Toxic Triangle is augmented with the introduction of the Courageous Follower type to explore their effect on outcomes. The role of the Courageous Follower has hitherto been omitted in the Destructive Leadership literature.

It is crucial that we understand more about what aids those followers to stand up and disobey Destructive Leaders and their toxic orders (Chaleff 2015). This thesis contributes to the followership literature as well by studying not only how Courageous Followers influence leaders, but also other followers, societal structures and organisational systems. Eminent sociologist Giddens' (1984) seminal Structuration Theory was a vital theoretical lens used to examine this project. Critics of Giddens' Structuration Theory suggest that he conflated structure and action with no empirical examples of these processes (Layder 2014). While other critics state that it is implausible that actors can get significant distance from structures to change them (Mouzelis 1989). This PhD study provides empirical evidence to support Structuration Theory, and in doing so, reveals processes and behaviours that Courageous Followers can enact to change structures, while gaining distance from those structures in facing Destructive Leadership.

Scholars call for proactive constructions of followership to broaden our views of leadership beyond top-down leadership, to one that acknowledges that leadership can also flow upwards (Carsten et al. 2010). On the dark-side of leadership, there is scant research exploring the role of followers in collapsing a Toxic Triangle (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018). There have also been calls to create defence mechanisms to counter Destructive Leadership (Lipman-Blumen 2005a). By focusing on how Destructive Leadership was successfully resisted across different contexts, this thesis develops frameworks outlining the *dimensions of discursive actions* and *processes* that can help in altering the power balance away from the Destructive Leadership. The study, in effect, generates knowledge about the processes through which Courageous Followers can collapse Toxic Triangles.

The negative outcomes of Destructive Leadership were highlighted in the *Australian Royal Commission into Misconduct in the Banking, Superannuation and Financial Services Industry* (Hayne 2019) and the *Australian Royal Commission into Institutional Responses to Child Sexual Abuse* (Commonwealth 2017). This thesis asserts that the costliest outcome of Destructive Leadership and lack of Courageous Followers is the loss of life. Albert Einstein captured the loss of life and followership when he said, "The German calamity of years ago, repeats itself: People acquiesce without resistance and align themselves with the forces of evil" (Calaprice 2011, p.71). To study how followers can ultimately create better outcomes, this project examines the widespread nature of Destructive Leadership with an inter-disciplinary selection of cases studies that explores phenomena of social movements, politics and business including the antecedents that contribute to Toxic Triangles. This inter-disciplinary nature of the selected cases adds some generalisability to the findings, while contributing to theory across those fields of research. Further, the findings show several common *discursive actions* that followers relied upon irrespective of the phenomena under examination.

There is an inability to stop the spread of toxicity, and we need to understand why the false promises of Destructive Leaders seduce followers (Lipman-Blumen 2005a). This thesis also suggests implications for practice and theory that point to teaching and training followers in the skills that are needed to be courageous so as not to be seduced by Destructive Leadership. It also suggests policy changes to create structures to provide more transparency into the actions of the leadership.

1.7 Conclusion

This chapter highlighted that Destructive Leadership is an under researched area despite having grave consequences in the practical world. The importance of the follower in the leadership process and the fact that Destructive Leadership is co-created by susceptible followers, leaders and environmental factors was also highlighted. Building on the Toxic Triangle's co-creational destructive leadership framework, this thesis will explore how followers can shift the power balance to collapse Toxic Triangles.

Since power and discourse are mutually constitutive and indistinguishable (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006), Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is the chosen analytical method to study three Destructive Leadership case studies. CDA aligns with the Critical Realism paradigm used to explore the transformative nature of social activity studied in this research project. Society is

constituted by structures that simultaneous contrain and enable agency (Giddens 1984). Finally, this thesis encapsulates followers' agency in resisting Destructive Leadership in two frameworks of *discursive actions*. This thesis argues that followership is a discourse to augment leadership theory. De Beaugrande (2008, p.21), asserted that the full leverage of CDA, is exerted not merely by presenting alternative discourses, but by persuading people to pursue and propagate them. Thus, this project is an embodiment of the method that it has used. Hopefully, the thesis will persuade the reader of the power and merits of 'follower agency'.

Chapter 2 – Literature Review: Leadership and Followership

2.1 Overview

The previous chapter introduced the importance of studying Destructive Leadership and pointed out that the role of followers in standing up to Destructive Leadership is under-researched. This chapter is the first of two literature review chapters. It contains an extensive literature review to highlight the gaps in leadership research. As shown in Figure 2.1 below, the chapter semantically organises extant leadership theories by reversing the research lens and examining the role of followership in leadership theories. It then explores Destructive Leadership theories with a detailed explanation of the Toxic Triangle framework. Courageous Followership and its importance is also reviewed.
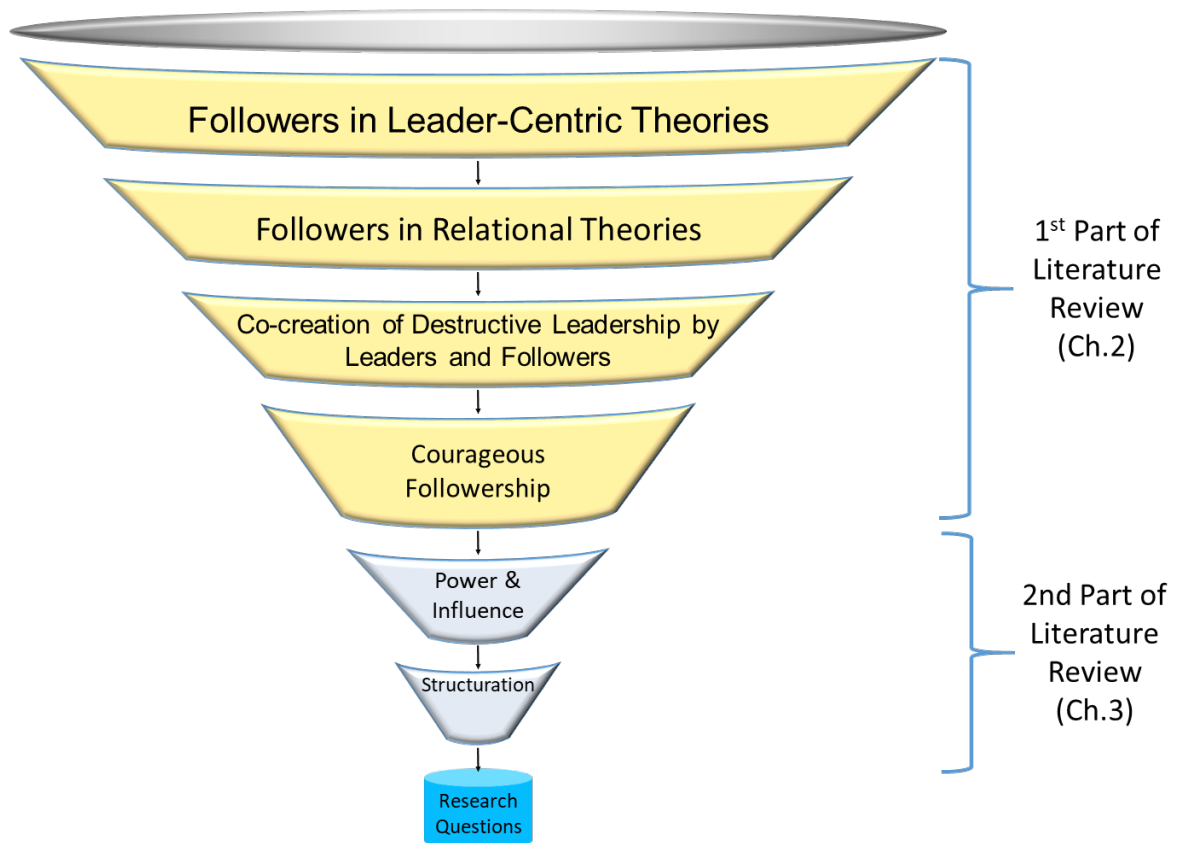
Figure 2.1: Extant Leadership Literature Review

2.2 Followers in Leader-Centric Theories

This sub-section will examine the references made to followers in leader-centric theories. Only recently, significant research is occurring at the leadership-followership dyadic level (Dinh et al. 2014). In this section and the next, the aforementioned authors and Gardner and colleagues' (2010) meta-review of leadership theories within extant literature will be explored but from a followership perspective. The section will derive additional structure from the Uhl-Bien and colleagues' (2014) and Shamir's (2007) meta-review of followership in leader-centric theories.

As illustrated in Figure 2.2 below there are two broad categories of leader-centric theories. Both these leader-centric theories regarded followers as either recipients or moderators of leader influence in producing outcomes. The first type of theories predominantly focused on the leaders' traits, skills and behaviours. The second type of theories focus on the leader's role by exploring the attitudes, behaviours, ability, motivation and performance of followers.
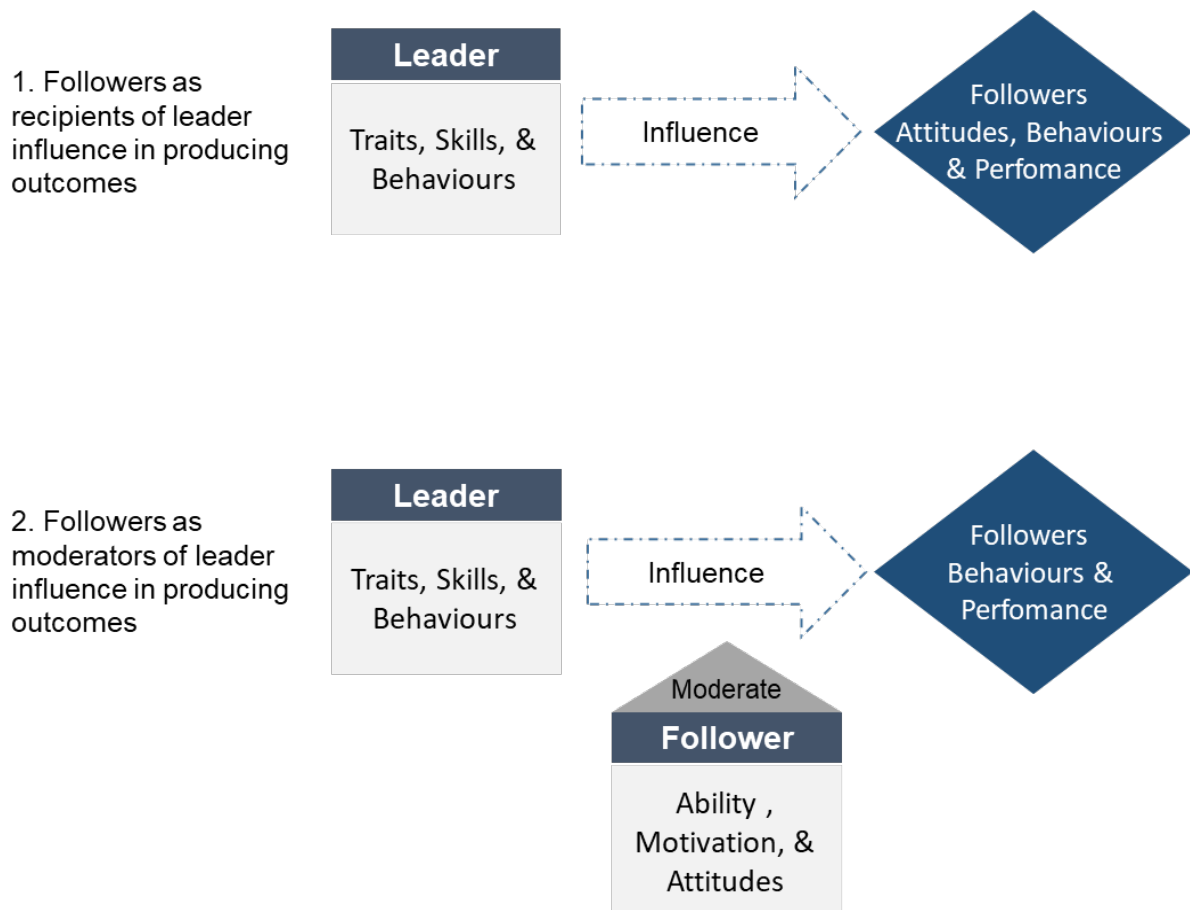
Figure 2.2: Leader-centric theories and followers

(Shamir 2007; Uhl-Bien et al. 2014)

The first of these leader-centric theories in Figure 2.2 above regarded *followers as recipients of leaders influence in producing outcomes*. These theories centred around the leaders' traits and behaviours as the independent variables and followers' perceptions, attitudes and behaviours as dependent variables (Shamir 2007). While the second of these theories regarded *followers as moderators of leaders influence in producing outcomes*. However, these types of theories still centre around followers being passive recipients of influence (ibid.). These second type of theories made some progress in leadership research as it recognised that followers would moderate the leader's influence.

Several scholars agree that the concept of leadership would not exist if leaders did not have followers, or put another way if no one is following, one cannot lead (Uhl-Bien et al. 2014; Dixon 2009; Vroom & Jago 2007). To address the implicit reference to followers, this sub-section provides a broad review of leadership theories[2] that tacitly relied on an understanding of followers.

2.2.1 Followership in Trait Theories

This section surfaces implicit and explicit references to followers in trait theories. Trait theories or Great Man theories are one of the earliest and widest classification of leadership theories. These theories examine differences in individuals' distinct traits, abilities or sets of abilities that contribute to effective leadership (Dinh et al. 2014; Gardner et al. 2010). Trait theories state that the leaders' traits and behaviours have an extraordinary effect on their followers and associated social systems (House & Howell 1992). Traits were likely to differentiate leaders from followers, but leadership always takes place with respect to others (House & Baetz 1979, cited in House & Howell 1992, p.86). Trait theories focus on a leader's traits and largely assuming followers were passive within the leader-follower dyad. Thus, trait theories do not examine the role followers played in leadership.

Traits and skills do not exist in a vacuum, may evolve with time, and change subject to the dynamic exchange between the leader, follower, and context (Avolio 2007; Malakyan 2014). Depending on the situation, individuals can develop 'leadership' traits while others develop 'followership' traits (Avolio 2007; Malakyan 2014). Zaccaro (2007, p.10) cites Baron and Byrne, stating that leaders do not differ from followers in clear and easily recognised ways—other scholars also concur (Bennis & Nanus 1985). Aside from extroversion, none of the other traits had a strong co-relation in

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[2] *The classification of the leadership theories in this chapter is not absolute as their frameworks are not mutually exclusive.*

traditional leadership theories (Bono & Judge 2004). Thus, traits which-are attainable through experience could be belong to followers or leaders and weakens the merits of trait theories.

Both leaders and followers must sometimes lead or follow (Kelley 1988). Followers will think for themselves, display grit and sharpen their skills and competence when the environment cultivates effective followers (ibid.). Effective followers are people that can manage themselves well, are principled, driven and up-skill themselves and hence are almost indistinguishable from effective leaders in skills and competence (ibid.). However, these followers tend to be classified as leaders because it violates stereotypical perceptions of followers being passive, unskilled, and unambitious (ibid.). Senator Sam Rayburn said, "You cannot be a leader and ask other people to follow you unless you know how to follow, too" (Dixon 2009, p.34). Therefore, to be effective as a leader or follower, individuals must cultivate a holistic set of traits.

Traits are not binary (*i.e., present or absent*), but a matter of degree in shaping leadership effectiveness and development which is manifested in behaviours (Avolio 2007). Labelling individuals also affects trait development. When labelling (or self-labelling) participants as *followers,* they withdrew or withheld extra-role traits and behaviours that further propagated negative follower stereotypes (Hoption, Christie & Barling 2012) while the converse was true of leader labels (De Cremer & Van Dijk 2008). This section shows that trait theory is incomplete and does not describe the leadership process adequately. Leaders' and followers' traits are mostly indistinguishable and affect each other's behaviour. The next section will examine leadership's behavioural theories.

2.2.2 Behavioural Theories Influenced by Followers

While pure *trait theories* are do not capture the leadership process, *behavioural theories* come closer to doing so (DeRue et al. 2011). Behavioural theories explore the nature and consequences of individual behaviour (Dinh et al. 2014). There are three main classifications in followership behavioural literature: *descriptive behavioural typologies* (describe actual follower behaviours), *prescriptive behavioural typologies* (ideal follower behaviours) and *contingency (situational) theories* (Crossman & Crossman 2011, p.493). The first two typologies are discussed below, while third typology is discussed in the next subsection.

Descriptive behavioural typologies and stems from research into *behavioural transactional leadership*. It is leading with threats or rewards (Bono & Judge 2004; Podsakoff et al. 1990; Vroom & Jago 2007). Contingent reward or punishment elicits positive and negative behavioural responses (Atwater et

al. 1998; Podsakoff et al. 2006). While such reward and punishments were correlated to improvements in follower performance, they were also correlated to a reduction in compliance and motivation if followers felt hostile toward the leader's use of punishment (Atwater et al. 1998; Podsakoff et al. 2006). Non-contingent punishment usually has negative effects on follower performance and behaviour towards the leader (Atwater et al. 1998). While this area of research examines followers' reactions and followers' performance (Podsakoff et al. 2006), most studies primarily focus on the consequences of leader behaviour as opposed to follower behaviour (Vroom & Jago 2007). Thus leader-follower research expands to *mutual influence*.

Another *descriptive behavioural typology* relates to *mutual influence*. Leaders and followers significantly impact each other behaviours and their roles are fluid (Hersey & Blanchard 1996; Lowin & Craig 1968; Shondrick & Lord 2010). Research shows that leaders reduce their support and understanding towards ineffective followers as opposed to high-performing followers (Lowin & Craig 1968). Follower behaviours can significantly affect leader behaviour. Hitler perceived himself to be merely a gatherer of the masses preparing for the great leader—the Führer (Shamir 2007, p.xxvi). The author postulated that Hitler began to view himself as the Führer largely influenced by how his followers responded to and influenced him (ibid.). The record shows that Hitler was less radical than some of his followers and certain actions were responses to pressures from below (ibid.). This example shows that leadership depends on the behaviour of many, and that followers play an active role in leadership rather than a passive one (Kean et al. 2011).

Prescriptive behavioural typologies focus on followers' perceptions of their leaders (Meindl 1995). Followers can differ in their perceptions of the appeal of the rewards that a leader administers and hence in their reactions to that leader (House 1971; Ehrhart & Klein 2001). Leadership reveals itself not only through the behaviours of the leader, but also through the way the followers experience it (House 1971; Ehrhart & Klein 2001). Leadership lies very much in the eyes of the beholder: followers, not the leader and not the researchers who define it (Meindl 1995, pp.330–31). Since perception is critical to the leadership process, *participative leadership* merits a discussion. Perceptions of participative leadership are that it is both fair and transparent (Crossman & Crossman 2011; House 1971; Reilly 2011). Participative leadership advocates that both followers and leaders should create a vision and values, which fosters a cooperative and trusting work environment (Crossman & Crossman 2011; House 1971; Reilly 2011). *Participative leadership* research shows that that followers' behaviours influenced leaders more than the other way around (Van Dierendonck & Dijkstra 2012). Ideal behavioural typologies prescribed by *participative leadership* contribute to improved performance but can vary depending on the situation. For

example, the categorisations of the same individual in different situations explains variances in their behaviours (Mischel 2004). Thus, trait and behavioural theories are now being studied taking into account classes of the situation and their meaning for the individual (Mischel 2004; Vroom & Jago 2007). Therefore, the next section will examine contingency (situational) leadership theories.

2.2.3 Followers in Contingency Theories

Contingency theory states that characteristics of leaders not only influence the situations, but leader behaviours are also influenced by, or contingent on the situations that confront them (Vroom & Jago 2007, p.21). Contingency theory can provide insights into the kinds of effective persons and behaviours in different situations (ibid.). Contingency theories can contain the following categories: *Least Preferred Co-worker contingency model, path-goal theory of leadership, leadership substitution theory, situational leadership theory, multiple linkage model, cognitive resources theory, applications for adaptive leadership, life cycle theory of leadership, and normative decision model, and flexible leadership theory* (Dinh et al. 2014, p.57). This section focuses on some key follower related elements related to this body of work.

Some regard Lawrence and Lorsch's (1967) seminal work as the foundation for Contingency theory (Carlile & Christensen 2005). However, in the 1960s Fiedler was one of the first to discuss contingency theory, this model graded leaders' *Least Preferred Co-Worker* (LPC). LPC states that a leader's *task* or *relational* preference is in relation to followers (Fiedler 1967, 1981; Hill 1969). Similarly, Hersey and Blanchard (1969; 1979) in their *Life Cycle and Situational Leadership Theories* discussed *initiating structure* and *consideration* as important dimensions of leadership, with consideration being largely focused on the relationships between leaders and followers. Both these models have followers' attitude towards and acceptance of the leader as an integral element to leadership (Shamir 2007). Therefore, as per these models, half of the situations require a good relationship between a follower and a leader to produce effective outcomes (Fiedler 1967; Hersey & Blanchard 1969).

Similarly, in *Path Goal Leadership Theories,* situational factors found in follower characteristics (*i.e., dependence, authoritarianism, ability, and locus of control*) and environmental factors (*i.e., task, authority system, work group*) significantly affects outcomes (Evans 1996; Wofford & Liska 1993, p.858; House 1971). Outcomes are also affected by the maturity of followers, followers can accept or reject leaders, and shape leadership styles (Hersey & Blanchard, 1969; 1981; 1996; Lowin & Craig 1968). Further, motivation from a leader reduces over time when followers are trained, experienced,

knowledgeable, and motivated the need for guidance, support, and (Shamir 2007). Other research shows that over time outcomes are positively affected by the follower's ability, and the intrinsic satisfaction of the follower (Keller 2006). Thus, effectiveness depends on not only on the leader, but the followers, and the particular situation (Hersey & Blanchard 1969; 1979; 1981; 1996).

Key situational factors are *organisational structures* and *culture*. *Organisational structures, culture* and *constraints* often have a strong impact on effective leadership (Avolio 2007; Kim & Yukl 1995; Vroom & Jago 2007; Yukl 2008). Compared to *organisational structures,* traits and behaviour of leaders are just mediating variables between the contingency factors of *structural antecedents* and *organisational structures* (Vroom & Jago 2007). Other research revealed that contingency factors account for several times more variance in actions than individual differences between leader and follower traits (Vroom 2000; Vroom & Jago 2007). Thus, researchers were not looking in the right place for getting a more integrated leadership theory (Vroom & Jago 2007), which is a significant area for further research.

To address these contributing factors this section will now explore situation-based models like the *Multiple-Linkage model* and the *Normative Decision model*. The *Multiple-Linkage model* states that situational variables (*e.g., the nature of the task, the characteristics of followers, and the external environment*) influence which leadership behaviours are most relevant for a particular leader at a point in time (Kim & Yukl 1995). This reduces the emphasis on measurement of leadership styles and replaces it with an emphasis on the leader's breadth of behaviours and sensitivity to the combination of situational variables (Wofford & Liska 1993, p.875; Yukl 2008). The approach by a leader effective in one situation may prove ineffective in another situation (Malakyan 2014; Wofford & Liska 1993; Vroom & Jago 2007). This places a large responsibility on the leader to adapt to unique circumstances and followers regularly (Malakyan 2014; Wofford & Liska 1993; Vroom & Jago 2007). However, expecting a single leader to have such a broad range of behaviours with the timing to shift between them is unrealistic (Yukl, 2008).

One way of alleviating the unrealistic expectations on leaders is creating decision-trees as described by the *Normative Decision model* (Vroom & Yetton 1973). The *Normative Decision model* is the structure and extent to which the leader involved their followers in the decision-making process (ibid.). However, critics of this model state that it is a leader-centred model that depends almost entirely on the leader's judgement of the situation and its major weakness is therefore, the presumption of the accuracy of the leader's perceptions (Hollander & Julian 1969; Hollander 1973). The model assumes a fixed position of leaders and their followers; and ignores shifts in the leader-follower relationship (Hollander 1973, p.268; Malakyan 2014). Related studies also showed leaders being

overly influenced in their decision-making based on their perception of followers (Lowin & Craig 1968). Since followers influence leaders, research states that we need to devote more time to studying followers (Bennis 1999).

Finally, this section will examine *Cognitive Resource Theory* which places individual behaviour within contextual elements which challenge their cognitive resources—*i.e., intellectual ability and job-relevant experience* (Ayman, Chemers & Fiedler 1995, p.161). Contingent on a person's position, behaviours systematically and predictably change in different situations (Mischel 2004, p.7). This means that the agency an individual expresses largely depends on their position (i.e., follower or leader) in a particular situation. As discussed earlier sub-sections, labelling individuals as either leaders or followers produces different traits and behaviours (Hoption, Christie & Barling 2012), which implies that situations shape intrinsic traits and behaviours. In other words, followers can exhibit traits and behaviours traditionally associated with leadership by merely perceiving themselves to be capable of doing so or when the situation demands it. Several studies have classified follower's characteristics and behaviour as situational variables but few as independent variables that influence leader behaviour (Kim & Yukl 1995; Dvir & Shamir 2003; Yammarino et al. 1997). Both the situation and the follower are critical contributing factors to the leadership process. Besides situational variables, many studies discussed that transformational leadership had a strong impact on outcomes (Kim & Yukl 1995; Keller 2006; Yammarino et al. 1997) the next section explores transformational leadership.

2.2.4 Followers Shaping Transformational Leadership

The key component of *transformational leadership* has been *charismatic leadership*, which inspires followers to perform beyond normal expectations via a commitment to a vision and perception of competence provided by the leader (Bass & Steidlmeier 1999; Bycio, Hackett & Allen 1995; Pawar & Eastman 1997; Yukl 1999; Keller 2006; Kim & Yukl 1995). The basic notion is that a transformational leader can inspire followers that he or she has high competence and a vision to achieve success (Keller 2006; House & Aditya 1997; Dvir et al. 2002, Dvir & Shamir 2003). This thematic category also includes inspirational, Pygmalion effects, visionary, self-sacrificing and ideological/pragmatic, full-range and outstanding leadership theories (Dinh et al. 2014). Transformational, inspirational, visionary, and charismatic leadership have minor empirical differences (House & Aditya 1997; Dvir et al. 2002; Dvir & Shamir 2003); hence this subsection will collectively refer to this suite of concepts as *transformational leadership*.

Most theorists and researchers have described transformational leaders are those that communicate high performance expectations to followers, exhibit confidence in their followers' abilities to attain goals, take calculated risks that change the status quo, and articulate a value-based vision and collective identity (Bass & Steidlmeier 1999; Conger & Kanungo 1998; Dvir et al. 2002; House & Howell 1992; Klein & House 1995). Several authors discussed that a major element to motivate followers was increasing their awareness of the importance of task outcomes and influencing them to look beyond their own self-interest for the betterment of the organisation (Kim & Yukl 1995; Yukl 1999). Despite being the most frequently researched leadership theory over a twenty-year period, only a few published studies specifically focused on how follower characteristics moderated the effects of leadership on outcomes (Avolio 2007; Dvir & Shamir 2003). Thus, like traditional leadership theories, transformational leadership theories have also taken a leader-centred approach and neglected followers (Meindl 1995).

Transformational leadership is best understood as not something a leader does to their followers, but as a charismatic relationship between the both leader and their followers (Conger & Kanungo 1998; House & Aditya 1997; Dvir et al. 2002; Dvir & Shamir 2003). Yet, transformational leadership research concentrated primarily on the traits and behaviours of leaders and their influences on followers, however it *negl*ected the disposition of the followers who develop relationships with those leaders (Ehrhart & Klein 2001; Wofford, Whittington & Goodwin 2001). Transformational leaders respond to their potential followers almost as much as the followers respond to their leadership (Dvir et al. 2002; Dvir & Shamir 2003; Shamir et al. 2007; Shamir, House & Arthur 1993). However, research is scarce on the follower side of the transformational equation or what kinds of followers are most likely to form those relationships with their leaders (Ehrhart & Klein 2001; Wofford, Whittington & Goodwin 2001). Therefore, critics argue that the lens needs to be reversed to include the impact that followers have on the leader's transformational style (Dvir & Shamir 2003; Shamir 2007); as illustrated in the lower half of Figure 2.3 below.
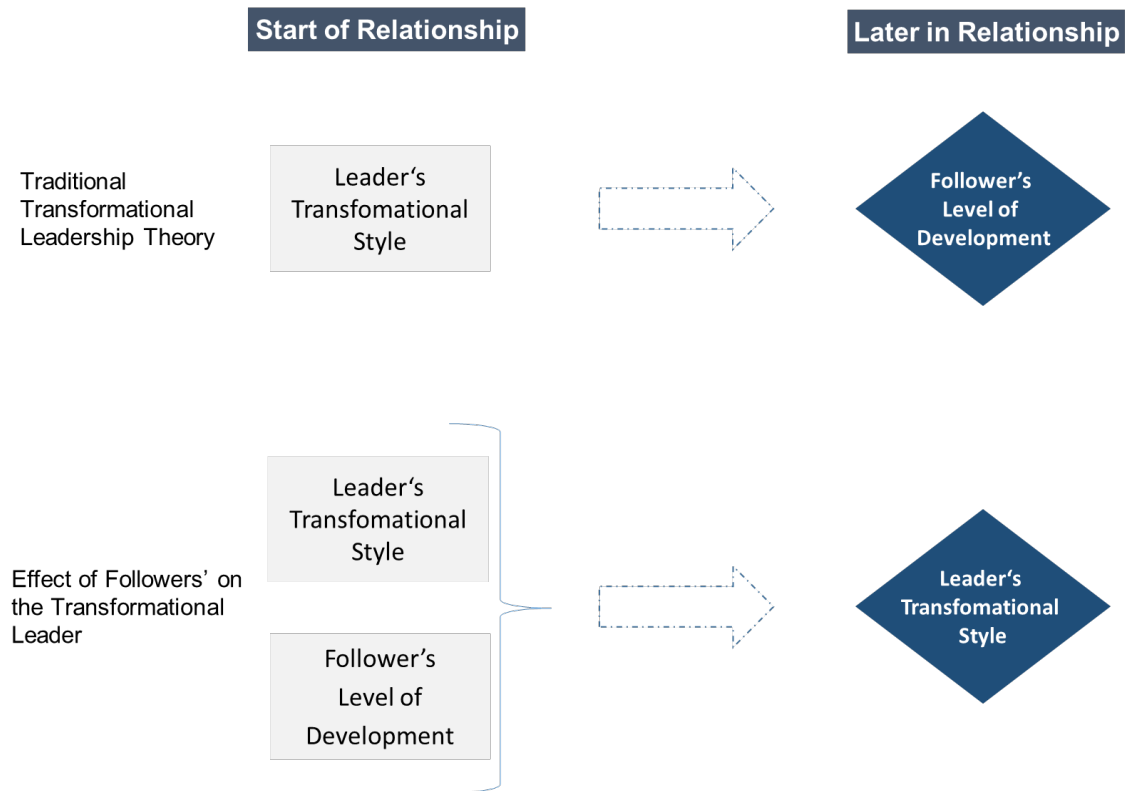
Figure 2.3: Traditional vs. Follower-Influenced Transformational Leadership Perspective
(Dvir & Shamir 2003; Shamir 2007)

Rather than followers being passive, they can actively participate in the selection of a leader and the decision to continue following them (Anderson et al. 2016; Bass & Steidlmeier 1999; Shamir, House & Arthur 1993; Thach, Thompson & Morris 2006; Weierter 1997). Similarity between leader and followers is a significant motivating factor attracting leaders to followers (Shalit, Popper & Zakay 2010). Followers base their decision to align with a leader on the extent to which they perceive the leader as representing their values (*i.e. value congruence*) (Conger & Kanungo 1998; Dixon 2009; Dvir et al. 2002, p.330; Ilies, Morgeson & Nahrgang 2005; Reave 2005). The followers' work orientation can drive this congruence (Howell & Shamir 2005; Wofford, Whittington & Goodwin 2001). The orientation distinctions are between followers who view work as a means to obtain extrinsic rewards, versus followers that view work as a means for self-expression and self-actualisation (Howell & Shamir 2005; Wofford, Whittington & Goodwin 2001). So, the motivational domain of follower significantly impacts their relationship with the leader (Howell & Shamir 2005; Dvir & Shamir 2003). In this way, a leader has very little control over whether they will get alignment from followers to produce effective outcomes.

The effectiveness of a transformational leader appears to be very subjective and dependent of the followers' ability and proximity to the leader. For instance, individual followers of a leader may

evaluate and describe the same transformational leader very differently (Meindl 1995; Dvir et al. 2002; Yammarino et al. 1997). Studies confirm that followers differ in their perceptions and interpretations of identical sets of leader behaviour, for instance, a transformational leader is seen to be encouraging and energetic to one type of follower, is seen as arrogant and overbearing to another (Ehrhart & Klein 2001, p.173). A leader's perceived effectiveness is also related to the proximity of a follower (Dvir & Shamir 2003). When leaders encountered *proximate followers* with high initial development levels, their transformational leadership ratings decreased over time, and vice versa. However, the converse was true in relation to *distal followers* (ibid.). This was congruent with several studies on how followers impacted transformational leaders (Wofford, Whittington & Goodwin 2001, Shamir, House & Arthur 1993; Klein & House 1995).

The leader-follower congruency and high abilities of followers are critical components to the effectiveness of transformational leaders. Congruent and highly developed *distal followers* enhance the impact of transformational leaders (Howell & Shamir 2005). Research refer to these followers as *flammable material* (Klein & House 1995, p.185), who can also enhance negative outcomes associated with the destructive side of transformational leadership (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). Finally, *distal followers* rely more on interactions that utilises symbolic behaviour like visionary and inspirational messages, non-verbal communication, appeals to ideological values, intellectual stimulation, as opposed to actual behaviour leaders, therefore they do not get disillusioned by leader incompetence (Dvir & Shamir 2003, p.342). Thus, transformational leadership is the process of interaction among interdependent participants where follower motives have a strong impact on the effectiveness of leadership (Wofford, Whittington & Goodwin 2001). Hence it is clear from this subsection that followers play an integral part in transformational leadership.

2.3 Social Exchange and Relational Theories

The previous sub-sections highlighted that neglect in studying the role of followers in most leadership studies. This sub-section will explore *Social Exchange and Relational Theories,* which are an improvement on those leader-centric theories. *Social Exchange Theories* posit that social interactions are a form of exchange in which individuals contribute to the group at a cost to themselves and receive benefits from the group at a cost to the group (Baker 2007, p.54). The theories include *Leader–Member Exchange theory (LMX), individualised leadership, Vertical Dyad Linkage (VDL),* and germane *relational leadership theories* (Dinh et al. 2014). A particular focus (*as illustrated in Figure 2.4 below*) is on how followers' traits, motivations, behaviours, perceptions and constructions exchange and influence the leadership process to affect outcomes.
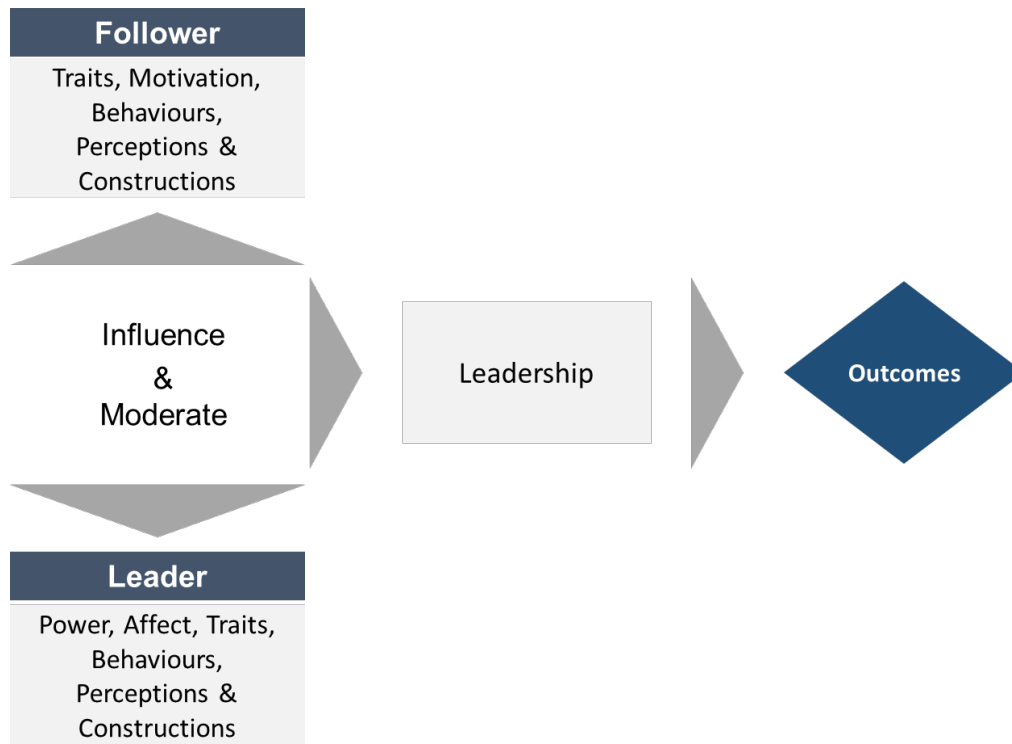
Figure 2.4: Relation View of Leadership

(Dvir & Shamir 2003; Shamir 2007; Uhl-Bien et al. 2014)

2.3.1 Followers in Social Exchange and Relational Theories

Social Exchange Theories are an antecedent to active followership theories (Baker 2007). Early leadership scholars viewed followers as significant active participants in influencing relationships and outcomes. Nearly 100 years ago, Follett (1927) recognised and emphasised that leaders must anticipate how followers will respond to their types of behaviours and actions. Follett viewed organisations as a social agency, with the main goal being to develop relationships with others (both leaders and followers) and oneself to better human welfare (Simms 2009). She contested that power comes from social interactions (ibid.). Therefore, she was ahead of her time in emphasising the value of leader-follower relationships (Calas & Smircich 1996) and led the way for other social exchange theories. However, recent critics of the research into relational theories observed that they mostly classify individuals as either leaders or followers, treating leadership (and followership) as traits of the person and ignore the social and dynamic process (DeRue 2011, p.130). This thesis takes the view that there is a continual dichotomy between an individual having to exercise both leadership and followership skills under different circumstances. Similarly, other scholars assert active participants perform leadership and followership at every level (Hollander 1986; Hollander

& Offermann 1990). Leaders do need to develop both these functional skills.

The research emphasises that although leaders because of their position commanded greater attention and influence, the followers' influence on the process of leadership, with their expectations and perceptions is also significant (Hollander 1986; Hollander & Offermann 1990). Hence, it is imperative to view leadership as a process involving an influence relationship, with the leaders and followers as participants in this relationship for attainment of mutual goals (Hollander & Julian 1969). Over time, we build a leadership relationship through an exchange between leaders and followers. Leadership is an exchange between leaders and members where the leadership role provided behaviour directed toward attaining team goals, and in exchange received greater influence in terms of status, recognition, esteem among other elements (House 1971; Wofford & Liska 1993; Antonakis, Avolio & Sivasubramaniam 2003; Yukl & Falbe 1990; Yukl 1999). This contributed to the establishing the leader's position of influence (House 1971; Wofford & Liska 1993; Antonakis, Avolio & Sivasubramaniam 2003; Yukl & Falbe 1990; Yukl 1999). Thus, the leader's higher status explains the over-attribution of outcomes to leaders at the expense of followers, but the status does not negate the critical role of followers in achieving outcomes.

Another theory that factors in social relations is the *Leader–Member Exchange theory* (LMX) which has its early roots in *Vertical Dyad Linkage* theory (VDL) (Graen, Novak & Sommerkamp 1982; Graen & Uhl-Bien 1995; Brower, Schoorman & Tan 2000). Both LMX and VDL claim that leaders create i*n- and out-groups* among their followers, depending on their relationship with them (Oc & Bashshur 2013, p.926). These relationships between leaders and followers varied based on relational variables such as, liking, similarity, and expectations (Dvir & Shamir 2003). This theory advances leader-centric theory as it posits that effective leadership outcomes are a confluence of the leader, the follower and their relationship (Campbell et al. 2008; Graen & Uhl-Bien 1995; Maslyn & Uhl-Bien 2001; Howell & Shamir 2005). Later LMX research includes contingencies, but still centres on the leader's taking the initiative (Campbell et al. 2008; Graen & Uhl-Bien 1995; Maslyn & Uhl-Bien 2001; Howell & Shamir 2005). Other studies emphasise that followers can act as active partners to leaders (Maslyn & Uhl-Bien 2001). The influences of leadership varied for followers and differed based on how they perceived or valued the relationships between their leaders and themselves (Shin & Zhou 2003). Both leaders and followers report higher quality relationships when the other member of the dyad put effort into the development of the relationship (Maslyn & Uhl-Bien 2001). If followers *perceived* that they got positive feedback and recognition from the leader, it strengthened their relationship and increased the follower's receptivity to the leader's vision (Campbell et al. 2008). Thus, while the *in-group* followers have

more influence on leaders, the *out-group* followers can still affect the way leaders lead (Oc & Bashshur 2013).

The next focus in this thematic category is on *charismatic relational leadership* and it explains the rise of the charismatic leader and followers susceptible to such leaders. *Charismatic relational leadership* occurs as follows: (1) *Subculture* relationship occurs when active followers promote a socialised charismatic leader that shares their sub-culture's values (Weierter 1997). Followers with a *secure* attachment style preferred a socialised charismatic leader (Shalit, Popper & Zakay 2010). (2) *Personalised*, relationship occurs when vulnerable followers internalise the values purported by the personalised charismatic leader (*e.g., Charles Manson's followers)* (Weierter 1997). Followers with an *avoidant* attachment style prefer personalised charismatic leaders (House & Howell 1992; Popper 2002). (3) *Social contagion* occurs when the leader is the conduit of social contagion, and vulnerable followers gravitate to that leader because of the leader enhances the feelings and behaviours they seek (Weierter 1997, pp.174-76). Routinised and non-routinised messages are an integral part in the ascendancy of a charismatic leader and it is emergent from the reciprocal influence between leaders and followers (ibid.). Destructive leaders can harness these types of charismatic relationships and messages. For instance, the Nazi party movement harnessed all three kinds of relationships (ibid.). Followers strong in participation values and low in security values, are more attracted to charismatic leaders (Ehrhart & Klein 2001). Both the theoretical arguments and empirical findings point to a need to include followers' profiles (*e.g., values, needs, dispositions*) and perceptions in every discussion on the effectiveness of leadership (Campbell et al. 2008; Shalit, Popper & Zakay 2010, p.468). The next section will focus cognitions with respect to leaders.

2.3.2 Follower and Leader Cognitions in the Leadership Process

This category of leadership's cognitive theories discusses the way leaders and followers interpret their relationships, roles, capabilities, motivation, emotions, challenges, and objectives (Avolio 2007, p.29). This category includes studies which pertained to cognitive approaches to information processing and decision-making processes in leadership, like *attribution theories, leader, and follower cognitions (perceptions), Implicit Leadership Theories (ILT), and the Connectionist approach* (Dinh et al. 2014). We can view this as a follower-centric theory where followers are active and dynamic participants (Lord 2013, cited in Uhl-Bien et al. 2014, p.87) that influence the leader's attitudes, behaviours and performance as illustrated in Figure 2.5 below.
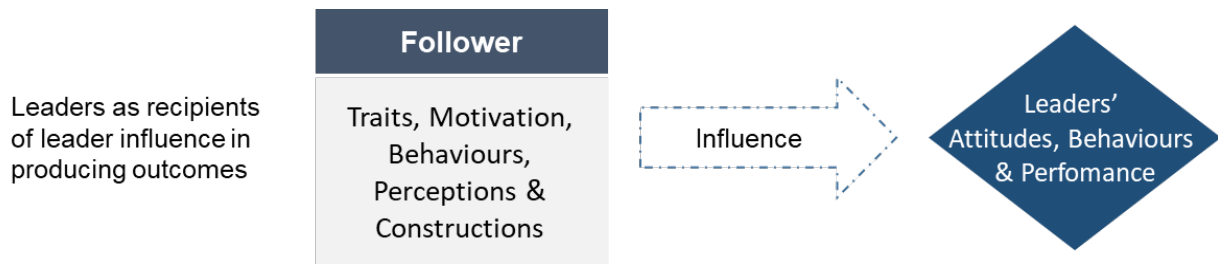
Figure 2.5: Follower Centric Leadership Theories

(Adapted from Uhl-Bien and colleagues (2014))

When looking at *Cognitive Theories* both the leaders' and followers' implicit models or cognitive categorisation schemes filter all actions or reactions (Avolio 2007, p.29). Individuals examine behaviours and context as it shapes the way they recognise, categorise, process, interpret, and recall information (ibid.). Cognitive elements are critical for leadership development and founded by focusing on both leader's and follower's self-awareness, which included how individuals view themselves and project that into future contexts to determine their decisions (ibid.). Being fearful of the future, weak followers often leave destructive leaders unchallenged because they see the leader as legitimate and generally those followers themselves have low self-esteem (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018). Followers with courage tend to be loyal to principles over people and thus challenge leaders (Chaleff 2009). This highlights the value that cognition plays in the leadership process.

The leadership process needs to take a *system-based approach* to cognition, as leadership or followership roles must factor situational information (Lord & Hall 2005; Lord & Shondrick 2011). Individuals develop skills within the leadership process through a cognitive bootstrapping process, in which micro-level skills are first learned through problem related experiences or observational learning, and then organised into increasingly higher level systems that guide behaviour, knowledge, and social perceptions (Lord & Hall 2005, p.592). From this perspective, it could be said that leaders learn by the experience of following. Put differently, leaders start as followers. This is a complex process, so we should not limit research to easily observed behaviours linked directly to outcomes, as it ignores the tacit and explicit knowledge both followers and leaders acquire through long-term processes, influences and information processing (Lord & Brown 2001). Thus, the leadership process is contingent on several interacting elements (i.e., context, task, and the traits of both leader and followers), that jointly impact followers' evaluations of leadership (ibid.).

There is an *interchange of influence*, so we need to study the process whereby followers engage and

influence the leader (Oc & Bashshur 2013). Regarding this information and engagement process between leaders and followers, there are three types of followers, first, the ones that proactively challenges a leader and provides information and responses, next, the type that provides their input to the leader but does not challenge them, and finally the ones that passively follow their leaders and implemented orders without question (Carsten et al. 2010). This scale from passive to proactive showed that the first type is on the more proactive end, would become a part of decision-making process, and have more influence on leaders than the other two types of followers (ibid.)—A later section will cover types of followers in greater detail.

The *passage of time* is a critical element to cognition, perception, and information processing (Oc & Bashshur 2013). With time certain sources of power or the effect of interactions becomes even more obvious (ibid.). Time spent between a specific follower and leader will provide context and history which shape their influence on decision-making (ibid.). Individuals develop cognitions through socialisation and experiences (Epitropaki et al. 2013; Foti et al. 2014). Hence, if an individual (follower or leader) had been a source of valuable insight in the past, others will be cognisant of it and will regard that individual's information will be more highly, and therefore it gives them power (Oc & Bashshur 2013; Epitropaki et al. 2013; Foti et al. 2014). Past attributions influence decisions and behaviour (Martinko, Harvey & Douglas 2007)—See Figure 2.5 above. The effects of this historical context and information processing enable followers to influence the leader's self-schema, both individually and collectively (Lord, Brown & Freiberg 1999). The evaluations of followers constrain the construction of a leader's identity (ibid.). Therefore, the follower, the culture, and the leader, contribute to constraints in interpreting behavioural inputs of leaders and leadership processes (Herold 1977; Lord et al. 2001; Lord & Hall 2005). Leadership results from a social system shaped by relational and task systems that act as constraints on the range of behavioural scripts that leaders employ while simultaneously constraining the prototypes followers used to evaluate leader behaviours (Uhl-Bien et al. 2014, p.87). Follower-centred approaches also highlight the importance of inter-follower processes from different perspectives as followers are not only connected to leaders, but to other followers as well (Bligh 2011). Thus, with time the followers can shape the behaviour of other followers and the leaders. The leader-centric approaches to research have neglected the exploration of follower agency, especially with respect to the passage of time. This project seeks to address this gap in research.

Finally, it is worth noting that *attribution theories* have a significant impact on the leadership process (Martinko, Harvey & Douglas 2007). The followers' perspective has unique implications for understanding processes like causal attributions, the formation of leader prototypes, and the use

of these prototypes to categorise and later recall information about their leaders (Lord & Maher 1991; Lord & Shondrick 2011; Shondrick, Dinh & Lord 2010; Shondrick & Lord 2010). When an individual encountered someone who is decisive, dominant, and masculine it could lead to the partial activation of a leader prototype (Lord & Shondrick 2011, p.211). The prototypical characteristics of a leader (*e.g., being intelligent, charismatic*) can implicitly activate a follower (ibid.). After which, subsequent memories of the leader-like individual would likely include accounts of high intelligence (ibid.). Therefore, it is important to emphasise how people integrate multiple representations of information (ibid.). This could be important to understanding the cause of susceptible followers in relation to destructive leaders as their implicit cognitions might prevent them from challenging the leader. Alternatively, this template matching process based on prior knowledge could assist followers with organisational cynicism and moral courage (Gentile 2010; Martinko, Harvey & Douglas 2007). These preconceived attributions will assist with understanding the circumstances that individuals will follow a leader, or not (Antonakis, Avolio & Sivasubramaniam 2003).

2.3.3 Pygmalion and Golem Effects on leaders and followers

The Pygmalion Effect shows that when an individual has a significant person who had positive expectations of them, it increased their self-efficacy and ultimately, improved their performance (Natanovich & Eden 2008). Most Pygmalion studies focus on the leaders' expectations of their followers, not the other way around (Howell & Shamir 2005). The Pygmalion effect occurs in transformational leadership, as positive followers' expectations of their leader increase the leader's self-efficacy and confidence (ibid.). Conversely, the Reverse Pygmalion Effect is the leader's ability to display transformative behaviours, such as developing an even more inspiring vision of the future that resonates with followers (Collins, Hair & Rocco 2009).

Followers responses may have significantly influenced Hitler's shift in self-perception (Shondrick & Lord 2010). Such expectations may exist prior to followers' exposure to the leader's behaviours and stem from followers' need for orientation or from the leader's reputation, or may develop out of initial impressions of the leader and the degree to which these impressions conformed to the followers' prototype of a transformational leader, or may develop as responses to the leader's behaviours (Howell & Shamir 2005, p.107).

In contrast to the Pygmalion Effect, the Golem Effect of leaders having lower expectations produced worse results in followers (Natanovich & Eden 2008). Conversely, the Reverse Golem

Effect flows in the opposite direction from follower to leader (Collins, Hair & Rocco 2009). For instance, this effect occurs between young leaders and older followers (ibid.). Therefore, followers purely through articulation of expectations have agency and can positively or negatively influence leaders.

2.3.4 Identity-Based Perspectives

This thematic category includes self-concept and social identity approaches to leadership, (Dinh et al. 2014). This is a follower-centric theory where followers are influencing leaders (Uhl-Bien et al. 2014), as previously illustrated in Figure 2.5 above. In *Social Identity Theory*, during the leadership process, a leader's effectiveness depends on their followers' motivation to assist the leader and the leader's capability to influence followers (Grant & Hogg 2012; van Knippenberg et al. 2005; van Gils, van Quaquebeke & van Knippenberg 2010). Leadership is a group process generated by social categorisation and prototype-based depersonalisation associated with individuals' social identity (Hogg 2001; van Quaquebeke, van Knippenberg & Brodbeck 2011; van Knippenberg & Sitkin 2013). The group invests the most prototypical individual as appearing to have influence because group members conform to the prototype both through their behaviour and cognitions (Hogg 2001; Pierro et al. 2005). This selection makes leadership effectiveness dependent on the extent to which leaders are prototypical of their group (Hogg 2001; Pierro et al. 2005). Further, this creates the boundary conditions within which the leader has permission to operate and innovate (Hogg 2001). A core principle of social identity leadership theory is that individuals derive a part of their self-concept from the social groups and categories to which they belong to—*i.e., their shared self* (Grant & Hogg 2012; van Knippenberg & Hogg 2003; van Knippenberg et al. 2004). In destructive leadership, followers invest in the leader who shares similar social identities, ambitions, and values (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018; Thoroughgood et al. 2016).

The identification with the group increases the strength of the prototype on an individual's behaviour (Uhl-Bien et al. 2014). When an individual strongly identifies with a group, or desires acceptance, that individual increases their conformance to group prototypes endeavouring to increase self-evaluation favorability (ibid.). Group prototypicality might be at least as important as having characteristics widely associated with a particular type of leader (Hogg 2001; Rast et al. 2012; van Knippenberg & Hogg 2003; van Knippenberg et al. 2004). Thus, followers have responsibility for selecting leaders and in determining their actions. Some studies found that group identification was highest under high self-uncertainty and when individuals had a distinct identity or only a few other identities (Grant & Hogg 2012). Followers support the prototypical leader

more strongly than the non-prototypical leader, but uncertainty causes this support to weaken significantly or disappear (Rast et al. 2012). If there was no incumbent group leader, followers will support a viable prospective group leader irrespective of the leader's perceived group prototypicality because they provide the desired identity-focus and structural clarity (ibid.). This could explain the reason non-prototypical destructive leaders ascend into power by increasing the perception of uncertainty. Conversely followers could also shift the power balance against the incumbent leadership using uncertainty and install an alternative leader.

2.3.5 Romance of Leadership

The Romance of Leadership (ROL) focuses on the relationship between leader and followers, but as constructed in the follower's mind (Meindl 1995; Meindl, Ehrlich & Dukerich 1985). The process of leadership is a social construction produced by followers (Meindl 1995; Meindl, Ehrlich & Dukerich 1985). Individuals drastically overestimate leaders' control over outcomes (both positive and negative) while maintaining the leader as the focal point of the group. This is known as the *leader attribution error* (Hackman & Wageman 2007). It tends to be strongly evident in both members and observers because of the high visibility of the leaders compared to other contextual or structural factors (ibid.).

ROL also encompasses *social contagion* in transformational leadership (Weierter 1997). As discussed previously, the *social contagion* process occurs when followers recreate feelings of *esteem* and *excitement* by developing a charismatic relationship with a leader (Meindl 1995; Weierter 1997). The leader becomes the *conductor* for followers, who when stressed or excited, experience a high level of group arousal. This process may indicate why, during extreme conditions—times of stress or positive upswings (Uhl-Bien et al. 2014)—followers over attribute more charisma to the leader. To illustrate this, the effect on the George W. Bush's US presidency was dramatic post 9/11 as seemingly overnight, the President's approval ratings skyrocketed to a level unparalleled in polling history (Bligh, Kohles & Meindl 2004, p.563). Despite earlier reservations in the President's term around voting scandals, foreign policy issues, and his intellect, the people almost universally embraced his leadership in the wake of the profound distress and uncertainty caused by the crisis (ibid.). This highlights the situational component as significant in determining the type of relationship that leaders enjoy with followers. While the relational theories focus on the critical role of both followers and leaders with their interactions, there was not a significant focus on contingent elements or the dark side of leadership (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016), which will be discussed in the next section.

2.4 Co-Construction of Leadership

Augmenting social exchange theories, constructionist theories describe followership and leadership as co-constructed through social and relational interactions between people (Carsten et al. 2010; DeRue & Ashford 2010; Shamir 2007). As illustrated in Figure 2.6 below the followers and leader influence and moderate each other's behaviour through their perceptions, this can co-create a relationship with varying levels of trust that result in different outcomes.

There are different ways in which followership can influence and moderate leadership. In these theories, only when followers' granting behaviours like deference to a leader's influence or assignment of identity to an individual as a leader, can leadership occur (DeRue & Ashford 2010). Follower can also influence others to go along with their influence attempts (Fairhurst & Uhl-Bien 2012). There is a dynamic when either leaders or followers deferred or obeyed each other (Blass 2009; Burger 2009; Milgram 1965). This influence also occurs when followers resist or negotiate with the leader's wishes or influence attempts (Tepper, Duffy & Shaw 2001; Tepper et al. 2006b). Followers can also claim or grant identity to leaders (DeRue & Ashford 2010).
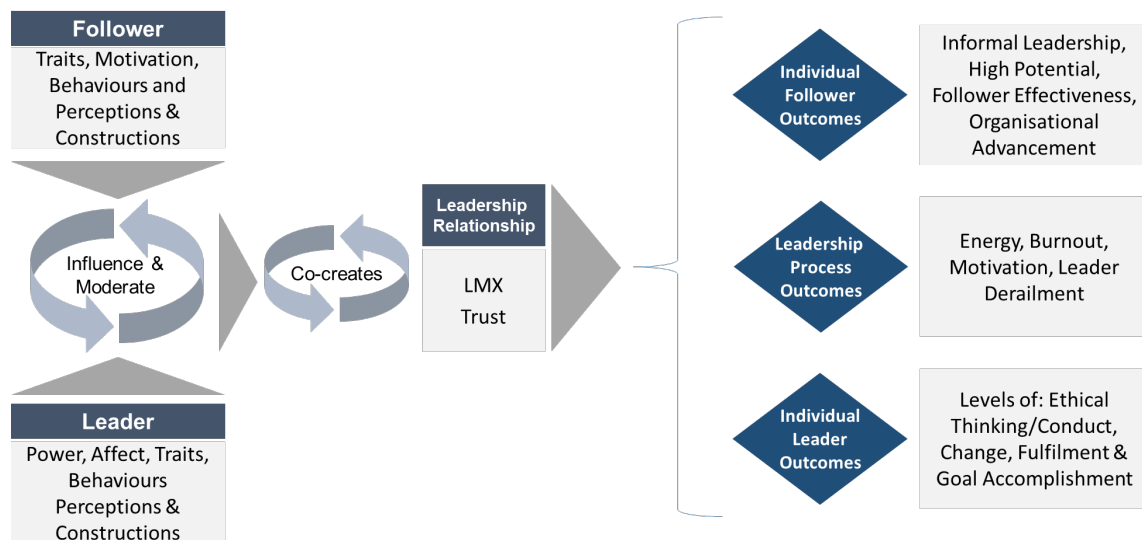
Figure 2.6: Followers & Leaders as co-creators of leadership

(Shamir 2007; Uhl-Bien et al. 2014)

2.4.1 Co-Construction of Destructive Leadership - The Toxic Triangle

Independent of followership, there is an increasing interest by leadership scholars in examining the 'darker' side of leadership (Hogan & Hogan 2001). This covers different terminologies in

streams of research like *toxic leadership* (Lipman-Blumen 2005a, b, 2008), *bullying* (Einarsen, Raknes & Matthiesen 1994; Ferris et al. 2007), *narcissistic leadership* (de Vries & Miller 1985; Paunonen et al. 2006), *abusive supervision* (Mawritz et al. 2012; Tepper 2000; Tepper et al. 2009), *bad leadership* (Erickson, Shaw & Agabe 2007; Kellerman 2004; Schilling & Schyns 2014), and *destructive leadership* (Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007; Johnson et al. 2017; Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). This thesis labels such approaches to the examination of the dark side of leadership using the umbrella term *Destructive Leadership*. Destructive Leadership encapsulates instances where leaders misbehaved, acted in ways that endangered the well-being of followers and (or) the organisation (Dinh et al. 2014, p.57).

A leader's traits along with their systematic and repeated behaviour that inflict enduring harm on individuals and organisations, communities and nations over a period of time has largely been used to describe Destructive Leadership (Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007, p.208; Lipman-Blumen 2005a, p.2; Schyns & Schilling 2013, p.141). However, leader-centric perspectives do not answer the question why some groups and organisations keep these destructive leaders, and some do not (Thoroughgood et al. 2012a). Instead of being punished research found that most of destructive leaders get promotions or rewards by organisations (Erickson, Shaw & Agabe 2007). Due to a confluence of all these issues, several authors, have called for more holistic perspectives to understand why organisations recruit such leaders, or why people who display these systematic and recurring behaviours remain in leadership positions long enough to undermine the organisation's goals, tasks, and resources (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Shaw, Erickson & Harvey 2011; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016).

Building on the theories that leadership is co-created, the thesis will now explore the co-creation of Destructive Leadership. Leadership research over-attributes destructive outcomes to the leader's traits or behaviours (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Instead, a holistic view of Destructive Leadership describes it as a process created by leader characteristics and behaviours, group processes, contingent factors and group outcomes (Klein & House 1995; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). In this way we associate neither followership nor leadership to a position but to a behaviour and a situation. From this perspective leaders are not always leading—they also deferred to followers, which means they also engaged similar behaviours to followers, thus leaders are sometimes followers and vice versa (Kean et al. 2011; Larsson & Lundholm 2013). Following and leading are interdependent activities found in both leaders and followers at different times (Kean et al. 2011; Larsson & Lundholm 2013)). Several authors echoed that leadership is a dynamic, co-creational process between leaders,

followers, and environments which contributed to outcomes (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.1).

To capture the complexity of Destructive Leaders, we need a multidimensional framework, one that addresses their intentions, their behaviour, their character, and the impact of the outcomes of their decisions and actions (Lipman-Blumen 2005a, pp.1-2). The *Toxic Triangle* framework encapsulates the aforementioned elements of co-constructed Destructive Leadership. As highlighted in Figure 2.7 below, Destructive Leadership is a confluence of conducive environmental factors, destructive leaders, and susceptible followers that result in destructive outcomes (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). Others have designed derivatives of this model in the form of the *susceptible circle* (Thoroughgood et al. 2012b). The Toxic Triangle will form the core part of the theoretical framework of this thesis as it encompasses all the leadership theories discussed above (*e.g., trait, behavioural, contingency, social exchange etc)*. The Toxic Triangle framework has been used in interdisciplinary research on Destructive Leadership in the health care sector (Fraher 2016) and in academia (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018). The elements of the Toxic Triangle starting with the centre of the triangle are explored below.
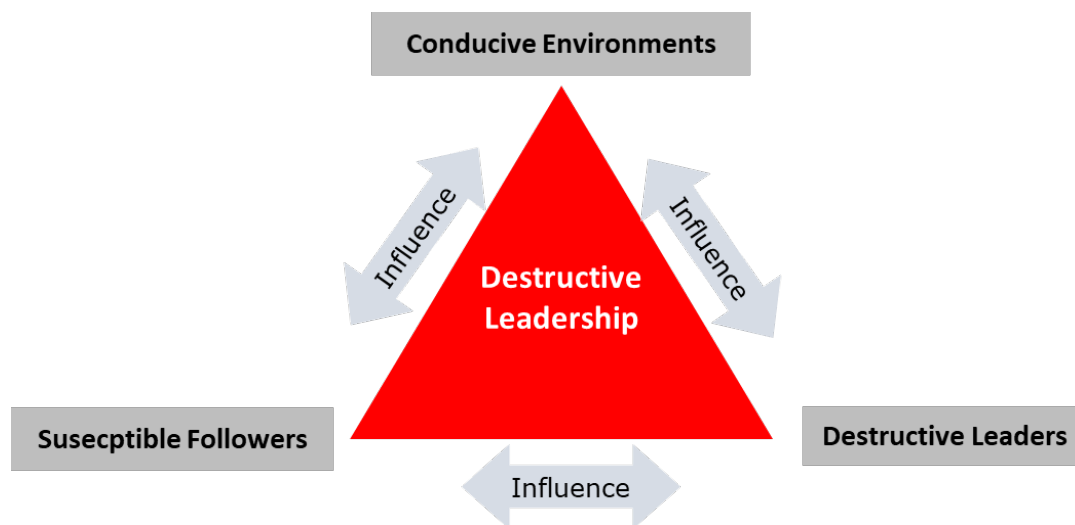
Figure 2.7: Toxic Triangle

Adapted from Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser (2007)

2.4.1.1 Defining Destructive Leadership

The literature asserts that Destructive Leadership is co-created. Scholars state if leaders, along with followers and situations, repeatedly bring misfortune and harm to both internal and external stakeholders, and damage the organisations in which they reside, then Destructive Leadership has

occurred (Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007; Hogan & Kaiser 2005; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). Definitions do not need to include any "intent to harm" as a qualifying criterion, as repeated outcomes are more important than a leader's intent (Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007, p.209). Thus, it is essential to include *outcomes* in its definition as it is the eventual negative consequences to the individuals or the group which inform us that Destructive Leadership has occurred (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). The Nazis and Hitler were an example of Destructive Leadership because they led Germany, its followers, Jews and other groups to ruin, not just because they were racist (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a).

Even with focusing on outcomes, Destructive Leadership is challenging to study as it is rarely entirely destructive and there are good and bad outcomes in most situations (Thoroughgood et al. 2012a, p.899). There are three essential components of destructive leadership (*i.e., group processes, group outcomes, and a dynamic timeframe*) (Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.7). As a result, this thesis will use the following holistic definition that encapsulates the co-creational elements of Destructive Leadership:

> A complex process of influence between flawed, toxic, or ineffective leaders, susceptible followers, and conducive environments, which unfolds over time and, on balance, culminates in destructive group or organisational outcomes that compromise the quality of life for internal and external constituents and detract from their group-focused goals or purposes (Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.7)

The definition does not suggest that a group, organisation, or even society be entirely 'destroyed' for a leadership episode to be labelled 'destructive' and that during a lifespan there were episodes that can occur anywhere on a spectrum from destructiveness to constructiveness (Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.7). For instance, the modern German nation crippled by Destructive Leadership, was at the centre of two world wars, still exists and is now the largest economy in Europe (Nienaber & Nasr 2017; Thoroughgood et al. 2016).

Finally, different researchers into Destructive Leadership have used different ways of evaluating outcomes. In Figure 2.8 below, destructive outcomes can be evaluated by constructs like *constituents harm, organisational damage, psychological harm, work force demoralisation, environmental disasters, country poverty, quality of life reduction, human rights violations, economic disasters, leader or colluder personal gain* (de Sales 2019; Erickson, Shaw & Agabe 2007; Lipman-Blumen 2005b; O'Connor et al. 1996; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Schilling & Schyns 2014; Schyns & Schilling 2013; Shaw, Erickson & Harvey 2011; Sparks, Wolf & Zurick 2015; Tepper et al. 2009; Thoroughgood, Hunter & Sawyer 2011; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2012b; Thoroughgood et al. 2016; Van Vugt & Anderson 2009). Historiometric leadership scholars in their mixed methods studies have used the

number and type of positive or negative leader contributions along with the legacy of the leadership to determine the quality outcomes (Bedell et al. 2006; Mumford 2006; O'Connor et al. 1996). As detailed later, the results of the historiometric studies are used as a sample frame of case studies for this thesis.

Conducive Environments

Destructive Leadership

Susecptible Followers

Destructive Leaders

Possible Destructive Outcomes
Constituent Harm, Organisational Damage, Psychological Harm, Work Force Demoralisation, Environmental Disasters, Country Poverty, Quality Of Life Reduction, Human Rights Violations, Economic Disasters, Leader/Colluder Personal Gain

Figure 2.8: Toxic Triangle: Destructive Outcomes
Adapted from de Sales (2019); Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser (2007)

2.4.1.2 Defining Destructive Leaders

The Toxic Triangle has three key elements in leadership that co-construct Destructive Leadership and produces outcomes. First, a *leader* which is the *spark,* second, *susceptible followers*, which are the *flammable material*, and last, a *conducive environment*, which is the *oxygen* (Klein & House 1995, p.185)— See Figure 2.9 below.

Now a clear distinction will be to differentiate the behaviours and characteristics of Destructive Leaders from others. Destructive Leaders act without integrity and engage in dishonourable behaviours, such as "corruption, hypocrisy, sabotage and manipulation, and other assorted unethical, illegal, and criminal acts" (Lipman-Blumen 2005b, p.18). They and their followers are

insular, and tend to lie, cheat, or steal, while putting their self-interest ahead of the welfare of others (Kellerman 2004, p.44). They are individuals who, by their destructive behaviours and their dysfunctional personal qualities or characteristics, inflict serious and enduring harm on the individuals, groups, organisations, communities and even the nations they lead (Lipman-Blumen 2005a, p.2; 2008, p.182). Their behaviours include both anti-follower behaviours (e.g., harassment, bullying or intimidating) and anti-organisation behaviours (e.g., preoccupation with non-work matters, laziness, lack of management skills, ineffective team building, unable to create or implement strategies, or stealing) (Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007).

Destructive Leaders can present an alluring charismatic illusion (Lipman-Blumen 2005a; 2005b; 2008). Destructive Leaders are charismatic pseudo-transformational leaders predisposed towards self-serving biases, and claim they are right and good, while others are wrong and bad; they take credit when things go well and blame others for things going badly (Bass & Steidlmeier 1999, p.190). The inspirational allures of the pseudo-transformational (and charismatic) leader tends to focus on the worst in people (*e.g., diabolic plots, treacheries, illusory dangers, alibis, and insecurities*) (ibid. p.188). By contrast, the inspirational appeals of authentic transformational (and charismatic) leaders tends to focus on the best in people—on amity, assistance, and quality works (Antonakis 2012; Bass & Steidlmeier 1999). The charismatic appeal of Destructive Leadership provided followers with both challenges and meaning for engaging in common goals and endeavours (Bass 1990; Bass & Steidlmeier 1999). Destructive Leaders focus on advancing their own self-serving objectives at the expense of followers and the organisation through dominance, coercion, and manipulation and pseudo-transformational leaders seek power at the expense of others, are unreliable, deceptive, calculating, and self-centred (Barling, Christie & Turner 2008; Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; 2016, p.5).

Therefore, defining Destructive Leaders is complex and requires a comprehensive definition. This thesis will use the following definition of Destructive Leaders: "Destructive Leaders are characterised by charisma, personalised need for power, narcissism, negative life history, and an ideology of hate with the repeated and systematic use of control and coercion to achieve their objectives and violate the legitimate interest of the organisation and/or followers" (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p. 182).

The *personalised need for power* in the definition correlates to negative leadership outcomes and will form the basis of the theoretical sampling for this thesis (Bedell et al. 2006; Mumford 2006; O'Connor et al. 1996). The Toxic Triangle in Figure 2.9 below has been augmented to include a raft of Destructive Leader behaviours and characteristics identified in the literature.
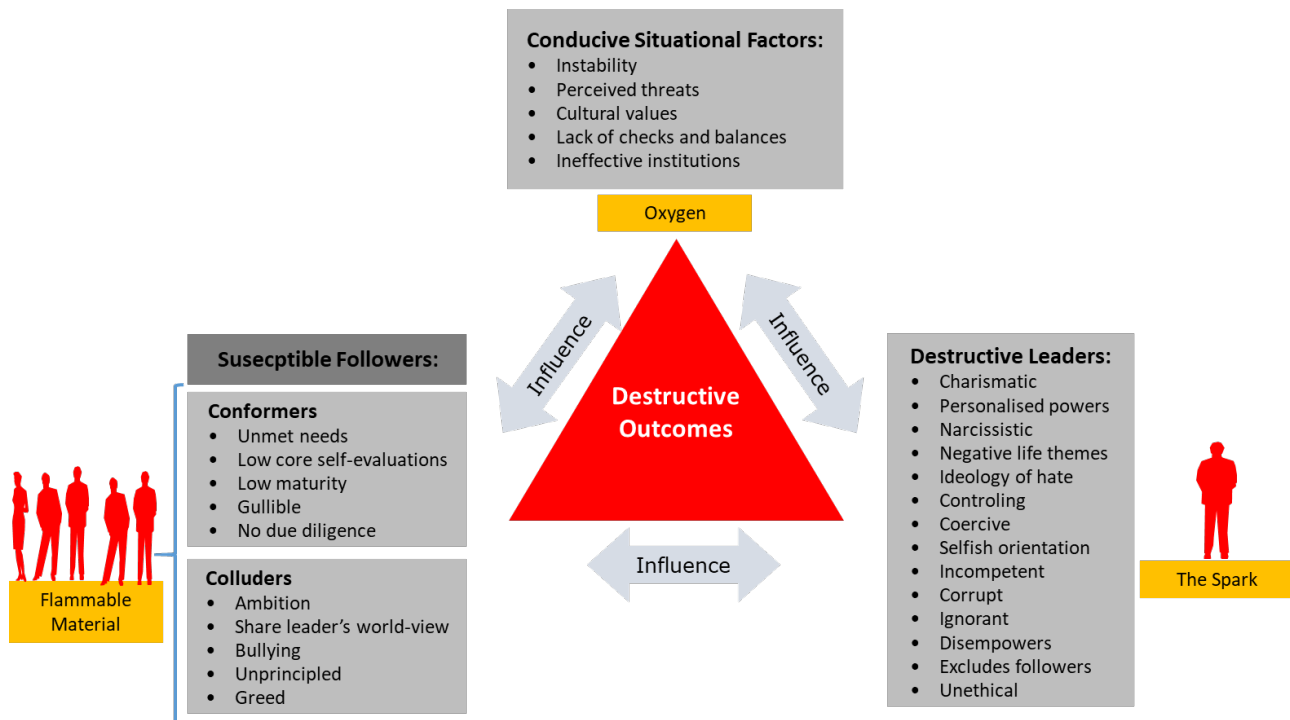
Figure 2.9: Toxic Triangle: Followers, Leaders & Environments

(Adapted from Erickson, Shaw & Agabe (2007); Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser (2007); Thoroughgood et al. (2012a); and Thoroughgood and colleagues (2016))

2.4.1.3 Defining Susceptible Followers

Next the thesis will explore the other elements in the Toxic Triangle (*i.e., susceptible followers and conducive environments*) and their attributes. Susceptible Followers are the *flammable material* in the Destructive Leadership process (Klein & House 1995). Few studies explore or recognise the co-creational responsibilities of followers in episodes of Destructive Leadership with most research in this relatively emergent field of leadership casting followers as passive victims, as opposed to pivotal contributors in dysfunctional leader–follower relationships, conducive environments, and destructive outcomes (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Cultivating more proactive, autonomous, and ethically responsible followers and preventing Destructive Leadership requires an understanding of the vulnerabilities of certain people to destructive leaders in the first place (Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007).

Followers are vulnerable to Destructive Leaders' behaviours. Often, we cannot discern the difference between the visions of good leaders and the illusions of their destructive equivalents before it is too late (Padilla 2013; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). Good leaders have *noble visions* which are realistic but difficult and will benefit the collective (Lipman-Blumen 2005a; 2005b; 2008).

These visions expect cooperation between leaders and followers and inspire followers to be their best (ibid.). Conversely, Destructive Leaders have *grand illusions*, which are unrealistic fantasies, not built on self-improvement, but by eradicating the 'others' (*e.g., business competitors or any group that is perceived as being different or a threat*) (ibid.). These Destructive Leaders continually reinforce that they are the sole saviours that can protect followers from threats—which often they fabricate (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007)—and offer followers the stability and immortality for which the latter desperately crave (Lipman-Blumen 2005a).

Followers must "grant" leaders (destructive or not) influence upon them and "claim" their follower roles within certain contexts, thus constructing their relative social identities (Derue & Ashford 2010, p.627-628). Within a toxic environment, this granting and claiming dance is because of followers' cravings for euphoria, stimulated by their tacit longing to be heroes, which can leave them susceptible to the Destructive Leader's illusory vision and cause them to battle, partake in unjust wars, and even push them towards committing genocide (Lipman-Blumen 2008, p.191). Here, followers themselves behave in ways that range from the unethical or incompetent, to other erroneous active or unspoken passive ones, which contribute towards Destructive outcomes (Thoroughgood et al. 2012b). Groups may grant and not resist because either they do not know enough to resist—ignorant about the ways of power, as they know the rules but do not recognise the game itself—or know too much concerning the futility of doing so as the costs of resistance outweigh the chances or benefits of success (Hardy & Clegg 2006). The dynamic interplay between leaders and followers is virtually absent from existing literature (Derue & Ashford 2010).

There is an important role that followers' conforming, and colluding behaviours play when interacting with Destructive Leaders (Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Conformer Followers through dependence, obedience, or passivity and Colluder Followers, through complicity or collaboration, allow Destructive Leaders to influence them and pursue the leader's flawed agendas, both groups of followers fail their roles as guardians in preventing toxic outcomes (ibid.). In this thesis, Conformer Followers are those that: "Are motivated by self-interest and so comply with destructive leaders and colluders out of fear, their vulnerability is based on unmet basic needs, negative self-evaluations, and psychological immaturity*"* (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.183). While Colluder Followers as those that: "Are motivated by self-interest and actively participate in a destructive leader's agenda, they seek personal gain through association with a destructive leader, they are ambitious, selfish and share the destructive leader's world views*"* (ibid.). Self-interest motivates both, however, Conformers focus on curtailing negative consequences of not going along with the Destructive Leader, while Colluder Followers want personal gain (ibid.).

An individual's rationale for conforming or colluding can change or grow. An ingrained culture of greed may enhance a Colluder Follower's desire for power and material gain (Thoroughgood et al. 2016). An impressionable or negative self-concept, and a strong need for group membership and a sense of meaning, may cause Conformer Followers to become active Colluder Followers as they absorb the leader's agenda (Baker 2007; Collinson 2006; Howell & Méndez 2008; Thach, Thompson & Morris 2006). Follower-leader interactions result from social-cognitive activities that cause individuals to redefine themselves based on definite features of an in-group, which over time can cause changes to their attitudes, motivations, and behaviours (Grant & Hogg 2012; Hogg 2001; Knippenberg et al. 2005; Rast et al. 2012). Cuba's Castro's Pioneros, China's Mao's Red Guard, and the Hitler Youth are epitomical examples of the transformative potential of Susceptible Followers who internalise a leader's destructive vision (Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.17). Thus, it seems Susceptible Followers can change for the worse, conversely this thesis will explore if they could change for the better when inspired by an alternative vision presented by Courageous Followers.

2.4.1.4 Identifying Conducive Environments

To complete the Toxic Triangle, we will discuss the conducive environments, which Klein and House (1995) refer to as the *oxygen* for the Destructive Leadership process. The Toxic Triangle is completed and can generate poor outcomes because of the ability of Susceptible Followers to submit to poor decision making by leaders under certain environmental conditions (*e.g., instability, perceived threats, absence of checks and balances, ineffective institutions, cultural values*) (Padilla 2013; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.180). Under these conditions there is a high likelihood of passive and obedient followers being complicit in unethical or immoral activities of leaders (Blass 2009; Burger 2009; Milgram 1965).

Instability and *perceived threats* take many forms. External forces like economic downturns, political uncertainty or a company crisis can heighten anxiety and desire for charismatic leaders, thus making followers more susceptible to them (Lipman-Blumen 2005b). The world is uncertain and disorderly, this creates a peculiar set of needs (Lipman-Blumen 2005a; 2008). As a species we are continually subjected to a constant stream of change, turbulence, and crises (ibid.). Living in an environment that has a heightened awareness of terrorism has increased our susceptibility to be stimulated by situational fears and anxieties (Hankiss 2001). These situational factors are superficially treated as symptoms or products of other fundamental societal elements and not a driver of patterns of behaviour in human civilisation (ibid.). When combined with our existential

fears, situational fears heighten the desire for certainty and order and the appeal of destructive leaders' illusory visions (Lipman-Blumen 2005a; 2008). Thus, Destructive Leaders can exploit this integral human frailty by promising to deliver a stable, secure, and controlled environment in the face the perceived disintegration of the world as we know it.

The *absence of checks and balances* and *ineffective institutions* are critical contributory factor to the conducive environment. Susceptible Followers may not resist because of structural contextual attributes as outlined below:

> (a) processes of authorisation, which. define the situation as one in which standard moral principles do not apply and the individual is absolved of responsibility to make personal moral choices; (b) processes of routinisation, which so organise the action that there is no opportunity for raising moral questions and making moral decisions; and (c) processes of dehumanisation which deprive both victim and victimizer of identity and community (Kelman 1973, p.25).

There is a distinction between *technical* and *moral responsibilities* within structures and processes, where the *moral responsibility* is a means to something bigger than itself (Hardy & Clegg 2006). Within certain contexts it is often possible to just focus on the narrow scope of the *technical responsibilities* which followers use to abdicate responsibility to the system and not themselves (ibid.). This context can cause people to act without thinking about the human, environmental or social impact of their decisions (ibid.). Further, a lack of internal and external checks and balances are critical (Padilla 2013). Internal checks could be self-monitored controls or a board of directors, while external checks could be the media, agencies, and experts (ibid.). Thus, the *absence of checks and balances* or the prevalence of *destructive institutional structures* contributes to Destructive Leadership.

Culture also plays a significant but complex role. Culture can take the form of traditions and values that are a part of a group or society or nation (Padilla 2013). This thesis explores culture both at the organisational and societal level. Culture has been defined as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or society from those of another" (Hofstede 1984). In Hofstede's seminal work he discusses several dimensions of culture *(e.g., power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism vs collectivism)*. High *power distance* means power distribution is inequitable and may lead to the tolerance of Destructive Leaders (Hofstede 1984, Padilla 2013). Weak *uncertainty avoidance* puts practice over principle and can cause more deviant behaviour (Hofstede 1984). Conversely, in high *uncertainty avoidance* groups they feel threatened by ambiguous situations; are likely to seek *saviour* leaders that could be destructive (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). Another one of Hofstede's cultural factors is the continuum between *individualism* vs *collectivism* (Hofstede 1980). *Individualism* implies loose social links where people look out for themselves and their immediate families, while *Collectivism* implies a broader focus on groups and exchanges support

for loyalty (Hofstede 1980; 1984). *Collectivism* has people integrated into elite groups which protect them in exchange for loyalty and allow Destructive Leaders to flourish (Luthans, Peterson & Ibrayeva 1998; Padilla 2013).

While Hofstede's work refers to influences that operate at the macro societal level, culture's influence filters to the organisational level (Bretos & Errasti 2017). Negative organisational cultural values are distinguished by centralised power, punitive policies, secrecy, favouritism, divisiveness, and fear of retaliation for challenging the leader or the upper echelon (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018, p.5). For instance, Enron's culture was described to be totalitarian and individualistic in nature, it promoted conformity, penalised dissent and was driven by greed that led to its bankruptcy (Johnson et al. 2017; Thoroughgood et al. 2016; Tourish & Vatcha 2005). Thus, culture can be complex, as certain cultures foster different leadership styles (Javidan et al. 2006) and each can lead to destructive outcomes in different ways.

2.5 The Role of Courageous Followers

Followers must realise their vital role as safeguards on their leaders' power (Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Nearly a century ago Follett (1927) suggested organisations should be democratic spaces where individuals can learn to collaborate and share power with others. However, few adopted her visionary views and her fears of Destructive Leadership have repeatedly played out over the last century. We can diminish our need for a strong leader by identifying "reluctant leaders" among competent followers, and even nurture the leader within ourselves (Lipman-Blumen 2005b, pp.235-56). Thus, to move away from Destructive Leadership, we must foster an environment of grassroots empowerment, participation and education.

The aforementioned theories on Destructive Leadership have been essential in the development of a framework to study the confluence of factors including followers that lead to destructive outcomes. Followership is not always voluntary and therefore followers might need to engage in resistance (Collinson 2017). Kelley (2008, p.14) was more forceful and remarked that followers are the primary defenders against Destructive Leaders and toxic organisations. Adolescent school yards are not the sole domain for negative peer pressure and Destructive Leadership, so we must understand what produces followers that can think for themselves with independent, critical judgement and act for the greater benefit of the organisation or society when faced with a Destructive Leader and their Colluder Followers (ibid.). It is the responsibility that followers must keep leaders and associates ethically and legally in check, they are not "good soldiers" to carry out

commands dutifully, - "The buck stops more with followers than leaders" (ibid., p.14). Several authors (Chaleff 2008; 2009; 2015; Frost & Robinson 1999; Fuller 2004; Kusy & Holloway 2009; Lipman-Blumen 2005b; Tavanti 2011) reinforced Kelley's view. Courageous Followers should challenge their leaders' views and decisions with a sense of integrity, responsibility, and service (Chaleff 2009).

On average, most people are moderately good or bad as described by a normal statistical bell curve, however because people rarely encounter extreme behaviour, they ignore evil behaviour and do so at their own peril (Chaleff 2009). Proximate followers must recognise and deal with destructive behaviour early before it causes great suffering (ibid.). Destructive Leaders are effective at masking their destructive acts from the wider population until they gain enough power which allows them the freedom to brandish such destructive behaviour with impunity (Chaleff 2009; Lipman-Blumen 2005b; 2008). A growing number of studies are exploring the necessity of followers that are exemplary, courageous, and have star qualities to achieve to success in groups and organisations alike (e.g., Chaleff 2009; Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007; Kelley 2008; Potter III, Rosenbach & Pittman 2001; Riggio, Chaleff & Lipman-Blumen 2008; Uhl-Bien & Pillai 2007). In his classification of followers Kelley (2008) describes Exemplary or Star followers as being the ideal for the needs and interests of groups or organisations, as they show initiative and courage required to present perspectives that occasionally oppose their leaders. Proactive followership offered significant insights for broader leadership theory as these followers beyond just regulating their own behaviours, they actively influenced their leaders through constructive, upward communication essential in achieving positive change for their teams or organisation (Carsten et al. 2010). For this thesis we will classify all these proactive exemplary followers as Courageous Followers. This thesis is looking to build on those aforementioned theories by seeing how Courageous Followers can collapse Toxic Triangles shown in Figure 2.10 below.
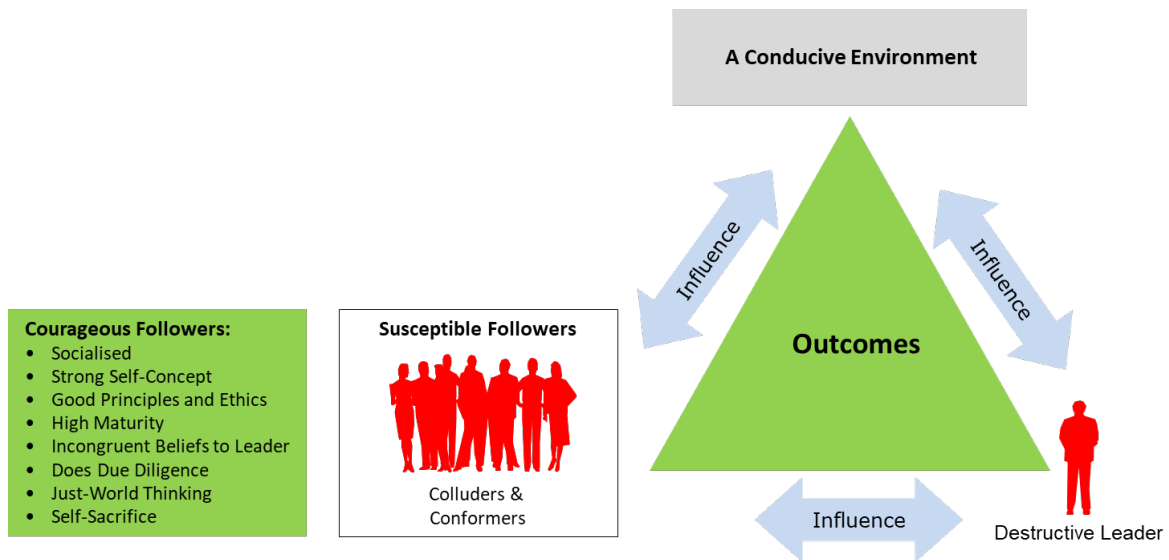
Figure 2.10: Conceptual Framework—Courageous Followers & the Toxic Triangle

(Augmented Toxic Triangle with Courageous Followers – Chaleff (2009); Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser (2007); Thoroughgood and colleagues (2012a); Thoroughgood and colleagues (2016))

2.5.1 Courageous Followers' Traits

During the Holocaust, rescuers (Courageous Followers) differed from bystanders (Conformer Followers) by courageously resisting despite high risk (self-sacrifice) while the bystanders did nothing (Shepela et al. 1999). Courageous resistance is conscious, sustained voluntary selfless behaviour, which entails high risk or cost to the actor, their family, and associates (ibid. p.787). Others have also described this behaviour as Courageous Followership or Courageous Conscience (Chaleff 2009, Kelley 2008). Personality traits have an integral role in Courageous Followership (Shepela et al. 1999). Unlike other followers, Holocaust Courageous Followers have the following attributes socialised and selfless with higher empathy, altruism, morals, social-responsibility, and appetite for risk (Fagin-Jones & Midlarsky 2007; Midlarsky, Fagin Jones & Corley 2005; Staub 1993; 2013; Thoroughgood et al. 2012, p.908; Zhu et al. 2011). The aforementioned Courageous Follower attributes are the foundation for acts of valour, kindness, and self-sacrifice, are necessary for assisting in stressful and risky situations (Peterson & Seligman 2004).

Ordinarily people associate courage with life-threatening situations like genocide, however, it is just as relevant to episodes of Destructive Leadership in other settings (*e.g., business*) (Thoroughgood et al. 2012a). However, the risks for whistle blowing can be social or economic, or participation in demonstrations could lead to imprisonment or physical harm (ibid.). While the authors called for a unified psychometric effort to determine the degree with which the follower

types are correlated to being susceptible to Destructive Leaders, there has been scant examination of followers' potential susceptibility to an alternative noble vision of Courageous Followers. This thesis, while not psychologically exploring the traits of Courageous Followers, will examine behaviours that Courageous Followers used to shift the power balance against the Destructive Leadership.

Followers being on the coalface between the internal working and organisations are often better positioned to observe decisions that can lead to destructive outcomes (Kelley 2008). Several studies, however, admonish societies' current view and treatment of followers as it does not empower nor prepare followers to perform this vital role (Chaleff 2008; 2009; Kelley 2008; Lipman-Blumen 2005a; 2005b; Shamir et al. 2007; Uhl-Bien & Carsten 2007; Uhl-Bien et al. 2014). According to some of them, the cornerstone of followership is for the followers to make ethical and legal judgements to promote ethical and legal activities, and then to stand up against destructive decisions and actions. However, followers are untrained to do so (Gentile 2010) and conveniently abdicate this responsibility to the leader. Hence followers are ill equipped to whistle-blow, resist groupthink, take responsibility, and enhance group or organisational integrity (ibid.).

According to Malakyan (2014, p.17) such Courageous Follower skills, inner natures, and traits do not come naturally, as if that assumption were correct, then the world would have had more than one Leo Tolstoy against social injustice and violence in Russia; more than one Mohandas Gandhi against oppressive British imperialism; more than one Martin Luther King, Jr. against segregation, discrimination, and racism in the United States; or more than one Desmond Tutu against apartheid in South Africa. Therefore, we need to focus on training people to develop such attributes and behaviour and move away the current leader-centric education and training. Of note, societies widely regard the aforementioned people as leaders however, all of them could have only started their resistance as Courageous Followers.

2.5.2 Courageous Followers' Behaviours

The field of followership is still in its infancy, furthermore with only a few people exhibiting courage, so we must explore how to help people successfully stand up (Collinson 2006; Kelley 2008, p.15). Courageous Followers break the mould of what we perceive as follower behaviours, as they do not exhibit behaviours we associate with following (*e.g., conform to, comply with, obey, imitate, go along*) instead, we associate their behaviours more with leading (*e.g., influence, advance, contribute, persuade, affect)* (Carsten et al. 2010, p.558). Leadership cannot succeed over the long-term without

followers willing to take risks to challenge the current situation (*i.e., social courage*), demand ethical behaviours (*i.e., moral courage*), take opportunities (*i.e., entrepreneurial courage*), risk self-esteem and failure to pursue challenges (*i.e., psychological courage*), or be willing to sacrifice themselves for the greater good (*i.e., physical courage*) (Lester et al. 2010, p.204). Similarly Chaleff's (2008, p.73; 2009, pp.6-8) seminal work has described a five-dimensional framework of behaviours that Courageous Followers need to demonstrate, these are: *courage to assume responsibility, courage to serve, courage to challenge, courage to participate in transformation, and courage to take moral action.* Being courageous involves both knowing and doing the right thing even in the face of a threat to oneself (Sekerka & Bagozzi 2007). The latter appears to be most relevant to standing up to Destructive Leadership as it involves significant personal risk.

Despite those different forms of courage being important, few individuals are trained to practice those behaviours. Few followers practice the essential skill of *moral competence* (Gentile 2010). For instance, when standing up to leaders, few followers practised resistance through *persistence*, where they demanded greater *information, accountability,* and *openness* from leaders (Collinson 2006, p.185). Despite being an effective strategy, *standing up* is uncommon as followers do not perceive enough importance on the upside potential and benefits of standing up to Destructive Leaders in a timely fashion (Chaleff 2008; Collinson 2006). Instead, most followers adopt resistance through distance by restricting *output, effort, knowledge, and communication* (Collinson 2006, p.185). We can observe this lack of resistance in the behaviours of Conformer Followers that most people fall into. For example, in Cuba the large and mostly apolitical professional middle class passively supported Castro and ended up fleeing to the US when they realised democracy would not materialise (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). In a given environment, if an individual is not the leader, they must belong to one of these groups (*i.e., Colluder, Conformer or Courageous Followers).* Since we are not trained to be Courageous Followers and by the scant number of Courageous Followers in history, we probably often default to the Conformer or Colluder Follower behaviours.

If every follower actively used their courageous conscience, there would probably be fewer toxic leaders destroying organisations or society (Chaleff, 2008; 2009; Lipman-Blumen, 2005a; 2005b; 2008; Kelley 2008). These scholars call for a holistic cross-domain approach that brings the ethical, legal, and social science tools together to equip every person to be Courageous Followers. However, certain conditions or systems need to be in place to promote and exercise moral Courageous Followership (Chaleff 2008; 2009). When these conditions do not exist, we can use four follower behaviours to stand up to Destructive Leaders: *counsel the toxic leader, quietly work to undermine the leader, join with others to confront the leader, join with others to overthrow the leader* (Lipman-

Blumen 2005b, pp.210-11). While these behaviours are a good starting point, they are a bit abstract and do not identify specific actions that could be taken at different stages to undermine and eventually render Destructive Leadership untenable. Further followers often employ the behaviours *to counsel or confront the leader,* but they do not to work against Destructive Leaders (Kusy & Holloway 2009). This thesis explores what practical behaviours Courageous Followers can successfully enact when conditions or systems are in favour of the Destructive Leadership.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter provided a review and background into some major leader-centric theories like trait, behavioural, contingency, and transformational theories (Shamir 2007; Uhl-Bien et al. 2014), while highlighting how these theories have tacitly relied on or ignored followers or followership. Researchers have raised the importance of followers in leadership theory for nearly a century (Follett 1927; Hollander 1973). However, over a recent 19-year period only 14% of articles published explicitly discussed followers (Bligh 2011). Thus, the area lacks integrated approaches to the study of leadership that encapsulate the characteristics of the followers, leaders and their interactions (Bligh & Kohles 2012; Shamir 2007; Uhl-Bien et al. 2014; Vroom & Jago 2007; Wofford, Whittington & Goodwin 2001). Such approaches are needed when studying the problems associated with Destructive Leadership.

Society and followers have been known to counter the effect of Destructive Leaders by holding leaders accountable, creating term limits and by taking courageous action (Carsten et al. 2010; Chaleff 2009; Lipman-Blumen 2008). However, in a time of crisis *(perceived or real)*, those safeguards and actions fall over as followers are more susceptible to relying on a charismatic leader to deliver them from danger (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). Further, a key assumption that some followership researchers make is that when Courageous Followers speak up, they will not be heard (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018) or there will be scant upside potential (Chaleff 2009). However, because of the asymmetrical and hierarchical nature of organisations and societies, power relations give followers limited capacity to influence or resist (Collinson 2017). It can be argued that this is the case in the Toxic Triangle where the Destructive Leadership often actively suppresses alternative views or dissent. So, we need to explore how followers can actively resist leaders when societal and individual-level factors inhibit them from doing so. Unless practical steps are taken to minimise the power gap between leaders and followers within organisations and communities, it will not be easy for a larger number of followers to be courageous and effective (Malakyan 2014). Therefore, it is important to study how to reduce the leader-follower power gap, especially in the

case of Destructive Leaders where such leaders and their colluders actively work on increasing this gap.

Chapter 3 – Literature Review: Power, Structures and a Conceptual Model

3.1 Overview

This chapter builds on the review conducted in the previous chapter as already illustrated in Figure 2.1 on p.13. We know little about the conditions surrounding how the authority of a leader operates, and what factors encourage followers to exercise their power to stand up to leaders (Bligh 2011). To explore the shifting of power balances, this chapter begins with a focused review into the sources and mechanisms of power and influence available to Courageous Followers. After that, this chapter explores the way followers can contest power drawing from the sources and mechanisms identified in the literature. The chapter also reviews *Social Impact Theory* that discusses the determinants for influencing people. These mechanisms and determinants can enable individuals to use their *agency* to change *structures* or gain courage when resisting Destructive Leaders. Thus there is a review of *Structuration Theory* as the theory implicates the tension between *structure* and *agency* with a view to identifying factors that can contribute to shifting power balances.

3.2 Power and Influence between Leaders and Followers

As discussed at the end of the last subsection, a key to enhancing the role of followers within the leadership process is power. Yet studies of power do not integrate well in relationship to leadership (and followership), with the underlying assumptions of power often remaining unstated or untested (Hollander & Offermann 1990). Therefore, this subsection will focus on the concepts of power and influence to look at the interplay of those factors in relation to leaders and followers. Another focus is on the types of powers, its mechanisms, and its sources. This section will also review power in *Social Influence* and *Social Impact Theories* to explore how followers can gain power.

3.2.1 What is Power?

The highly debated literature on power is vast. There is minimal consensus on the idea, definition, examination, and measurement power (Lukes 2005). Some define power as the ability to which Actor A can get Actor B to do something the latter would not otherwise do (Dahl 1957), or in terms of conflict or debate (Lukes 2005). Many have criticised these overt definitions of power as

being too narrow, as they mainly focused on a dependency or those that defined power in terms of conflict and illegitimacy (Clegg 1989; Hardy & Clegg 2006; Fiol 1991; Fleming & Spicer 2007; 2014). We must define power by more than a single value as non-action is also a reflection of the ability not to do something, which is more tacit in its nature and creates methodological issues with describing or knowing non-actions (Clegg 1989; Hardy & Clegg 2006; Fiol 1991; Fleming & Spicer 2007; 2014). Despite these variations in how to define or conceptualise power, there seems to consensus that power is important. Some scholars say that power relates to the functioning of all social relationships as oxygen relates to breathing (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006).

From a holistic perspective *institutional norms, spaces* and *procedures create power* (Bourdieu 1989, 2018; Giddens 1984; Lukes 2005). Here power relates to the macro-context that contains *common values, norms* and *rules* (Giddens 1984) and *education* or *spaces* which can create symbolic power (Bourdieu 1989; 2006; 2018). So, power can be tacit or explicit. Explicit and tacit factors are embedded in significant contingencies facing most organisations and actors (Salancik & Pfeffer 1977). We derive these contingencies from the environmental context within which they operate, and power organises around handling these contingencies, thus giving power to different groups or individuals at different times (ibid.). While contingency factors relating to power are obvious and important, yet leaders and managers often missed them (ibid.). To address these complexities, there needs to be a multidimensional representation of power that encompasses *the ability to do, not do*, and a focus on both *group* and *environmental contexts* that can constrain an actors' perceived freedom of choice through interdependencies (Bachrach & Baratz 1963; Fiol 1991, p. 549). This conceptualisation of power is in alignment with the co-constructional and situational theories of Destructive Leadership—*destructive leader, susceptible followers, and conducive situational elements that co-construct outcomes*—discussed in the previous chapter. So, in keeping with Destructive Leadership being defined by outcomes and the co-constructed nature of power, this thesis defines power as a transformative capacity in terms of outcomes (Clegg 1989, p.145) created by a confluence of contingency and agentive factors.

When exploring this confluence of factors, power is not only a relationship between collaborators, individuals, or groups, it is a manner in which specific actions modify others' actions (Foucault 1982, p.788). Thus, this process can be multi-directional between leaders, followers and environments. Power is a force that strategically circulates through discourse and is about both language and action (Hardy & Thomas 2014). Power manifests itself through action even if it integrates into a disparate field of possibilities brought to bear upon permanent structures such as customs, systems, or institutions (Bourdieu 1989; 2018; Foucault 1980; 1982). This notion of

power is in keeping with Destructive Leaders exploiting the conducive situational elements (e.g., weak institutions, lack of checks and balances) of the Toxic Triangle to gain power and can influence the actions of Susceptible Followers.

In a strange paradox, even though *power circulates everywhere*, because it comes from everywhere, it is not a singular institution or structure or strength; it exists between actors and organisations as opposed to with a singular actor (Clegg 1989; Fleming & Spicer 2014). Research should look at power as something that circulates and functions as part of a chain and never owned like material items (Bachrach & Baratz 1963; Foucault 2003). Power is at the interface between macro and micro processes (Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson 2003). Therefore, to study it effectively we must observe multi-levels (units of analysis) from the 'macro' to the 'meso' to the 'micro'. This multi-level existence of power aligns well with the multitude of forces and actors that contribute to Destructive Leadership within the Toxic Triangle framework.

We must examine the power hidden in and mobilised through seemingly neutral structures, cultures and technologies (Giddens 1984; Hardy & Clegg 2006). Power is neutral and is a vehicle either leaders or followers can harness structures. These apparently neutral structural elements manifest themselves in actions (Foucault 1980; 1982). These power structures are in systems of knowledge, mechanisms of discourse, and complex interactions of relationships (Bachrach & Baratz 1963; Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006). These interactions can result in power being a renunciation of freedom, a transference of rights, the power of each and all delegated to a few and exercised only over free subjects (Foucault 1982, p.790). This allows power to produce its own truths and as power changes over time, so do those truths (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006). This is a duality whereby individuals have *agency* to create *structures* (*i.e., truths*), or these structures can constrict an individual's agency and perpetuate themselves (Giddens 1984; Bourdieu 1989; 2018).

Power can be a conduit for destructive outcomes as those that have it tend to increase stereotyping, debasing individuals, self-interest, and hostility (Kipnis et al. 1984; Milgram 1965; Milgram, Bickman & Berkowitz 1969). Lord Acton's view that power tends to corrupt illustrates this and can have destructive consequences for both those who possess it and those that do not possess power (Anderson & Brion 2014). Conversely, to avoid destructive outcomes, we need to embrace the positive force of power to attain better outcomes as it is not purely about the negative dimensions of politics (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006). Thus, to overlay a Courageous Follower perspective, we can subscribe to Max Weber's (2002, p.33) description that power is "the chance of an individual or a number of individuals to realise their own will in a social action even

against the resistance of others who are participating in the action". Our next focus will be on the power that followers have with specific attention to the mechanisms of power that followers can harness against destructive leadership.

3.2.2 Sources, Acquisition and Mechanisms of Power

This section will discuss the sources of power, how to acquire and apply it. As discussed in the previous sub-section, this review regards power as a neutral concept with some of its elements more readily available to those in leadership positions, but followers can access other mechanisms and sources of power.

3.2.2.1 Sources of Power

People often view leadership itself as a source of power (van Knippenberg & Hogg 2003), however, as described in the preceding section there is not one source of power and it arises in chains of complex interactions of relations and structures. Most theories are leader focused; this one directional application largely leaves followers' power unmapped (Howell & Shamir 2005). Followers and not just leaders possess power and influence (Kilburn 2010). Followers have certain control over outcomes in that they can decide *to follow* or *not follow*, and thus they grant power to a leader through their choice to follow (ibid.). So, it is important to educate and empower individuals in society to not equate being a follower with being passive and obedient, to ensure they actively resist unethical requests leading to destructive outcomes (Chaleff 2015; Uhl-Bien et al. 2014).

People often misunderstand that we create the concept of leadership with minimal power exchange between leaders and followers (Malakyan 2014). A significant number of researchers attribute French and Raven's (1959) five bases of power *(i.e., reward, coercive, legitimate, referent and expert power)* primarily to leaders, however few examine the fact that followers could operate from those same bases of power (Malakyan 2014). In their seminal paper, French and Raven's (1959) initial description of sources of power did not explicitly refer to leaders having power over followers or vice versa. However, they utilised examples that indicate that leaders rather than followers used sources of power (ibid.). One critical implicit factor in their descriptions of the sources of power was that power is granted (by the follower) based on how that individual perceives the environment and the person trying to influence them. This gives followers agency within power dynamics. Thus, by passively granting power to leaders, followers are not effectively using their agency. This lack of agency is particularly acute in destructive episodes where followers allow leaders to abuse

various forms of power (Chaleff 2009; Malakyan 2014).

It is self-evident that leaders cannot do everything on their own, therefore power-sharing is inescapable (Salancik & Pfeffer 1977). While power-sharing is often perceived to constrain followers, it also provides the latter with opportunities to shift the power balance (Hollander & Offermann 1990). There are reciprocity power patterns between leaders and followers (Cropanzano & Mitchell 2005). There is a correlation between the behaviour of leaders and followers (Brown & Mitchell 2010; Groves & LaRocca 2011; Lester et al. 2010), with the latter emphasising the courage of individuals. Leaders get greater attention and influence because of their positions, but followers can have an influence on leaders and affect the leadership process (Hollander 1986; Hollander & Offermann 1990; Tjosvold 1985). Followers have access to the same sources of power as leaders, so followership should be active. To be an active follower, we need to know how to acquire power by examining the different mechanisms, faces, forms and antecedents of power which I will cover this in the next sub-sections.

3.2.2.2 Acquisition Factors of Power

This section outlines the factors that lead to the acquisition of power with a few that Courageous Followers could harness these factors to shift the power balance against Destructive Leaders. Figure 3.1 below illustrates a conceptual framework looking at the antecedents of power which encompasses a lot of other research into power (Anderson & Brion 2014). However, the model predominantly centres around an episodic view of power and neglects to discuss the depths of the systemic hurdles to acquiring power—as discussed in later subsections. A model proposed by Keltner and colleagues also emphasises individual characteristics as a key determinant of power and regards exceptional competencies (perceived or real) as being a scarce resource that needs to be controlled (Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson 2003). Therefore, these models are congruent with the *trait* and *behavioural (e.g., task competence, social skills, intelligence, sex, race etc)* theories of leadership, and an only partially account for an individual's position of power
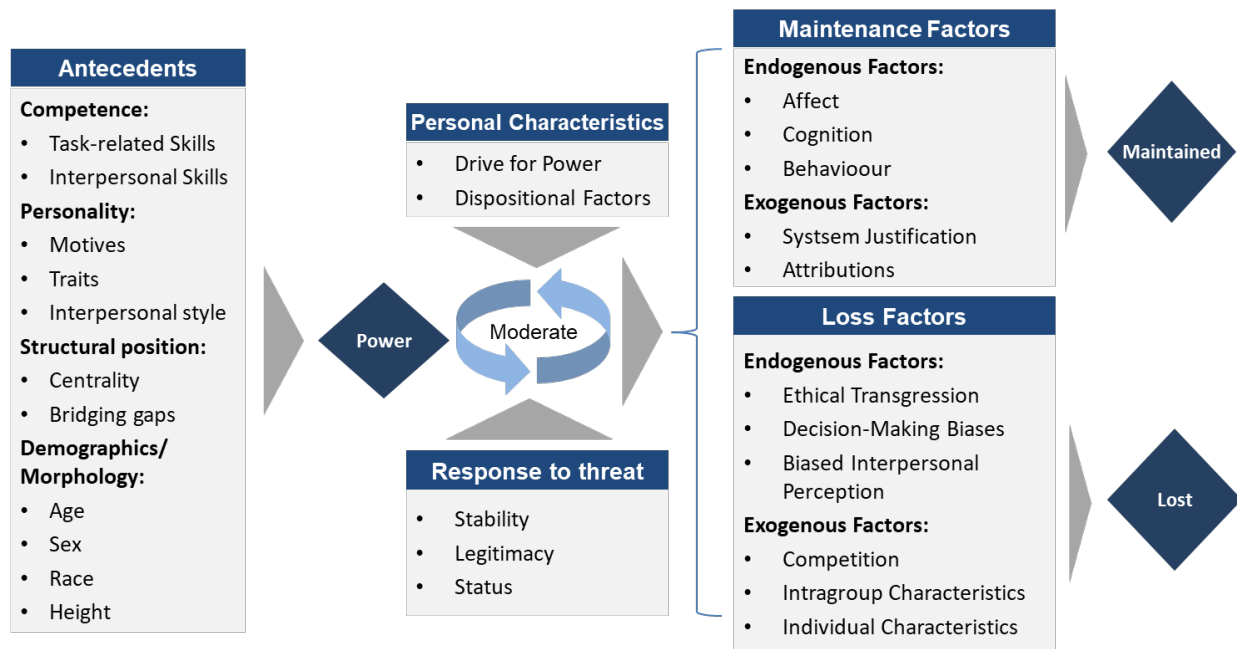
Figure 3.1: The acquisition, maintenance, and loss of power

(Adapted from Anderson & Brion (2014, p.68))

Individuals who control resources get power (Kipnis et al. 1984). Individuals who desire power tend to work to gain positions of authority, which gives them control over resources, enhances their own skills and visibility while building strategic alliances (Anderson & Brion 2014; Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006). However, a shortcoming of these theories is the role that *context* plays in contributing to such behaviour or stimulating those traits. An element of context is structure. Power is largely reliant on either formal or informal structure (Pfeffer 1992), see Figure 3.1 above. *Structural position* (network position) is a vital determinant in the ability to access and control the information that enables individuals and groups to make decisions and reach goals (Brass et al. 2004; Fleming & Spicer 2014).

Another antecedent of power is 'demographics and morphology' is akin to the physical dimension in trait theory. That said, a key assessment made by the authors is that power is not gained for the actual traits of people, but other's perceptions of those traits and how they are interpreted (Cialdini & Goldstein 2004; House & Aditya 1997; Lord 1977). Despite some flaws in the model, there is merit in seeing the confluence between *competence*, *structural position*, *personality,* and *demographics*. For an individual to gain power they:

> can obtain control over valued resources...develop relationships with important people, thereby serving as a gatekeeper between those important people and others in the organization. Second, they can increase the value of the resources they already possess...transform their underperforming and fragmented team into a tight-knit, highly productive unit, thereby providing valuable output to the

organization. Third, people can enhance the impression in others' eyes that they possess control over valued resources...communicate with their supervisors that they possess knowledge useful for an important project (Anderson & Brion 2014, p.72)

From the above we can observe that individuals can acquire power without formal position and through several antecedents, therefore, followers could harness any of the above antecedents to acquire power when faced with Destructive Leaders.

3.2.2.3 Mechanisms of Power

This section will discuss the practical application of power with by blending the *sources* and *acquisition factors* of power that result in *faces* and *mechanisms of power*. There are four faces of power: *coercion, manipulation, domination*, and *subjectification* (Fleming & Spicer 2007; 2014, p.3; Lukes 2005). Table 3.1 below shows those faces along with their corresponding mechanisms. *We can regard coercion* and *manipulation* as *episodic*, as they relate to actions that can get actions from others (Fleming & Spicer 2007; 2014, p.3; Lukes 2005). While we can regard *domination* and *subjectification* as *systemic* as they enact themselves through structures and processes like institutions, ideology, and discourse to induce actions from others. The latter two faces of power can often be tacit, for instance, contextual factors like macro or meso cultural values. The discussion below explores how these faces and mechanisms are available not just to leaders but to followers too.

Table 3.1: Faces and Mechanisms of Power

(Adapted from Fleming & Spicer (2014, p.54))

Face of Power	Core Mechanisms of Power
(a) Coercion	Formal/Legitimate Position
	Uncertainty Reduction
	Resources Control/Possession
(b) Manipulation	Rule Manipulation
	Shaping Anticipated Results

Face of Power	Core Mechanisms of Power
	Network positioning
	Mobilisation of Bias
(c) Domination	Articulating Ideology
	Manufacturing Consent
	Conformity with Institutions
(d) Subjectification	Disciplinary Regimes
	Construction of Identities
	Articulation of Discourse
	Governmentality

(a) Coercion: this face of power is the direct exercising of power by actors on other individuals to achieve certain ends and is often episodic (Fleming & Spicer 2014). Below are the mechanisms:

> **Formal/Legitimate Position:** the legitimate right or direct authority to change structures or task assignments that get compliance from other actors (Edgar 2006; Hardy & Clegg 2006; Kusy & Holloway 2009). A core element of this mechanism of power is the ability of individuals to take (or not take) actions desired by others (Salancik & Pfeffer 1977). This positional (role-based) factor is a significant disadvantage for followers. While followers cannot do anything about their position, they could counter this with other mechanisms when standing up to Destructive Leaders.

> **Uncertainty Reduction:** the greater uncertainty or ambiguity, the more likely that individuals will grant power to an actor they perceive can reduce uncertainty (Fleming & Spicer 2014; Popper 2011; Porter, Allen & Angle 2003). Followers can harness this mechanism through their ability to reduce uncertainty, for instance, using French and

Raven's (1959) *expert power* through special knowledge or expertise they can reduce uncertainty.

Resources Control/Possession: the greater the ability of an actor to control or possess valuable resources (*e.g., money, information, access to important people, or decisions to affect desired outcomes*), the more likely that that actor can use power to coerce others to act according to their agenda (Anderson & Brion 2014; Pfeffer 1992; 2013; Salancik & Pfeffer 1974; Thompson 1956). Lists of resources are infinite, as different phenomena become resources in different environmental contexts (Hardy & Clegg 2006). So, it is conceivable that followers can strategically acquire resources to increase their relative power against Destructive Leadership under different circumstances.

(b) Manipulation: this face of power episodic, and here actors endeavour to constrain the issues being discussed or restrict them to real or perceived conventional boundaries (Fleming & Spicer 2014). Manipulation is non-relational, non-rational and involves no conflict of values (Bachrach & Baratz 1963, p.640). There is no direct coercion, but a tacit creation of agendas through shaping of 'important' issues (Fleming & Spicer 2007). Below are the mechanisms:

Rule Manipulation: while research has linked the absence of a concrete agenda to poor leadership (Helms 2012), the crafting of rules through manipulation of followers can be extremely destructive (May et al. 2015; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). When discussing Milgram's (1965) seminal experiment, only 30% of subjects that were face-to-face with the participants administered shocks when told to, but that jumped to 60% when the participants were out of sight and earshot (Hardy & Clegg 2006, p.757). This behaviour indicates that obedience—conformity—flows more easily when the subjects of action are at a distance (*i.e., when subjects transform into mere objects*). Incremental increases also made obedience more likely, once individuals commit to a course of action (Cialdini & Goldstein 2004). Here people feel obliged to obey, to be consistent with their previous behaviour, regardless of the moral principles that they might hold (ibid.). However, by introducing another expert that instructed the subjects to disagree compliance declined (Hardy & Clegg 2006). Followers could use this mechanism by crafting alternative agendas or rules that introduce external scrutiny to counter destructive ones.

Shaping Anticipated Results: Destructive Leaders can achieve this by shaping follower's behaviour through the presentation of illusory outcomes (Lipman-Blumen 2005b). In an empirical study, power plays, corruption or social issues shaped the agenda, when leaders

continually highlighted increasing violence, racism and injustice, it made many followers feel like they were living on the edge and that they should constantly expect the worst (Greyvenstein & Cilliers 2012, p.5). This contributed to followers feeling fear, anger, frustration, helplessness, uncertainty and disappointment over future outcomes as the leadership was 'not addressing the real issues' (ibid.). Thus this thesis suggests that while Destructive Leaders can harness this to play the saviour role, followers can also use the uncertainty to further genuine noble visions.

Network positioning: Is an actor's ability to access and control the information (a resource) that enables the accomplishment of goals is power (Anderson & Brion 2014; Brass et al. 2004). Here individuals establish agendas by using one's position within a network subtly to influence decision-making processes (Fleming & Spicer 2014). Followers can strategically utilise their network position to influence decisions or control information.

Mobilisation of Bias: is when people set agendas and structures (*i.e., rules and resources*) systematically to harness decision-making parameters and while deliberately leaving other agendas and structures out (Clegg 1989; Giddens 1984; Fleming & Spicer 2007). For instance, firms accept innovations when they align with the organisational elite's paradigm (Fleming & Spicer 2007). Followers could change these types of biases by using alternative mechanisms like *discourse* or by appealing to alternative structures which I will discuss next.

(c) Domination: this face of power is systemic and seeks to make relations of power appear inescapable and natural, as long as it furthers the interests of those whom power flows towards versus others (Fleming & Spicer 2014; Lukes 2005). Domination moulds our preferences, attitudes and worldview and determines what we consider worthy of political attention and effort (Fleming & Spicer 2007). We can mobilise this of face of power through structures, cultures and technologies (Bourdieu 2006; Giddens 1984; Hardy & Clegg 2006). Below are the mechanisms:

Articulating Ideology: Here discourse is the vehicle through which we articulate ideologies that eventually become hegemonic and thus give power (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011; Fairclough 2001; Hardy & Clegg 2006; Wodak 2001). For instance, even though there was no actual conflict between Germans and German Jews, the Nazi leadership presented the German Jews as a mortal threat to German people, and people didn't challenge these views, so many Germans apparently experienced them as such (Staub 2013, p.577). Ideological norms can get challenged through collective action, re-framing and exercising of one's agency (Fleming & Spicer 2014). Thus, it is worth exploring if Courageous Followers

can articulate alternative ideologies while using collective action and re-framing when standing up to Destructive Leadership.

Manufacturing Consent: Exponents of this mechanism of power make an arbitrary hierarchy appear inevitable, natural and unquestioned (Fleming & Spicer 2014). These hierarchical relationships and internalised rules toward authority are counterproductive to the agency of the followers (Chaleff 2008, p.76; 2015). Thus, followers should examine and question rules and norms in place to retain their agency in the face of authority. Countering this mechanism is highly unlikely for the followers (*e.g., North Korean citizens*) to achieve, unless they can access and harness alternative structures (*e.g., external egalitarian ideals*).

Conformity with Institutions: here institutions operate as political or organising forces to shore up existing collective rules in a field by introducing standards and norms that despite being ineffective are perceived as being effective and hence could produce negative outcomes (Fleming & Spicer 2014, p.5; Giddens 1984; Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson 2003). This kind of power demonstrates itself in 'total institutions' which are organisations that exercise strong cultural control over their members to diminish pluralism, thus squeezing the space in which civility, reflection and responsibility can thrive, which can often result in dysfunction (Hardy & Clegg 2006, p.578). Conversely, virtuous individuals can institutionalise societal values and practises through 'checks and balances' to prevent the abuse of power (Keltner, Gruenfeld & Anderson 2003). For instance, virtuous checks and balances were inserted into the German constitution to prevent the conflict that resulted through the Weimar Republic and Nazi regime (Helms 2012). As discussed in the *Toxic Triangle,* the lack of effective checks and balances was often a contributing factor to Destructive Leadership that had led to Destructive Leadership in Germany contributing to the world wars of the 20th Century. Thus, followers should not conform to leaders or institutions that allow destructive behaviours, and once change occurs, followers should institutionalise positive rules and institutions (*e.g., the US Constitution post American Independence to enshrine the ideals of a democratic republic*).

(d) Subjectification: this face of power is also systemic and defines an actor's sense of self, experiences, identity and emotions and normalises a particular way of being within a particular social order (Hardy & Clegg 2006; Fleming & Spicer 2014). Here individuals harness power through defining the conditions that are the foundations of the way we create ourselves (Foucault 1982). This covert mechanism of power flows and subjugates us through an entire world of normalcy, hierarchy, fixed rationalities, domination experienced as authority (*e.g., work as a means to strive to amass the resources*) (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006, p.239). We do not constantly question the

normal, nor do we acknowledge its power over us (ibid.). Foucault taught us that the focus for analysis should be the play of techniques, the mundane activities that shape everyday life (ibid.). Subjugation comprises discourses, institutions, architectural forms, regulatory decisions, laws, administrative measures, scientific statements, philosophical, moral and philanthropic propositions—both the said and the unsaid in equal measure (ibid. p.230). Below are the mechanisms:

Disciplinary Regimes: people enact this mechanism through a wide range of systems or influences inside societal groups (Hardy & Clegg 2006). Here power and knowledge regimes inscribe themselves in subjectivities (Collinson 2006). This mechanism of power is more effective than hierarchical, bureaucratic management as actors' develop a system of value-based normative rules that powerfully controlled their actions where employee enact supervision on themselves (Barker 1993). Certain disciplinary practices often create knowledge and power (Townley 1993) that cause followers to conform in the absence of leadership. Another instance is in North Korea, where they send children under the age of six to school to get indoctrinated to believe in the regime's ideology (Doidge 2010). Albeit extremely difficulty, having an awareness of these tacit disciplinary regimes and could also be critical for a Courageous Follower to disrupt them Destructive Leadership.

Construction of Identities: identity and sense of self are fluid as people are responsible for their own actions and achievements (Hales 1999). This subjective sense of freedom and responsibility significantly differs from the real experience of affirming one's identity (ibid.). Actors tend to take solace by accepting and colluding with institutional routines which give them self-affirmation (ibid.). Identity is complex and embedded in the webs of power that permeate social practices (Hardy & Clegg 2006). This relates to the *Identity Based Perspectives* of leadership (discussed in the previous chapter) where followers derive a part of their self-concept from being part of social groups. These elements could explain the rationale behind why followers collude or conform. Courageous Followers also can harness this mechanism by constructing and helping others construct alternative identities.

Articulation of Discourse: This mechanism was alluded to earlier, as discourse is critical to power, and for social change (Fairclough 1992a; Foucault 1982). Power and discourse are often indistinguishable and form a part of each other (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006; Foucault 1980; Hardy & Phillips 2004; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy 2004). We must think of articulation of discourse as a proxy for power within the context of social situations or events, as collectively they construct reality and guide behaviour (van Dijk 1997). Since discourse is

available to most followers, they could use different discursive techniques favourably to shift the power balance against the Destructive Leadership's use of other mechanisms of power.

Governmentality: this mechanism of power constitutes itself in specific contexts through an intricate mix of power sources and mechanisms that combine with each other to form specific regimes of governmentality (Bourdieu 2018; Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006). This form of power induces desirable behaviour by inducing actors to regulate their own behaviour and actions (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006, p.231). For instance, the worker who strives for excellence; the manager who strives to be enterprising; or the service worker who aims to leave every client delighted (ibid.). While it may appear that these institutionalised factors are acceptable, followers should question their purpose and impact via counter-discourses to prevent systemic abuse or unintended destructive outcomes (*e.g., overworking or oneupmanship*).

3.2.3 Contestation of Power

This section will discuss how the sources and mechanisms of power discussed in the previous subsections can be used to contest power. Each situation a follower may find themselves could be very different and involve using power mechanisms in different forms. As illustrated in Figure 3.2 below, power has three identifiable forms, which often exist together because of an individual's position in a time and place (Hollander & Offermann 1990, p.179). These forms of power are *power over; power to,* and *power from* (ibid.). *Power over* is when the elites (*e.g., leaders*) might compete to influence the objectives, strategies, and makeup of the system (Fleming & Spicer 2014, p.7). However, arguably such power is primarily available to those in positions of leadership as within a Toxic Triangle, here, followers are unlikely to have *power over* easily available to them. So, to shift the power balance followers need to focus on the next two forms of power *(i.e., power to and from). Power to* is the level of freedom and empowerment individuals have; and *power from* is the ability to resist the power of others by fending off their unwanted demands (ibid.). High-status actors (*e.g., leaders*) can harness all these forms of power, while lower status actors (*e.g., followers*) may at best have one or two of the latter forms (*i.e., power to and power from)* available to them.
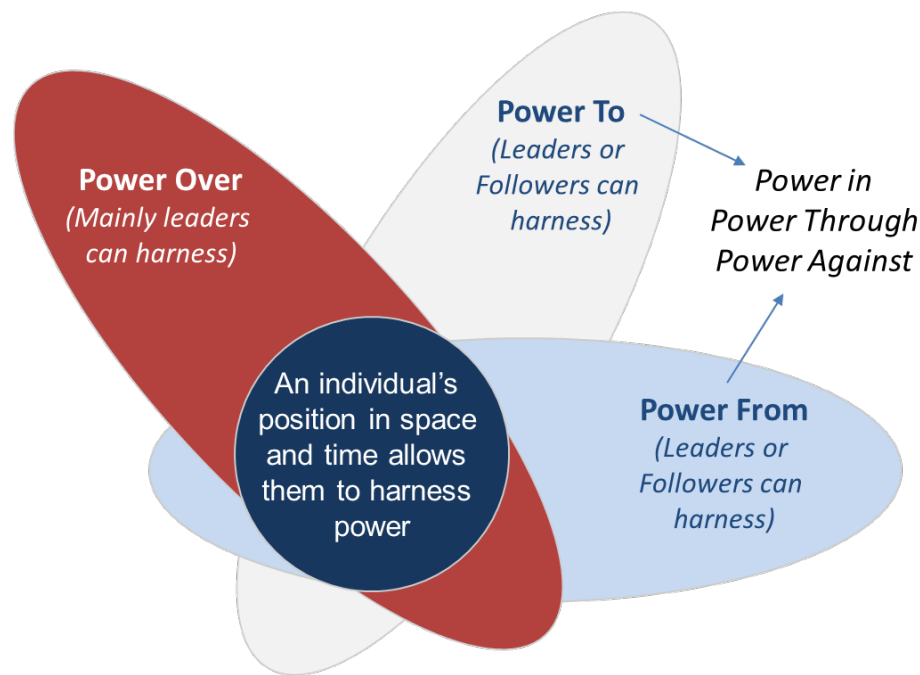
Figure 3.2: Identifiable Forms of Power

(Adapted from Fleming and Spicer (2014), and Hollander and Offermann (1990))

In the Toxic Triangle, when there is an absence of empowerment and power sharing, resistance can harness *power to* and *power from* in specific ways. As shown on the right side of Figure 3.2 above these ways of resistance are: *power in, power through,* and *power against* organisations (Fleming & Spicer 2014). So when a follower is inside a Toxic Triangle, *power in* is contained within structures and institutions and is described by tussles to influence, keep or change the status quo, here follower coalitions and political actions demand the attention of the leaders (Courpasson & Clegg 2012). An extreme occurrence is whistle-blowing where an actor-driven by conscience (Alford 2008) exercises their agency against other actors and structures, however the whistle-blower does have to span boundaries beyond the organisation. Next, *power through* organisations occurs when an organisation becomes an agent to further an agenda, for instance, the alliances forged by NGOs with other civic-minded organisations for positive change (Fleming & Spicer 2014). *Power through* is neutral and can conversely also be harnessed for destructive outcomes. For instance, the Nazi party organisation during the Holocaust that caused genocide (Burger 2009), or Enron's Destructive Leadership that committed fraud and cost many people their livelihood (Brown & Mitchell 2010; Dahling, Whitaker & Levy 2009). Finally, *power against* organisations is the use of external actors and structures to effect change, for instance, social movements that attempt to harness wider actors, resources, ideologies and identities. How power might be contested using the different mechanisms of power harnessing *power in, through* and *against* Destructive Leadership is discussed in the next section.

3.2.3.1 Contesting with Mechanisms of Coercion

As a reminder, the mechanisms of power related to *coercion* are: *formal/legitimate position, uncertainty reduction,* and *resources control/possession* (Fleming & Spicer 2014, pp.55-56)

Power In: Beyond *formal position*, followers could derive power from *expertise*, or by being influential in a social group, could give followers the capability to punish and reward or the ability to coerce and provide information and *resources* by organising and controlling what is critical within an organisation (French & Raven 1959; Salancik & Pfeffer 1977). For instance, followers working for an organisation could share a common religion with colleagues and therefore have influence over them in the organisation. Withholding information (*i.e., a resource*) is also a tactic that followers employ within the organisation and through proactive knowledgeable and oppositional behaviour they can control, resist and consent (Collinson 2005). Further, followers, if heard by the leader, can be a source of social information for leaders and thus gain some power within organisations (Oc & Bashshur 2013).

Power Through: Here follower organisations can harness *resources* to shift the power balance within their domains/sectors/industries external to the organisation, this can be done by changing resource dependency through social networks or innovation technology (Hardy & Clegg 2006; Fleming & Spicer 2014).

Power Against: There is scant research on how followers can challenge the purpose of organisations apart from social movement theory, which occurs when actors translate shared interests into collective action organised through pre-existing social structures (*e.g., churches in the civil rights movement, or the use of family values coercively to challenge the legitimacy of alcohol consumers)* (Davis & Thompson 1994; Fleming & Spicer 2014). Social movements depend on resources (*e.g., money, recruits, knowledge etc.*) to coerce—several of these similar resources can be at the disposal of followers (Davis & Thompson 1994; Fleming & Spicer 2014).

3.2.3.2 Contesting with Mechanisms of Manipulation

As discussed earlier, *manipulation* related power mechanisms are: *rule manipulation, shaping anticipated results, network positioning,* and *mobilisation of bias* (Fleming & Spicer 2014, pp.55-56).

Power In: Actors can gain power through developing and sustaining social networks within the organisation through either formally or informally, for instance, by providing information to reduce uncertainty, or through impression management, or discursive behaviour

(stories/narratives/rituals) or agenda setting (Anderson & Brion 2014; Brass et al. 2004; Fleming & Spicer 2014). Therefore, this influential behaviour could be a key tool that followers can access in shifting the power balance within organisations.

Power Through: Organisations themselves attempt to influence external actors or stakeholders by creating structures that enable or constrain actors' behaviour (Bourdieu 1989; Giddens 1984). For instance, the lobbyists that influence parliamentarians through the selective provision of information and informal networking or by incumbents fabricating boundaries to maintain competitive advantage (Fleming & Spicer 2014). While leaders and elites use this type of subtle power, it is also something that followers could harness to affect outcomes.

Power Against: External forces that oppose the agenda of organisations gain power here by changing the debate by galvanising public opinion and shifting values, often through rhetorical discursive practices or information from both civil society groups and NGOs (Böhm, Spicer & Fleming 2008; Fleming & Spicer 2014). For instance, grassroots social networks are important to disseminate information and raise awareness to challenge the status quo and influence the dominant discourse (Böhm, Spicer & Fleming 2008; Fleming & Spicer 2014). For instance, followers galvanised both formal and informal forces through grassroots social movements and information campaigns to challenge Nike's hegemonic corporate culture and behaviour of the extensive use of child-labour and sweatshops, this shifted the power balance and changed consumer behaviour which forced Nike to change their exploitative practices (Carty 2002).

3.2.3.3 Contesting with Mechanisms of Domination

Recollect that mechanisms of power related to *domination* are: *articulating ideology, manufacturing consent, and conformity with institutions* (Fleming & Spicer 2014, pp.55-56)

Power In: Here is very much about the leadership in organisations enforcing their power over the followers where the leaderships' interest is perceived as the organisations interest in a hegemonic manner through processes such as concealed meaning formation, non-verbal expressions of 'common sense', identification, consensus and legitimising rationalities, that produce consent through discourse (Benschop & Doorewaard 1998, p.790). One method the leadership uses to eliminate the power of groups in organisations is to define the need for their services out of existence (*e.g., make a department or function redundant*) (Salancik & Pfeffer 1977).

Independent thinking followers in organisations have power through the gap between official commands and the enactment of them, they can manufacture this consent through the promotion

of concepts like autonomy, self-determination, reputation self-management and trust (Romme 1999). However, leaders remove this gap by creating a sense of inevitability in followers through discursive practices to prevent opposition to change being enforced by the leadership; for instance, in a study an organisation used the cost of non-compliance to gain conformity (Knights & McCabe 1997).

Followers can harness indeterminacy to present alternative arbitrary costs of compliance that challenged the leadership's agenda (ibid.). However, the leadership can depoliticise their agenda and power via the concept of *learning* through which one can secure follower participation and compliance under the guise of learning based teamwork and project activities (Contu & Willmott 2003). Unfortunately, followers subscribe to *incorporation* which is when marginalised followers attempt to get included by over-identifying with the leadership (Fleming & Spicer 2014; Guest & King 2004). It is thus suggested that Conformer Followers demonstrate *incorporation* related behaviour.

Power Through: This pertains to the way organisations might behave as actors to manage, change and control other external stakeholders, competitors or customers (Fleming & Spicer 2014, p.19). Here organisations spend significant resources on public relations, government relations, and advertising, to shape some element of their environment (Barley 2010, p.779). Some of these elements are overt but there are also covert strategies and networks that remain in the background (ibid.), as does an appreciation for social structure and the power it exerts (Giddens 1984). Organisations often through various forms of power including discursive methods justify economic forms of rationality other forms of ethical reasoning detrimental to society and has been termed as 'Necrocapitalism' (Banerjee 2008). However, NGOs, environmental, and public interest groups can adopt alternative strategies and work together against destructive corporate forces to influence lawmakers and the courts (Barley 2010). This could be a viable approach for followers to shift the power balance.

Power Against: To use domination against an organisation, other stakeholders often ideologically ensnare that organisation within its own value system thus making it obsolete or disadvantageous or both (Fleming & Spicer 2014). Using a value system approach social justice advocates eradicated child labour in soccer ball manufacturing by not targeting the collective agency of entrepreneurs, but by targeting the source of their hegemonic power which was that global trade and entrepreneurship represented progress, but child labour did not represent progress, thus ensnaring those organisations with their own ideology (Khan, Munir & Willmott 2007). Another mechanism is by articulating a new ideology, for instance, in the UK the *slow food movement* challenged the fast

food one, by first showing the alternative ways to achieve both speed and convenience that are more transparent and environmentally sustainable; and second by evoking health and thus framing the fast food movement as being unhealthy (Van Bommel & Spicer 2011). These social movements deliberately created hegemonic struggles, thus developed into social movement strategies by articulating alternative discourses and eventually forged hegemonic links among a range of disparate actors—the movement went beyond gastronomes, the social justice advocates and environmentalists and gain traction with the wider public (ibid.). A mechanism of *power against* is to create new forms of organisations by also harnessing ideology, power and agency, for instance, by tapping into consumer values of choice and expediency and harnessing technology Internet streaming services disrupted the music industry (Hensmans 2003). This disruption was achieved by favourably combining available discursive elements in discursive coalitions with other participants (ibid.). In these examples *discourse* helped to shift the power balance.

3.2.3.4 Contesting with Mechanisms of Subjectification

This section will explore how followers can use the *power mechanisms of subjectification* with *power in, through and against* organisations. As a reminder the mechanisms of power related to *subjectification* are: *disciplinary regimes; construction of identities; articulation of discourse; and governmentality* (Fleming & Spicer 2014, pp.55-56)

Power In: Most research on *subjectification's* p*ower in* has focused on its achievement and resistance (Fleming & Spicer 2014), for this project we are focusing on the latter. While *subjectification* can often appear to be incontestable, it can get challenged, for instance, in a study, employees regulated their identity by drawing up their sense of self from outside of the organisation to resist *subjectification* (Alvesson & Willmott 2002). *Followers can resist subjectification* through counter-discourse. In a study of constables in the UK, discourse was used to justify an individual's organisational experiences through broader societal discursive fields to resist diversity initiatives in the police force (Dick & Cassell 2002). Both the dominant and subordinate groups (men and women) saw sexual innuendo in the workplace as reasonably acceptable as it was commonplace in society and thus justified resisting stricter policies on sexual harassment (ibid.).

Another study moved beyond behaviours and examined resistance through meanings and subjectivities that individual derive their self-identity from which can help them resist or contribute to discourse (Thomas & Davies 2005). We must go beyond followers versus leaders but that resistance—or compliance—can be multi-directional and this can also account for Colluder and

Conformer Follower behaviours where they often share a similar worldview as the Destructive Leader. *Upward feedback* irrespective of the positivity or negativity of the message can also influence leaders as it creates a discrepancy between the leader's self-identity and can raise their self-awareness (Ashford & Cummings 1983). This can lead to leaders adjusting their behaviour toward their followers' feedback (Atwater, Roush & Fischthal 1995; Hegarty 1974).

Power Through: Here, by exercising autonomy an external yet central organisation or group is used to the change the status quo by reconstitution of the social identities of actors within another particular group or organisation through discursive construction, active persuasion or politicking (Hardy & Clegg 2006; Fleming & Spicer 2014). Through looking at forced marriage in the UK, a study showed how a woman overcame a power imbalance where a female was an *order taker* within a man's world and the community institutionalised her identity through emotive rituals (Goss et al. 2011). The woman resisted and gained a new self-identity from rituals and discourse external to her family and community (ibid.). As a result, of both internal and external struggles, she started an institution to break the negative dominant discourse of forced marriage, by creating alternative subjectification through continual counter-discourse and rituals aimed to emancipate oppressed women and give both them and men from their community opportunities for alternative more liberal self-identities (ibid.).

Power Against: This form of power has received little attention, here power seeks to reshape actors in a manner that changes their self-identity (Fleming & Spicer 2014). This might be because actors seeking to resist or oppose have minimal access to the flows of identity or because countering *subjectification* requires institutional authority to get traction (ibid.). As discussed previously in the *subjectification* mechanism subsection, *over-identification* with the dominant discourse was a tactic used by followers against organisations. In a recent study, employees turned the discursive ideal of responsibility, self-regulation and autonomy against a firm to take more power and control by informing management that if leaders were to be authentic, they would have to increase follower input into management decisions and therefore the followers gained more power (McCabe 2009). Thus, institutions rarely are fully formed and can be an instrument of followers rather than only a tool of those who seek to exercise power (ibid.).

However, those in power often counter such challenges by subscribing to the discourse that followers' use of power is dysfunctional and purely targeting managerial initiatives for self-interest (Hardy & Clegg 2006). Tacitly, resistance can also take many forms, be unplanned and include irony, fiddles, cynicism, parody and whingeing (ibid.). The effectiveness of these tacit resistance methods is unclear, while strikes and classical identity forms of resistance are on the decline, more

radical insurrectionary forms like terrorism are on the increase (ibid.).

Besides the above, followers have several sources of power: the power of purpose that comes from striving to the common good; the power of a personal history of successes and unique contributions; the power of faith in self; the power to speak the truth to leadership; the power to set standards for others; the power to respond, not react; the power to follow or not follow (Chaleff 2009, p.18). The next section focuses on the softer dimension of influencing in more detail.

3.2.4 Followers Influencing Leaders

There is an indistinct line between power and influence, for instance, the use of information (*a resource*) and *network position* are both forms of power and influence, also as previously discussed under *subjectification,* followers can influence leaders by *upward feedback* towards the followers' feedback (Atwater, Roush & Fischthal 1995; Hegarty 1974). However, if there is a distinction, it is that influence encompasses behaviours intended to gain compliance (even tacitly) with a request (Cialdini & Goldstein 2004), while power is a source of potential influence that others may or may not be fulfil through compliance (Anderson & Brion 2014). Put another way, power is different as when individuals do not comply, others force them to act. So, this section will briefly discuss some methods and tactics used by followers to influence leaders.

When shaping issues, followers try to influence leaders by presenting themselves in a good light, using supporting data, forming coalitions, and trying rational tactics (Kipnis et al. 1984). Followers perceive this to be more effective because they are often in-the-trenches and therefore may have better access to the resource of information than the leaders (Yukl & Tracey 1992). Followers also influence leaders through interpersonal relationships (Oc & Bashur 2013). Followers cultivate interpersonal relationships by projecting a positive self-image (*e.g., being nice and polite*), or through leader-centric impression management (*e.g., doing personal favours for the leader*), or follower performance (Wayne & Ferris 1990; Wayne & Liden 1995). Besides doing favours, other follower ingratiation tactics like flattery also influenced leader reward allocation as there is a perception of increase relationship quality between both parties (Dulebohn et al. 2005). This quality can simulate *in-group* conditions between leaders and followers and produce a positive emotional reaction in the leader as they feel respected or liked by a follower (Ellemers, Doosje & Spears 2004). Ingratiation tactics also fulfil the leader's need to maintain a favourable self-concept (Cialdini & Goldstein 2004).

The above influencing actions are a part of social influence theory as exemplified by one of the most frequently referred to and applied theories in social psychology (*i.e., Social Impact Theory*) (Latané 1981; 1996; Latané & L'Herrou 1996; Latané & Wolf 1981; Nowak, Szamrej & Latané 1990; Seltzer, Johnson & Amira 2013). *Social Impact Theory* is important in influencing actors and will be explore next to see how followers can influence leaders.

3.2.4.1 Social Impact Theory (SIT)

In his seminal theory, Latané defined *Social Impact* as, "Changes in physiological states and subjective feelings, motives and emotions, cognitions and beliefs, values and behaviour, that occur in an individual, human or animal, as a result of the real, implied, or imagined presence or actions of other individuals" (Latané 1981, p.343).

SIT has three determinants of influence (*i.e., strength, immediacy and the number of other people*) affecting an individual (Latané 1981; Latané & L'Herrou 1996, p.1219)—see Figure 3.3 below. The impact of the *number of people* on influence has been discussed in *Social Influence Model* (Tanford & Penrod 1984) or *Self-Attention Perspective* (Mullen 1983). Unlike those theories, SIT also has *strength* and *immediacy* as determinants of influence. *Strength* is constituted by age, historical relationship with, future power over the target or status (Latané, 1981). *Immediacy* is the proximity in either space or time and lack of intervening barriers or filters (ibid.). Since SIT is a function of the three determinants the larger *number of people* the more the influence (Milgram, Bickman & Berkowitz 1969). The greater *strength* (or status) of the group (Jackson & Latané 1981) and the higher the *immediacy* (Mullen 1985) the more influence the target (*i.e., the leader*) will experience, however, the *number of people* has the largest actual influence (ibid.). This could apply to standing up to Destructive Leaders in several ways, for instance, proximate (*i.e., immediacy*) followers need to resist effectively (Chaleff 2009), and while lower status (*i.e., strength*) actors have lesser power (Fleming & Spicer 2014), most followers initially fall into that group, so they will need large numbers to increase their influence and shift the power balance. The way followers do that is still a question that we need to answer.
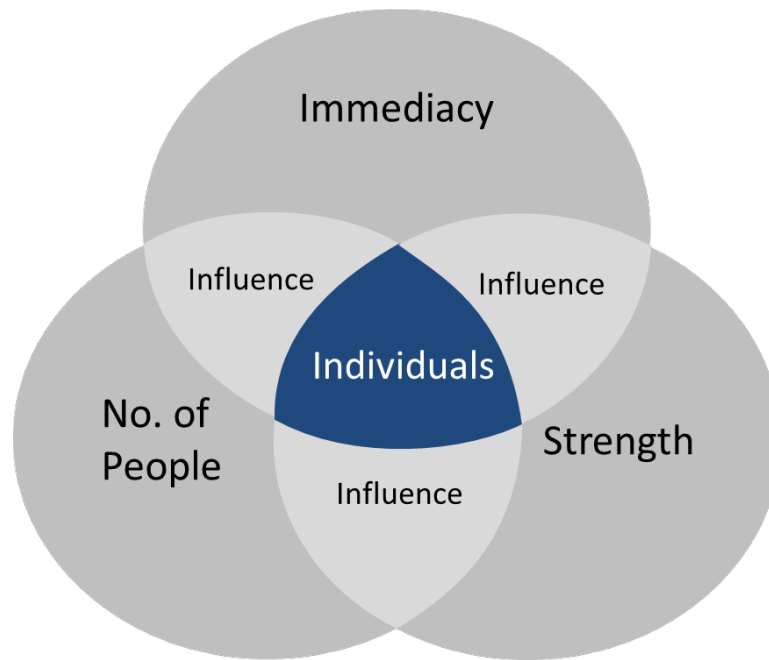
Figure 3.3: The Power of a Social Settings to Shape Individuals
(Gerard, Wilhelmy & Conolley 1968; Latané 1981; Jackson & Latané 1981)

There are two key shortcomings of SIT, first, that there are reciprocal influences where an individual can shape and be shaped by their social context in an ongoing, dynamic relationship and second, that a social context can be irregular regarding the direction of influence it exerts (Oc & Bashshur 2013). Later iterations of SIT factored in minority and majority groups (Latané, 1996; Latané & L'Herrou 1996)—see Figure 3.4 below. Scholars have labelled this as *Dynamic Social Impact Theory* (Nowak, Szamrej & Latané 1990). As discussed earlier, leadership is a social exchange process where leaders interact with others and the context, and thus can get socially influenced as with the Toxic Triangle (Kelley 2008; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Uhl-Bien 2006). Further, groups invest the most prototypical individual as the leader (Hogg 2001; Pierro et al. 2005). So, DSIT can assist us to look at how followers can influence leaders as influence is at the core of most leadership theories (Avolio, Walumbwa & Weber 2009; Cole, Bedeian & Bruch 2011; Huang 2012; Uhl-Bien, Marion & McKelvey 2007). DSIT can be linked to elements of power (Oc & Bashshur 2013), where *strength* and *immediacy* relate to network position (Ammeter et al. 2002; Anderson & Brion 2014) and power distance (Hiller, Day & Vance 2006; Hofstede 1984; van Knippenberg & Sitkin 2013). DSIT shows that followers both individually (depending on their strength) and in groups can influence a leader (Latané 1996; Latané & L'Herrou 1996; Nowak, Szamrej & Latané 1990; Oc & Bashshur 2013).
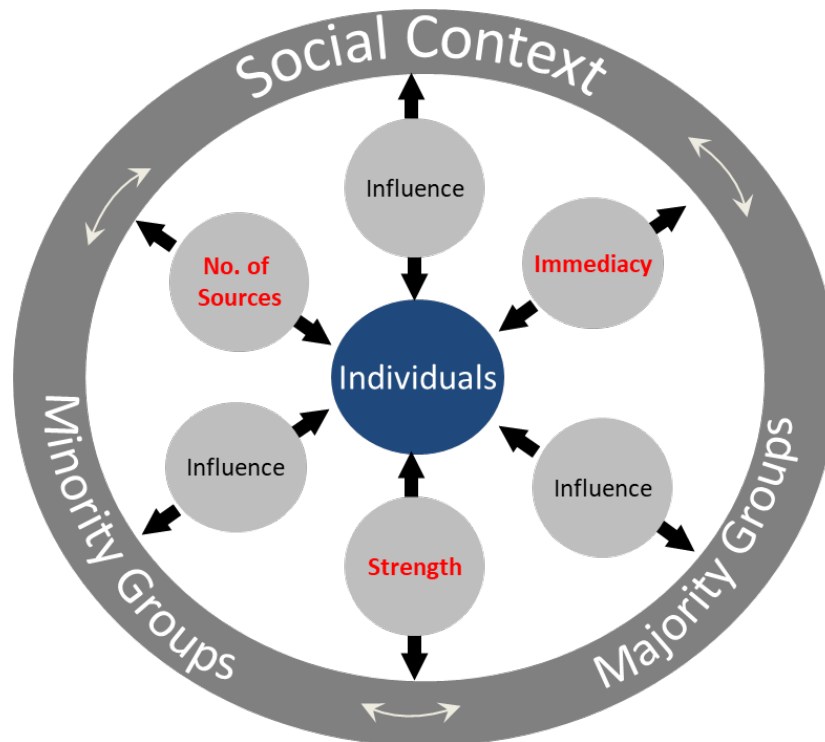
Figure 3.4: Dynamic Social Impact Theory (DSIT)
(Latané 1996; Latané & L'Herrou 1996; Nowak, Szamrej & Latané 1990)

Social situations and context are critical in the development of attitudes, preferences, and behaviour, for instance, ideologically heterogeneous contexts naturally restrain both participation and strong partisanship as a means of conflict avoidance (Seltzer, Johnson & Amira 2013, p.351). This lends itself well to the Toxic Triangle and the importance of followers in either contributing to the homogeneity or heterogeneity of the influential social context. To further emphasise the important role that followers play, DSIT regards culture as a continuing human creation to which everyone contributes and is generated from the bottom (Latané 1996, p.24). Thus, followers can influence and be influenced which is a critical starting point to bring awareness to the fact that everyone can have agency to change structures, *Structuration Theory captures this tension* and is discussed below.

3.3 Structuration Theory

To shift the power balance Courageous Followers will have to use their agency to change the status quo of the existing systems and structures. A seminal sociological theory that explores the interplay between structure and agency is Gidden's Structuration Theory.

3.3.1 The Duality of Structure and Agency

Structuration theory is a meta-theory that acknowledges both *structure* and *agency* in defining social life (Edwards 2016; Giddens 1984; Staber & Sydow 2002). Put another way, social life as described by Structuration theory is the relationship between individuals and society (Jones & Karsten 2008; Wheeler-Brooks 2009). Therefore, Giddens suggested that the duality of both *structure* and *agency constitute society*—the former two are therefore mutually constitutive (Giddens 1984). Recurring social activities that reinforce the existing *structure* or activities which change the structure constitute social systems, however, all those actions can influence or change other aspects of a system in both known and unknown ways and with intended and unintended consequences. Giddens' double hermeneutic suggests that the causal conditions (*i.e., structures*) which limit or enable activity can exist in the absence of an appropriate understanding or knowledge of them (Manicas 1981, p.524). Structuration theory endeavoured to avoid an unbalanced or dualistic treatment of action versus structure, by explaining them as a mutually constitutive duality—this is echoed by Giddens (1985) while defending his theory. The unique contributions of Giddens (and Bourdieu) is an attempt to combine both the subjectivist and objectivist schools of thought (Layder 2014). Therefore, ontologically, it aligns with itself with *critical realism*. Critical realism cases itself on ontological realism and epistemological relativism, which "asserts that all beliefs are socially produced, so that all knowledge is transient, and neither truth-values nor criteria of rationality exist outside historical time" (Bhaskar 2014, p.62).

Studies cannot adequately cover every aspect of the duality of structure and agency, as it is too vast, so the focus must be on identifying a broader institutionalised and system-structural frame (Edwards 2016). Therefore, this project focuses on Courageous Followership, Power and the three elements of the Toxic Triangle. Additionally, Giddens also explored episodic change as a proxy to understand broader social change over space and time (ibid.). As discussed later, this episodic element is factored into this project, where each case study is divided into episodes, to gain an understanding of wider power shifts. Other projects found Structuration theory valuable when examining shifts in power and political behaviour (Jones & Karsten 2008; Levina & Orlikowski 2009). Thus, Structuration theory is a good theoretical lens to discuss the findings. In addition, social interactions strongly depend on context across both time and space (Giddens 1984; Edwards 2016). This project will also examine the shifting of the power balance across time.

3.3.2 The Dimensions of Structuration Theory

Giddens' notion of duality of structure recursively links the two dimensions of *structures* and

interactions—see Figure 3.5 below. *Structures* have three dimensions—*signification (meaning), domination (control), and legitimation (morality)*; three corresponding dimensions of *modalities (i.e., interpretive schemes, facilities, and norms)*, which connect to the corresponding dimensions of *interactions (i.e., communication, power, and sanctions)* (Giddens 1984; Staber & Sydow 2002).

Structures	**Signification (meaning)**	⇔	**Domination (control)**	⇔	**Legitimation (morality)**
The rules and resources that facilitate and restrict action	This is how we do it here (rules) ⇕		Who is in charge here (resources) ⇕		This is how we should do it here (rules) ⇕
Modalities	**Interpretative Schemes**		**Facilities**		**Norms**
Are drawn on to reproduce systems of interaction while simultaneously reconstitute their structure	Are used to make sense of behaviors and events through communication ⇕		Are used to mobilize available resources, thus translating power into domination ⇕		Are used to sanction behaviours and events, they confer legitimacy ⇕
Interactions	**Communication**	⇔	**Power**	⇔	**Sanction**
The processes in which the actor draws on structures of signification, domination, and legitimation					

Figure 3.5: Dimensions of Structuration Theory

(Adapted from Giddens (1984, p.29); Staber & Sydow (2002))

Structure is defined as the "rules and resources, or sets of transformational relations, organized as properties of social systems" (Giddens 1984, p.25). Put differently, Giddens views *structure* as the *rules* and *resources* that facilitate and inhibit action. As shown in Figure 3.5 above *rules* refer to the *signification* and *legitimation,* while *resources* reflect *domination* and the distribution of power in the scheme of things. He distinguishes between allocative (*i.e., control over material resources*) and authoritative (*i.e., control over persons*) resources (Staber & Sydow 2002, p.412). Hence Giddens (1984) views *resources* as structured properties of social systems, which knowledgeable agents harness and replicate through various interactions. Giddens' framework postulates that actors make sense of behaviours and events *(i.e., interpretative schemes)* through *communication*, hence they can replicate the rules of *signification*, while they use *facilities* to mobilise *resources*, hence they translate power into *domination* (Staber & Sydow 2002). Actors use *norms* to *sanction* behaviours and events, hence conferring *legitimacy* to the existing order (ibid. p.412). This is similar to Foucault's thinking on power as described earlier being relational and flowing between actors. In this way, "the structural properties of social systems are both medium and outcome of the practices they recursively organize" (Giddens 1984, p.25).

Sociologists criticise Giddens for putting too much focus on the replication of processes (Staber

& Sydow 2002), that said others observe that Giddens' view of actors' agency is very deterministic (Edwards 2016; Whittington 1992). Giddens (1984) argues that except in situations where individuals are intoxicated or strong-armed by others, they always have agency and can use that as a conduit to power. Further, Giddens discusses the *knowledgeable agent* which Wheeler-Brooks (2009) observes as the linchpin in structuration theory. Giddens (1984, pp.374-375) discusses that the *knowledgeable agent* can access three types of knowledge: *practical (i.e., what actors know or believe about social conditions or the causal reasons for their own actions but can't articulate)*, *discursive (i.e., the ability of actors to articulate the social conditions or the causal reasons for their own actions)* and *mutual (i.e., the knowledge of conventions and social activities)*. The "social actor is an agent because she always has the capacity to act, and she is knowledgeable because she has a tremendous amount of social information in practical, discursive, and mutual forms" (Wheeler-Brooks 2009, p.130). Therefore, the *knowledgeable agent* because of just existing in society can and does use resources as the medium through which power is utilised as a normal element in social reproduction (Chang 2014). So, it stands to reason that nearly all followers by virtue of being members of society are *knowledgeable agents* and can use their agency to replicate or change structure.

That power exists presumes structures of *domination* where power flows towards processes of social reproduction (Giddens 1984, p.257). Power is not an obstacle to freedom or emancipation, it is their very medium; therefore, we must also understand its constraining factors (Foucault 1982). I argue that only when *knowledgeable agents* understanding that power is the medium can they work to change power balances. Further, the potential for change is deeply rooted either in *structural conflicts* of various types or in events and relationships that enhance the knowledgeability and reflexivity of actors (Staber & Sydow 2002). The next section examines the main ways in which *structure* and *agency* can mutually constitute each other and the how followers might use *structural conflicts* to change structure.

3.3.3 Agency Through Internal Ambiguity and Structural Diversity

Structural conflicts are important, as the ability to exercise one's agency is through the exploitation of tensions between divergent structures (Whittington 1992). These tensions can lead to two principal sources of agency:

1. **Internal ambiguity and plurality:** the first source of agency is from the internal ambiguity and plurality of the rules governing the reproduction of specific sets of social structures (ibid.).

2. **Structural diversity:** the second source of agency is from external contradictions between a system's core structural properties and any foreign rules and resources that actors can draw on from their external and numerous memberships or with other alternative systems of activity i.e. structural diversity (ibid. p.704). For example, an actor can gain power within a corporate organisation by subscribing to *rules* or *resources* from membership to external structures like a union, religious organisation or a social movement as seen in Figure 3.6 below.
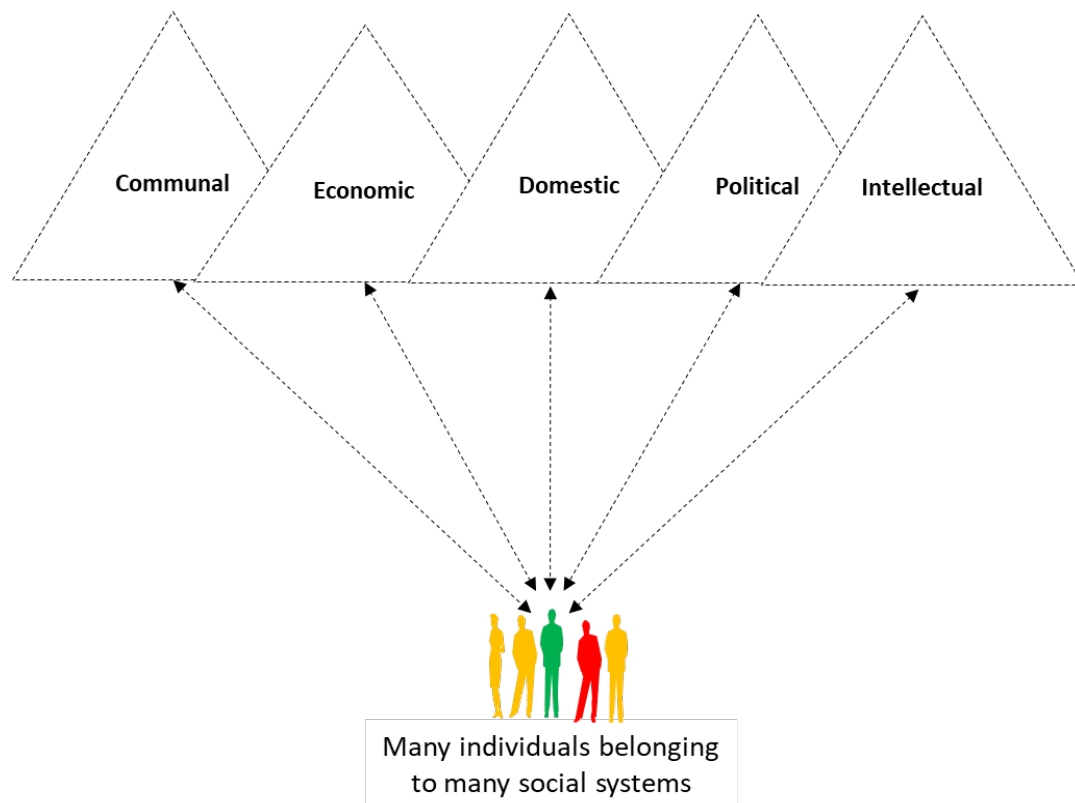
Figure 3.6: Structural diversity where many individuals subscribe to different social structures

The first source occurs when faced with complex systems, where actors must exercise discretion in interpreting their immediate roles (Whittington 1992, p.704). However, the second source is more powerful as it moves away from untangling ambiguous rules towards possibly defying the logic of the system altogether (ibid.). Giddens (1984) originally outlined that within a society, numerous other systems of activities can contradict any system and thus increase the rate of change.

Next, it is crucial to explore how the intersectionality of these structures can work together. Structuration theory can provide more than a unifying language, but by examining the intersection and contradiction we can reconcile social *structure* with *agency* (Whittington 1992). For example, as outlined in Table 3.2 below when exploring the first source of agency (*i.e., internal ambiguity and*

plurality) with the *Economic Activity System* we can see that there can be complex ambiguities and pluralities between how to balance *capital* and *labour* with conflicting rules of *profit-maximisation* versus *staff retention* or *ethics*. The plurality of conflicting rules of conduct, all potentially legitimate and plausible, but sometimes with no unambiguous order of precedence confront actors each within a particular system (ibid.).

Table 3.2: Social systems and the structural bases for action[3]

(Adapted from Whittington (1992, p.704))

Structural System	Communal	Economic	Domestic	Political	Intellectual
Dominant Structures	• Ethnic • Religious	• Capitalist	• Familial	• State	• Professional • Academic
Basic Resources	• Networks	• Capital Ownership	• Patriarchal Authority	• Legitimate Coercion	• Expertise • Legitimacy
Basic Rules/Norms	• Solidarity	• Profit-Maximisation	• Paternalism	• Patriotism	• Professional Codes
Organisations/Facilities	• Clubs • Churches	• Firms	• Households	• Executive • Legislative • Judicial	• Professional Bodies • Universities

With the second source of agency (*i.e., structural diversity*) it is easy to see that actors are individuals that are members of society and function within diverse systems and therefore can harness or be constrained by several rules and resources as shown in Figure 3.6 above. For instance, an individual from Country A, living in Country B can draw on their patriotism (*i.e., a rule)* for Country A when standing up Destructive Leadership that might be adversely impacting Country A. Therefore, followers' agency should be stronger if they realise that they can draw on a range of structural *rules* or *resources* to perform empowered and inspired actions while connecting with others. Thus, Table 3.2 above serves as an actionable framework outlining five types of social systems with some structural rule and resources for each. This allows us to have a common framework to explore the diversity of influences in different social systems and this thesis uses during the analysis of the case studies.

As discussed above, people are simultaneously a part of many social systems or structures (*e.g., a person can work for one organisation, while simultaneously being a member of a religious group, a community group, ethnic group, and political party*). Thus, a variety of fields (*e.g., economic, intellectual, artistic, academic,*

---

[3] From the findings of this thesis, this table has been augmented in Chapter 8 based on the resources, rules and facilities harnessed by Courageous Followers

bureaucratic, etc.) constitute social space, which can be both as instruments and stakes of struggle in the different fields (Bourdieu 2018, p.109). Using this framework, this project will explore to see if a Courageous Follower can draw on alternative social structures to galvanise the Conformer Follower—See Figure 3.7 below. This thesis will also explore if this can then influence the destructive social system's structures to shift the power balance against the Destructive Leadership. The alternative social structures can be seen as 'non-conducive situational factors' for the destructive social system.
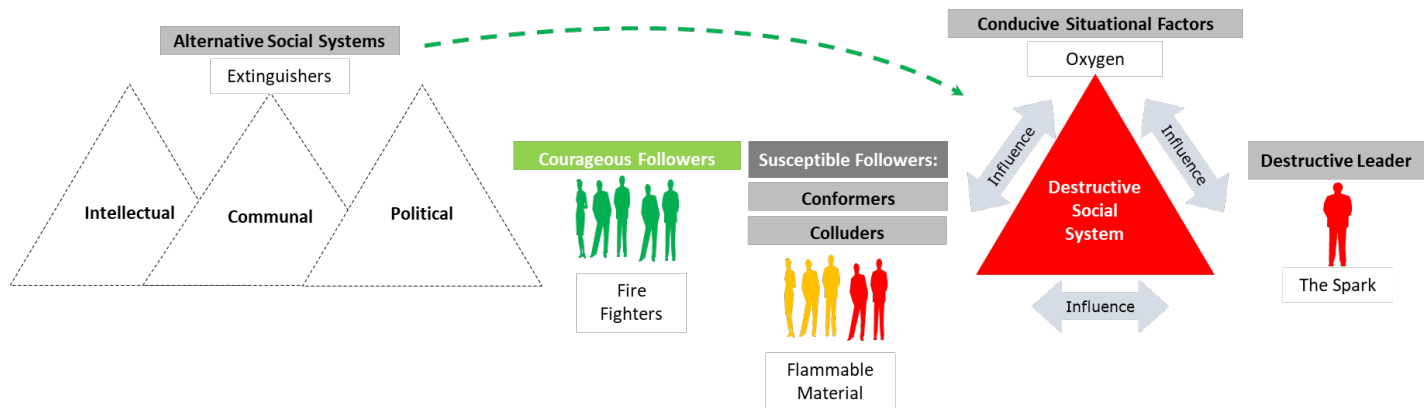
Figure 3.7: Alternative social structures influencing the Toxic Triangle

(Augmented Toxic Triangle–Adapted from Padilla, Hogan and Kaiser (2007))

Finally, actors can selectively draw on *rules* from different *structures* to suit their purposes while leaving others dormant—both followers or Destructive Leaders could enact this to either change or maintain the power balance. This selective behaviour addresses Mouzelis' (1989) criticism of actors not having the necessary distance for strategic manipulation, as followers by drawing on different structures can bring perspective and change the flow of power. Thus, Structuration theory provides a theoretical framework for comprehending follower agency in attempting to change the power balance against Destructive Leaders. This thesis will examine change within this project through the use (or lack thereof) of both *structural diversity*, and *internal ambiguity and plurality*.

3.4 Towards a Conceptual Framework to Realign Power

A theoretical framework is the foundation of knowledge creation and serves as the structure, rationale, problem statement, purpose, significance, and the research questions of a study (Grant & Osanloo 2014, p.12). The preceding literature review on leadership, followership and power has provided the theoretical framework for this study's conceptual framework. The conceptual

framework augments the Toxic Triangle of Destructive Leadership (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016) with the concept of Courageous Followership (Chaleff 2008; 2009; 2015; Gentile 2010; Lipman-Blumen 2005a; 2005b; 2008) to explore how to reduce destructive outcomes. The conceptual framework postulates a spectrum of outcomes depending on the power balance between the Destructive Leadership and the different follower types (*i.e., Courageous and Conformer Followers*), with a view to understanding *how the power balance can be changed* and not the intermediate outcomes. Finally, the next subsections connect the conceptual framework to the primary and secondary research questions of this thesis.

3.4.1 Shifting the Balance of Power

As discussed earlier, several authors including Padilla and Thoroughgood and colleagues asserted that there needs to be a holistic framework of leadership that combines the leader, the follower, and the situation as outlined in the Toxic Triangle framework. Leaders, along with the aforementioned factors and actors, contribute to outcomes distributed along a destructive–constructive continuum (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). Groups and societies marked by genocide travel along a 'psychological continuum of destruction' (Staub 1993, p.328). In this thesis, to visualise the destructive-constructive continuum, the conceptual framework (see Figure 3.8 below) postulates eight states that can occur depending on the relative positivity of the outcomes and power of the actors.
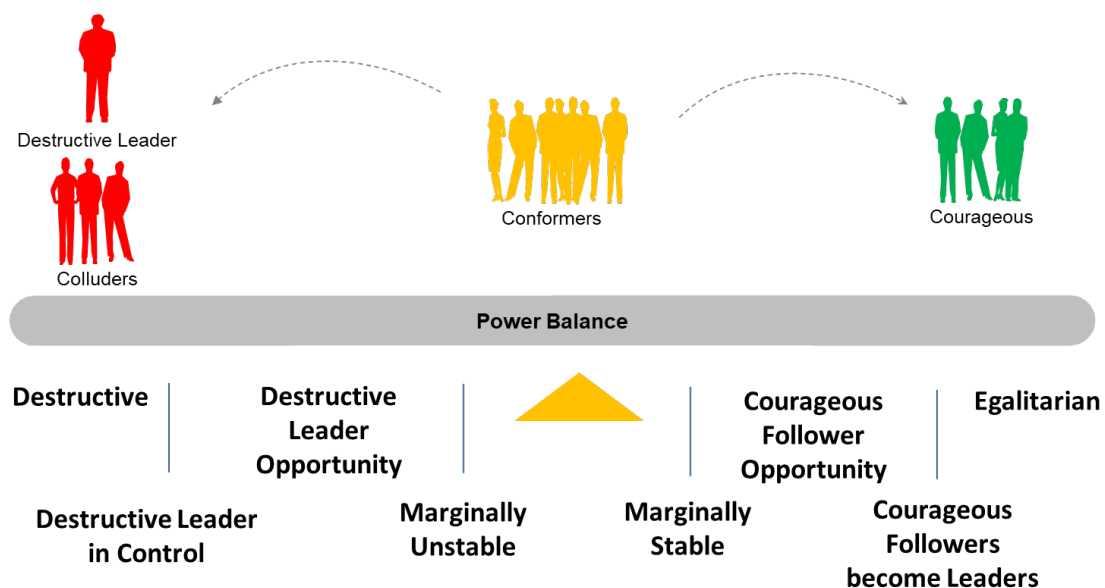
Figure 3.8: Destructive-Constructive Continuum of Outcomes

While the states represent the relative power balance between the leaders and followers, this thesis focuses on the Courageous Followers' discursive actions to shift the power balance away from the destructive leaders and not the states themselves. Hence, shifting of the power balance illustrated in Figure 3.9 and Figure 3.10 below, is the focus of this thesis. The extant literature shows that there are groups of Susceptible Followers that Destructive Leaders can influence under certain situations (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). As per the research questions one of the key elements that this thesis is looking to identify if and how Courageous Followers can influence one type of Susceptible Follower—the Conformer Followers. As illustrated in Figure 3.8 above, this thesis postulates that Conformer Followers maintain the balance of power and thus affect can affect outcomes.

The Toxic Triangle states that when Conformer Followers align with the Destructive Leader and their Colluder Followers (see Figure 3.9 below), they produce destructive outcomes (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016).
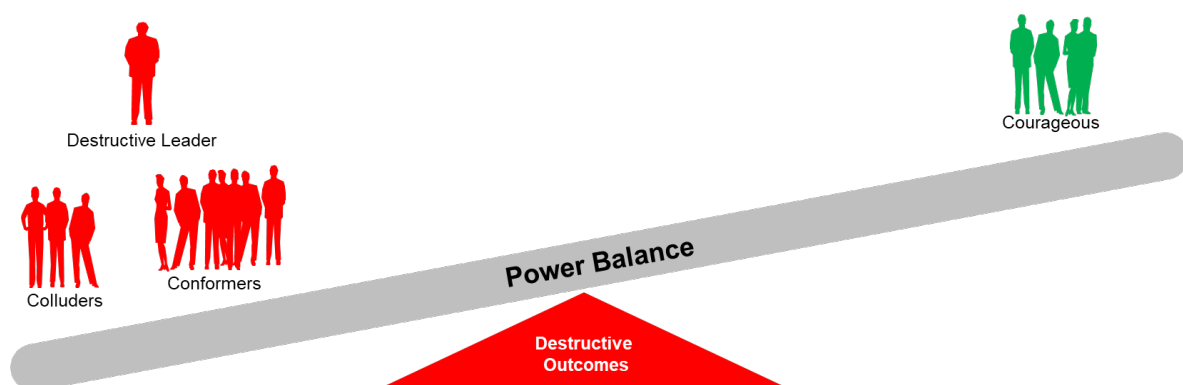
Figure 3.9: Courageous Followers outnumbered produced Destructive Outcomes

To move towards an *egalitarian* state from a *destructive* state, this thesis examines if and how the shift in the power balance can potentially occur from the Destructive Leaders (and their Colluder Followers) to Courageous Followers. The thesis will explore if the Courageous Followers can get the Conformer Followers to align with them. The secondary research questions explore if over time there is a movement in Conformer Followers caused by discursive actions of Courageous Followers which leads to a change in the power balance and an increase in the number of Courageous Followers as illustrated in Figure 3.10 below.
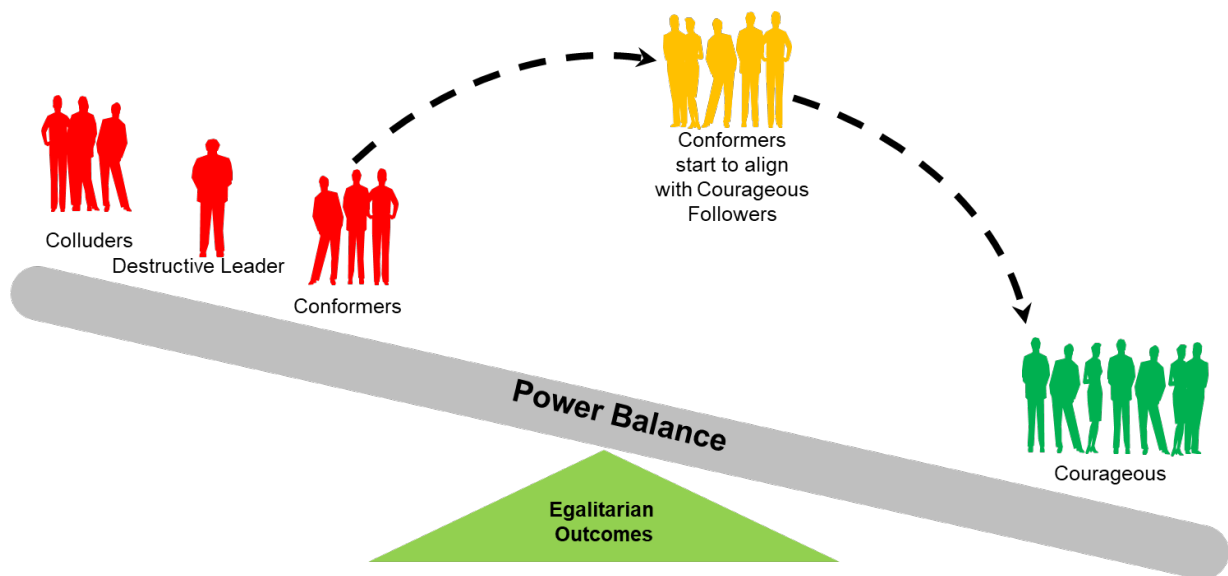
Figure 3.10: Courageous Followers getting Conformers to reduce Destructive Outcomes

3.4.2 Research Questions Revisited

This section revisits the research questions briefly outlined in the first chapter, with the context of the literature review above. The Toxic Triangle model suggests that destructive outcomes are a confluence of different types of Susceptible Followers, the Destructive Leader and Conducive Environmental factors (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016).

Several scholars have suggested that Conformers Followers can change for the worse when influenced by Destructive Leaders and their Colluder Followers (Hogan & Kaiser 2005; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Conversely, this thesis explores if Conformer Followers can change for the better when inspired by an alternative vision presented by Courageous Followers under the conditions prevalent in a Toxic Triangle. Scholars do not seem to have examined Conformer Followers potential susceptibility to an alternative noble vision of Courageous Followers—noble visions and grand illusions separates destructive and constructive leaders (Lipman-Blumen 2008). Further, there is a power gap between leaders and followers that Destructive Leaders and their Colluder Followers actively cultivate (Bligh 2011; Hogan & Kaiser 2005; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Malakyan 2014). This project is looking to examine if the behaviours of Courageous Followers can reduce destructive outcomes, so the primary research question is:

> **Research Question:** *How do Followers stand up to Destructive Leadership?*

Since shifting the power balance is central to the research question, the mechanics through which we can observe power are important, several authors suggested that *power* and *discourse* are indivisible and mutually constitutive (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006; Foucault 1980; Hardy & Phillips 2004; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy 2004). Explained another way, by harnessing *discourse* individuals can make or break rules and control resources to end up being on the positive end of power (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006; Foucault 1980; Hardy & Phillips 2004; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy 2004). To shift the flow of power against Destructive Leadership, this project will examine the potential impact of Courageous Followers' discursive actions on Conformer Followers. This has led to the development of the following secondary research questions that combine to address the primary research question:

> **Secondary Research Question 1:** *How, if at all, do Courageous Followers influence Conformer Followers?*
>
> **Secondary Research Question 2:** *How, if at all, do Courageous and Conformer Followers change the power balance and collapse the Toxic Triangle?*

3.5 Conclusion

This chapter explored literature that showed that *power* and *influence* are neutral in nature as they do not belong to either leaders or followers but flow between them. Power flows towards those favoured by structures and systems, and leaders tend to have more access to sources of power than followers. However, followers who are not in positions of power do also have access to many significant sources of power. The mechanisms of power that the followers can use are vast, and this PhD will explore how followers can harness those mechanisms of power *in, through* and *against* Destructive Leadership.

This chapter also discussed *Social Impact Theory*. As per the theory, followers in numbers, who are close to leaders or enjoy strength, can influence leaders. Next, *Structuration Theory* through its tension between *agency* and *structure* discussed how followers could use *structural conflicts* to exploit the tensions between divergent rules through *structural diversity or ambiguity* as they stand up to Destructive Leaders. Collectively, these theories provide lenses for this PhD to examine how followers could change the power balance against Destructive Leadership within a Toxic Triangle.

It would appear that Conformer Followers play a critical role in relation to changing the power balance against Destructive Leadership. This chapter also highlighted the fact that scholars regard *power* and *discourse* as being indivisible and mutually constitutive (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips

2006). Therefore, using discursive actions as a proxy for power enabled the construction the primary and secondary research questions and influenced the selection of the methodology outlined in the next chapter.

Chapter 4 – Research Approach and Methodology

4.1 Overview

The previous chapter reviewed bodies of literature that can potentially help generate insights on *how followers stand up to Destructive Leadership*. This chapter argues that the *Critical Realism* research paradigm would be the most appropriate to study the phenomenon in question. After discussing the paradigm, the chapter discusses sampling and the data collection process. Thereafter, the choice of *critical discourse analysis* (CDA) as a research methodology, is justified. Recognising that CDA as a method has been operationalised in different ways, the chapter also briefly reviews CDA as a methodology and explains how it is used in this thesis. Finally, the chapter discusses the research design and the analytical framework that was created through abductive reasoning.

4.2 Critical and Historical Realism Research Paradigm

This section provides an explanation and justification of the research paradigm with the consequent methodology and empirical material that I harness to address the research questions discussed previously. In the western world, assumptions and methods divide both researchers and analysts, and there is a close-mindedness that prevents us from developing comprehensive theoretical, conceptual, and methodological analyses in the field of leadership (Burns 2012, p.127). These differences in approaches are because of differences in paradigms (Bryman 2016; Gringeri, Barusch & Cambron 2013). Clusters of beliefs, assumptions and values compose our paradigms, guide our work and therefore represents what and how we should study (Bryman 2016; Gringeri, Barusch & Cambron 2013). In this project, we are looking to empower people to change certain destructive societal systems, therefore we subscribe to the *transformative* or *emancipatory* paradigm, which critical, post-colonial discourses and neo-Marxist theories shape (Chilisa & Kawulich 2012).

The transformative element of social activity along with ontological realism can entail epistemic relativity, which is the basis of *critical realism* (Bhaskar 1998b). Bhaskar asserted that *critical realism* can 'combine and reconcile *ontological realism*, *epistemological relativism* and *judgemental rationality*' (Bhaskar 1998a, p.xi). Put another way, *critical realism* "asserts that all beliefs are socially produced, so that all knowledge is transient, and neither truth-values nor criteria of rationality exist outside

historical time" (Bhaskar 2014, p.62). The concept of time is an important as culture, politics, the economy, ethnicity, religion and gender can shape multiple realities (Chilisa & Kawulich 2012). These multiple realities make up our social systems both in the present and past (ibid.).

When looking at the past *critical realism* can take the shape of *historical realism*, which is that "it is reasonable to believe some historical statements correctly describe events which have actually occurred in the past, even though these cannot now be observed" (McCullagh 1980, p.421). Most historians and people accept this doctrine, where the historical realist does not rely on perceptions alone but also possible causes of distortion in the environment in deciding what really existed, much like a physicist explaining the objects illusory to our basic senses such as subatomic particles because they have shown that they provide the best scientific explanation presently available (ibid.). Bourdieu (1989, p.22) concluded that "Science need not choose between relativism and absolutism: the truth of the social world is at stake in the struggles between agents who are unequally equipped to reach an absolute".

Since this PhD project examines the struggles between agents that seek to shift the balance of power over time, the blend of *realism* and *relativism* offered by *historical realism* is a congruent paradigm. In addition, the paradigm is congruent with empirical material examined in this project as I use historical leadership cases with power inequalities and changes between agents over 20-30-year time period. In this way, the project conducts a comprehensive theoretical, conceptual, and methodological analyses within the leadership and followership domains.

4.3 A Form of "Longitudinal" Study

Destructive Leadership involves an extended time frame and is not a static occurrence that can be captured via a cross-sectional account of a leader's behaviour at a point in time as Thoroughgood et al. 2016). The extant literature asserted that leadership processes change direction over time depending on the developing exchanges among leaders, followers, and the environment (Hogan & Kaiser 2005; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). Determining whether the leadership process is destructive, requires a review of outcomes to a group, after the peak-period of power of the Destructive Leader. Leadership is the sequential flow of action by leadership participants (leaders and followers) over time (Fairhurst & Uhl-Bien 2012). Outcomes have been a much-neglected area, Kaiser and colleagues (2008) in their meta-analysis discovered that only 18% of studies in the leadership research measured outcomes as a criterion.

In this way, with few studies measuring outcomes over an extended period, leadership theory has

not lived up to its promise of helping practitioners resolve the challenges and problems that occur (Zaccaro & Horn 2003, p.769). Overcoming leadership challenges have confounded leadership scholars for much of history (ibid.). However, there have been few if any systematic longitudinal leadership examinations, which implicitly suggests the assumption that observed relationships are not time-contingent (Hunter, Bedell-Avers & Mumford 2007, p.441). It is for these reasons that this thesis has framed a form of longitudinal exploratory study using qualitative methods with historical empirical material to address the research questions in the previous section.

As outlined in the literature review, over time there are different Susceptible Followers connected with Destructive Leadership that contribute to outcomes for different reasons (Thoroughgood et al. 2016). This study postulates the same about Courageous Followers and proposes to investigate cohorts of follower types and their behaviours against those of the Destructive Leaders longitudinally across different cases. The empirical material will reflect different points in time through course different historical Destructive Leadership case studies, spanning the time-periods of 10 to 20 years. As described in Figure 4.1 below each case study will examine the behaviour of actors and the context that will be divided up into four discreet episodes.
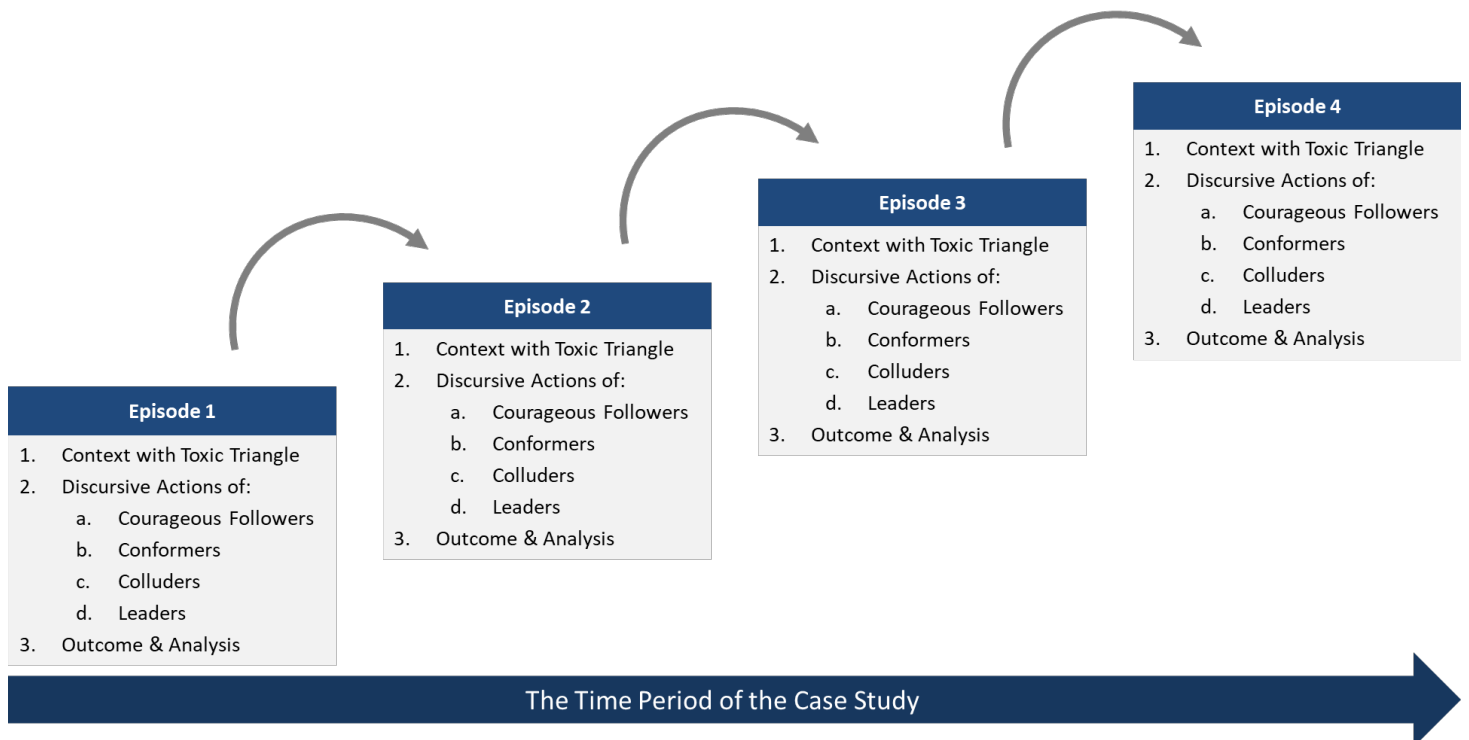
Figure 4.1: Structure of each Case with four Episodes

4.4 Archival Empirical Material

In the previous sub-section, the project outlined the importance of studying leadership cases over time and will do it using archival empirical material. Understanding the historical nature of a phenomenon and the phenomenon itself is often of equal importance to evaluate it comprehensively (Salkind 2014). Considering this research project is attempting to study the phenomenon of Courageous Followers standing up to Destructive Leadership over time, and the outcomes of that resistance (or the lack thereof), archival material would be pragmatic to see the history behind the context, the ascendancy (and fall) of the leaders, the followers, and their interactions.

For the theory building components, ethically, it would be challenging if not impossible to subject participants to experimental conditions involving destructive behaviours and toxic environments to determine causality. In addition, simulated environments also have their drawbacks (*e.g., people being more courageous than they would in reality*). Unlike surveys which have the limitations of self-reporting biases reviewing robustly validated archival material and helps reduce those biases. Most notably Chaleff (2008) noted that his Courageous Follower instrument was subject to the weaknesses of self-assessment and he had little doubt that the high number of participants — around 50% — had somewhat idealised themselves in their responses. With all self-reported behaviours, there is likely to be a bias associated with social desirability (Podsakoff et al. 2003). Therefore, using archival data to analyse the context and the actors would mitigate this bias to a great extent.

Finally, there is complexity regarding interaction of constructs that this study is attempting to review to get a holistic understanding of the Destructive Leadership process over time. Thus, archival material containing leadership case studies will be suitable for this project.

4.5 Qualitative Research and Units of Analyses

Leadership is a dynamic, co-creational process between leaders, followers, and environments which contribute to outcomes (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Studying co-creational relational processes in leadership requires both theory and methods that go beyond simplistic 'variable-based' theorising and survey approaches to the interrelated processes at the core of leadership (Fairhurst & Uhl-Bien 2012, p.1044), qualitative research enables us to explore this more effectively.

Qualitative studies albeit rare in leadership are important as they focus on human interactions and can account for chronological changes in leadership processes (Thoroughgood et al. 2016). There are relatively few qualitative leadership studies as they are time intensive and complex (Conger 1998). Quantitative researchers are sceptical of qualitative studies and perceive them to be fraught with methodological challenges (ibid.). However, qualitative research can be the richest of studies, often illuminating in radically new ways phenomena as complex as leadership and is the method of choice for contextually rich disciplines (ibid.).

Qualitative research help resolve patterns, discover themes and explanatory variables, and construct new theories, thus shift the way researchers think about and approach research questions (Thoroughgood et al. 2016). This thesis also tackles questions exploring a variety of interrelated constructs; so, neglecting to combine multiple levels of analysis could lead to an incomplete understanding of leadership (Yammarino & Dansereau 2011, p.1046). We can advance theory building and testing only if we explicitly view higher levels as an influencer on lower levels (ibid.). The Toxic Triangle spans different units of analysis from the macro (*e.g., the conducive environment*), to meso (*e.g., organisations*) to the micro (*e.g., individual followers and leaders in dyadic or group settings*). Finally, we are also looking to explore how the lower levels can influence the upper levels to change structures (*i.e., Structuration Theory*).

4.6 Theoretical Sampling of Case Studies

The way we structure a research topic determines both the selection of data for analysis and the nature of the analysis (Fairclough 2001). The following sub-sections will describe the rationale for the selection of data, as this thesis is looking to be strategic in the selection of leadership and followership cases, so they apply to the questions posed.

Theory building using case study research is most applicable in the initial period of research on a topic or the current theory seems inadequate, and when studying longitudinal change processes (Eisenhardt 1989; Poole & Van de Ven 1989). The classic case study focuses on comparisons within the same context to provide deep insights and can rely on a single case (Dyer Jr & Wilkins 1991). However, multiple cases are a powerful way to generate theory since they allow replication and extension among individual cases (Eisenhardt 1991, p.620). Further cases selected should replicate or extend emergent theory and can provide polar types of success and failure (Eisenhardt 1989; Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007; Poole & Van de Ven 1989).

To manage this trade-off between deep versus comparative insights, this project has selected cases

from a broad selection of domains which allows for generalisability. While the cases have generated deep insights using successful and unsuccessful episodes selected within each case. Thus, I have done independent corroboration of specific propositions while enabling the development of a more complete theoretical picture. The next section details the process for doing theoretical sampling.

4.6.1 Dominant Destructive Discourse - The Toxic Triangle Revisited

To aid in theoretical sampling, we will now revisit the Toxic Triangle with the three key elements in Destructive Leadership that produce destructive outcomes. As illustrated in Figure 4.2 below, first, there is a *personalised* Destructive Leader with charismatic qualities, which they referred to as *the spark*, second, Susceptible Followers, which they termed as *the flammable material*, and last, a Conducive Environment, which they referred to as *the oxygen* (House & Howell 1992; Klein & House 1995, p.185; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). When these three elements come together the dominant discourse is destructive, where the Destructive Leader and Colluder Followers continually use a wide array of means to harness the Conducive Environment to suit their own self-serving objectives at the expense of followers and organisations (Barling, Christie & Turner 2008; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; 2016). Such hegemonic conditions and struggles can take place at varying levels that include institutions of society (*e.g., education, companies, unions, government, family, schools, courts of law, etc.*) where there is inequality in power and not necessarily at the national level of politics (Fairclough 1992b). While we normally associate politics with the term hegemony, often we can interpret institutional struggles as hegemonic conflicts (ibid.).

In this research project there are hegemonic destructive discursive actions perpetrated by the Destructive Leadership (*i.e., the Destructive Leadership structure rules and resources in favour of themselves*). The concept of a prevalent hegemony is a frame for discourse, as it provides a method of analysing how people reproduce, restructure or challenge social practice and power (Bourdieu 1989; 2006; 2018; Fairclough 1992b; Giddens 1984; 1985; 1987). People embed social behaviours within the prevailing discourse, and this discourse is the starting point for analysis (Fairclough 1992b). Unlike laboratory experiments that isolate the phenomena from their context, case study research emphasises the rich real-world context (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). Considering that the context is essential to the Toxic Triangle framework, it is necessary to conduct case research to address the research questions. This research project investigates the discursive actions of Courageous Followers when faced with destructive situations, with an aim to determine the

discursive actions that shifted the power balance and 'activated' Conformer Followers. Thus, it is critical to use a theoretical sample of case studies that aligned with the variables discussed in the literature (Bryman 2016; Eisenhardt 1989).

Figure 4.2: Dominant Destructive Discourse

4.6.2 The Sample Frame

The previous subsection established the importance of *dominant destructive discourse* in case selection, this section will augment that with leader and follower behaviour classifications. Using qualitative methods to examine historical records enables us to identify behaviours or models that typical leadership study methods do not consider (Hunter, Bedell-Avers & Mumford 2007; Ligon, Harris & Hunter 2012). Using the historiometric approach leadership scholars comprehensively studied 120 leaders and identified key markedly different leadership styles the *charismatic, ideological,* and *pragmatic* (CIP) (see The literature discusses that being both *charismatic* and *personalised* are key attributes of Destructive Leaders (Helms 2012; Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018; Schyns & Schilling 2013). Personalised Leaders as those that tend to be self-glorifying and seek to expand their personal power and control with minimal regard to the consequences to others or society (House & Howell 1992). Historiometric studies found that leaders that expressed such *personalised* behaviours and characteristics (*e.g., narcissism)* often had a negative impact on society (O'Connor et al. 1996). This aligns with the Toxic Triangle framework's characterisation of Destructive Leaders (Table 4.1 below) with two orientations *personalised vs socialised* (Mumford 2006).

Table 4.1: Classification of Leaders by Type and Orientations

(Bedell et al. 2006, p.57)

Orientation	Type		
	Ideological	*Charismatic*	*Pragmatic*
Socialised	1. Jane Addams 2. Susan B. Anthony 3. Dietrich Bonhoeffer 4. Michael Collins 5. Eugene V. Debs 6. John Dewey 7. W.E.B. du Bois 8. Betty Friedan 9. Indira Gandhi 10. Mohandas Gandhi 11. Charles de Gaulle 12. Emma Goldman 13. Dag Hammarskold 14. John L. Lewis 15. Kwame Nkrumah 16. Ronald W. Reagan 17. Eleanor A. Roosevelt 18. Theodore Roosevelt 19. Lech Walesa 20. Woodrow T. Wilson	1. Mustafa K. Ataturk 2. David Ben-Gurion 3. Cesar Chavez 4. Winston Churchill 5. Henry Ford 6. Samual Gompers 7. Lee Iacocca 8. John F. Kennedy 9. Jomo Kenyatta 10. Martin Luther King, Jr. 11. Fiorello H. LaGuardia 12. Douglas MacArthur 13. Louis B. Mayer 14. J.P. Morgan 15. Edward R. Murrow 16. Gamal Abdel Nasser 17. Sam Rayburn 18. Franklin D. Roosevelt 19. Anwar Sadat 20. Margaret Thatcher	1. Warren Buffet 2. Richard Daley 3. Walt Disney 4. John Foster Dulles 5. Alfred Dupont 6. Dwight D. Eisenhower 7. Felix Frankfurter 8. Berry Gordy 9. Katharine Graham 10. Oliver W. Holmes 11. George Marshall 12. Mikail Gorbechev 13. Thomas Watson 14. George H. Rickover 15. Erwin Rommel 16. George Soros 17. Josip B. Tito 18. Harry S. Truman 19. Sam Walton 20. Booker T. Washington
Personalised	1. Lavrenti Beria 2. Fidel Castro 3. Georges Clemenceau 4. Ferdinand Foch 5. Francisco Franco 6. Marcus Garvey 7. Warren Harding 8. Rudolf Hess 9. Heinrich Himmler 10. Ho Chi Minh 11. Vladimir Lenin 12. Joe McCarthy 13. Pol Pot 14. John D. Rockefeller 15. Josef Stalin 16. Leon Trotsky 17. Kaiser Wilhelm II 18. Deng Xiaoping 19. Emiliano Zapata 20. Mao Ze-dong	1. Idi Amin 2. Neville Chamberlain 3. John De Lorean 4. Porfirio Diaz 5. Francois Duvalier 6. Hermann Goring 7. Assad Hafaz 8. Adolf Hitler 9. Jimmy Hoffa 10. Herbert R. Hoover 11. J. Edgar Hoover 12. Huey P. Long 13. Ferdinand Marcos 14. Benito Mussolini 15. Manuel Noriega 16. Eva Peron 17. Juan Peron 18. Rafael Trujillo 19. W. C. Westmoreland 20. Malcolm X	1. Al Capone 2. Andrew Carnegie 3. Otis Chandler 4. Lyndon B. Johnson 5. Al Dunlap 6. Henry Ford II 7. Carlo Gambino 8. Leslie Groves 9. Leona Helmsley 10. Reinhard Heydrich 11. Horatio Kitchener 12. Alfreid Krupp 13. Robert Moses 14. Rupert Murdoch 15. George Patton 16. Jackie Presser 17. Richard M. Nixon 18. David Sarnoff 19. Martha Stewart 20. Lew Wasserman

The literature discusses that being both *charismatic* and *personalised* are key attributes of Destructive Leaders (Helms 2012; Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018; Schyns & Schilling 2013). Personalised

Leaders as those that tend to be self-glorifying and seek to expand their personal power and control with minimal regard to the consequences to others or society (House & Howell 1992). Historiometric studies found that leaders that expressed such *personalised* behaviours and characteristics (*e.g., narcissism)* often had a negative impact on society (O'Connor et al. 1996). This aligns with the Toxic Triangle framework's characterisation of Destructive Leaders.

In contrast to Destructive Leaders, Courageous Followers are *socialised* and often put themselves in harm's way for the benefit of others (Fagin-Jones & Midlarsky 2007; Malakyan 2014; Midlarsky, Fagin Jones & Corley 2005; Staub 1993; 2013; Shepela et al. 1999). Despite thousands of empirical investigations of leaders conducted in the last seventy-five years, there is no clear and unequivocal understanding exists as to what distinguishes leaders from non-leaders and context is extremely important (Bennis & Nanus 1985, p.4). People regard certain individuals (*e.g., Gandhi*) as leaders, however, most leaders commenced their resistance as Courageous Followers (Chaleff 2009; Malakyan 2014). Extending Dixon's (2009) all leader organisational chart, Figure 4.3 below illustrates a more realistic picture of people's roles where sometimes they have to lead and at other times they have to follow, therefore, the context is very important (Avolio 2007; Kean et al. 2011; Malakyan 2014; Shondrick & Lord 2010).
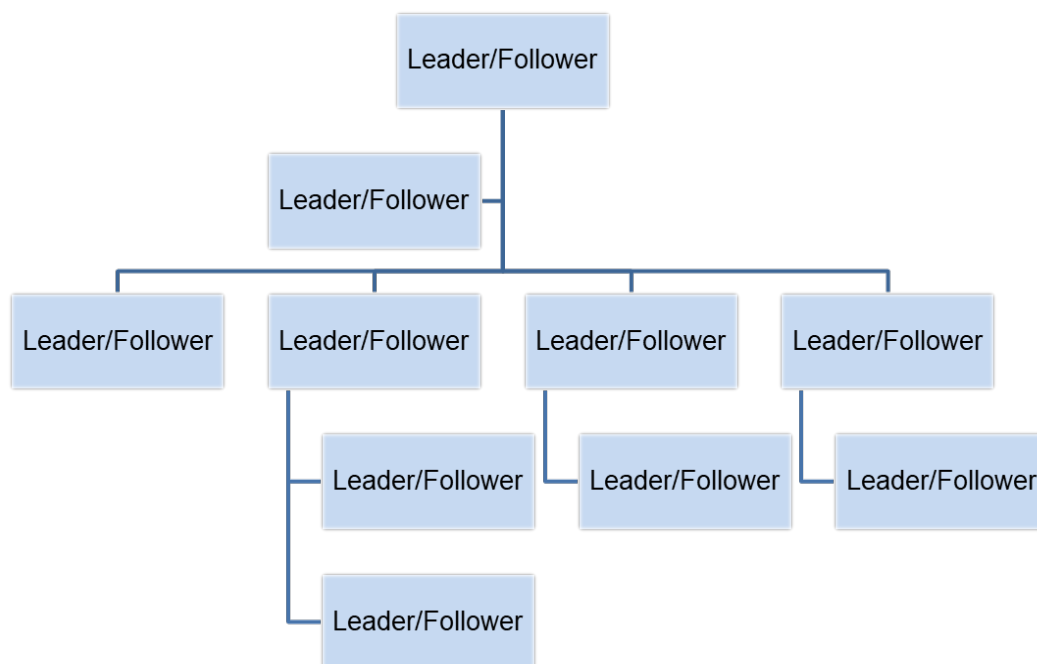
Figure 4.3: Dichotomic Roles of Individuals
(Adapted from Dixon (2009, p.34))

With Gandhi we can see this Leader-Follower dichotomy. For instance, Gandhi was a subject (follower) of the destructive British imperial leadership (Gandhi 1927) and started out with

virtually none of French and Raven's (1959) bases of power *(i.e., reward, coercive, legitimate, referent, expert)* when he arrived in South Africa. Therefore, he started as a follower both under the oppressive British regime and a follower among the oppressed followers. Over time, this changed and while still being under the yoke of the Destructive Leadership of British imperialism he exerted 'Courageous Follower' behaviours and people eventually perceived him as an Indian political leader (Gandhi 1927), however, because of the romance of leadership (Meindl 1995), the vast majority of research has neglected the journey he started on or the continued dichotomous nature of his roles—*Oppressed British subject and Indian mass movement leader.* Complementary research asserted that the traits of skilled followership do not come naturally otherwise we would have had more followers like Leo Tolstoy, Martin Luther King, Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, or Desmond Mpilo Tutu against various forms of social injustice (Malakyan 2014). Therefore, this thesis holds that *socialised leaders* start off as Courageous Followers.

The primary focus of the current research project is the Courageous Follower. Therefore, it was imperative to study them to help move away from the romance of leadership in theory building (Bligh et al. 2007; Meindl 1995; Meindl, Ehrlich & Dukerich 1985; Uhl-Bien & Pillai 2007). Courageous Followers are *socialised* (Staub 1993; 2013; Shepela et al. 1999), so in conjunction with a *dominant destructive discourse*, case studies with *socialised* individuals were selected (see the top half of The literature discusses that being both *charismatic* and *personalised* are key attributes of Destructive Leaders (Helms 2012; Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018; Schyns & Schilling 2013). Personalised Leaders as those that tend to be self-glorifying and seek to expand their personal power and control with minimal regard to the consequences to others or society (House & Howell 1992). Historiometric studies found that leaders that expressed such *personalised* behaviours and characteristics *(e.g., narcissism)* often had a negative impact on society (O'Connor et al. 1996). This aligns with the Toxic Triangle framework's characterisation of Destructive Leaders (Table 4.1 above). When examining Destructive Leaders, in conjunction with a *dominant destructive discourse*, *charismatic* and *personalised* individuals were selected.

When theory building using case studies, the sampling of cases from the chosen population is unusual (Eisenhardt 1989). Theoretical sampling for such research relies of cases chosen for theoretical and not statistical reasons (Glaser & Strauss 1967). Each case should serve as a distinct experiment and stand on its own as an analytic unit (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). In this project, each episode within each case will serve as its own analytic unit. There will be three cases studies selected across domains *(i.e., mass movements, politics and business)* and each case study will have 4 episodes—See Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Case Studies & Episodes

Dominant Destructive Discourse	Case 1 - Mass Movements: European imperialism with racism, violence and oppression	Case 2 – Politics: US politics with a war and criminal presidential behaviour	Case 3 - Business: Repeated business fraud and corruption
Episode 1	Resisting the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act (TARA)	Resisting the Escalation of the Vietnam War	Protecting The Grand Prix Venture
Episode 2	Overturning the £3 Tax	Leaking the Pentagon Papers	Driving a Car Dealership into Ruin
Episode 3	Responding to the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre	Protecting Freedom of Expression	Criticising Company Finances
Episode 4	The Non-Cooperation Movement (NCM)	Exposing the President's Crimes	Exposing De Lorean in the Media

While the *dominant destructive discourse* is central to each case and the cases focus on the *discursive actions* of several Courageous Followers. The *key actors (i.e., Mohandas Gandhi and Katharine Graham)* in the first two cases selected were *socialised* individuals that started out a Courageous Followers and eventually were perceived as leaders. The *key actor (i.e., John De Lorean)* in the third case was a *personalised* and *charismatic* Destructive Leader, however the focus was still on the Courageous Followers that resisted him. The cases contained accounts of courageous behaviour from women and men in both western and eastern cultures.

4.6.2.1 Empirical Material - Collection Rules

To ensure that there was consistency with the quality and triangulation of the empirical material, this project adheres to collection rules drawing on other qualitative research best practice. For instance, limiting bias is imperative to mitigate the challenges with interviews and is achieved by having several highly knowledgeable participants that have different perspectives (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). To replicate this rigour this project uses multiple archival sources as it is unlikely that the sources engaged in convergent sense-making. Those archival sources were both retrospective and contemporaneous for the case at hand and included biographies, documentaries, interviews academic and newspaper articles.

In selecting archival material, this study also built on the guidelines adopted by the historiometric studies (Bedell et al. 2006; Deluga 1997; Mumford 2006; O'Connor et al. 1996). So for each leadership case, the empirical material used in this study comprises at least one fact-based academic account spanning the time-period of all episodes and culminating in outcomes. In keeping with qualitative best practice, as stated above, other sources such as newspaper accounts, diaries, books, court transcripts, minutes of meetings, or speeches (Salkind 2014, p.295; Bryman 2016) were used

to track and validate events. Below is the selection criteria for the empirical material:

1. Did the account stress accurate and detailed reporting of the actors' behaviour and key events (Mumford 2006, p.60)?

2. Did it focus on behaviours relating to this study (e.g., leader-follower relationships) (Bedell et al. 2006, p.56)?

3. Did the account/s provide a detailed examination of the actors' behaviours and accomplishments during the relevant period?

4. Regarding the primary biography, was there evidence of adequate scholarly work as indicated by the citations provided (ibid.)?

Finally, drawing such boundaries to the corpus of potential data is also an important element to the practicality of implementing any discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992b), and will be discussed next.

4.7 The Rationale for Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

To reaffirm a fundamental element of the research questions is that a *change in power balance* is being examined between different social actors. *Power* is represented with an intricate set of relations regulated by systems formed through *discourse* within social systems (Bourdieu 1989; Giddens 1984; Foucault 1980; 1982). The act of engaging in discursive practices is highly political underpinning power struggles between actors from micro to macro levels in society (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006). Further, *power* and *discourse* are often indistinguishable and bilaterally co-construct each other (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006; Foucault 1980; Hardy & Phillips 2004; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy 2004).

Exponents of CDA built on Foucault's (1980) thinking and Gidden's (1984) seminal structuration theory, by taking into consideration that pre-constituted material reality, with objects and social subjects constrains discourse (Bourdieu 2018; Fairclough 1992b). Structuration theory refers to this double hermeneutic as the *duality of structure*, where actors are both constrained and enabled by structure and can use their agency to either replicate or change structure (Giddens 1984). The prevailing power structures, understanding and context creates discourse, and discourse creates them, this mutually constitutive relationship is complex and drives action (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006). What appears to be mere local discourse "enacts as well as constitutes complex processes and structures at the more global, societal level" (van Dijk 1997, p.21). The macro-level

historical context informs a CDA project, this includes the various institutions; the relationship between social procedures and power; or hegemonic activities at a societal level *(e.g., culture, society and ideology)* (Fairclough 1992b, p.226; Meyer 2001, p.15). As discussed previously, historical context and the interaction from the micro to the macro is important regarding leadership theory and in particular the Toxic Triangle; that is congruent with the above CDA scholars' approaches. This makes CDA an appropriate method for this project.

Further, CDA has emancipatory objectives (De Beaugrande 2008; Fairclough 1992b; Meyer 2001; van Dijk 1997; Wodak 2001) and therefore aligns well as a method of analysis for this current project, which is examining a counter-discourse by Courageous Followers to the prevalent Destructive Leadership's discourse. For instance, Martin Luther King Jr's "I Have a Dream" speech channelled Abraham Lincoln's emancipation proclamation in front of the latter's imposing statue in Washington DC that has had a powerful impact for over 50 years and provided further moral thrust to the civil rights movement (Gill & Whedbee 1997). This can be a way of theorising change regarding the evolution of power and how discourse contributes and is shaped by the wider process of change or deconstructive leverage (De Beaugrande 2008; Fairclough 1992b). The aim of this current thesis is to examine the disparity between discourse by Destructive Leadership versus counter-discourse by Courageous Followers who are exerting deconstructive leverage.

Finally, CDA scholars state that as soon as a researcher studies power abuse, dominance or inequality as it is expressed or reproduced by discourse; they become more actively involved and take a position (De Beaugrande 2008; Fairclough 1992b; van Dijk 1997; Wodak 2001). This shifts the review from away from just *discourse analysis* to CDA (De Beaugrande 2008; Fairclough 1992b; van Dijk 1997; Wodak 2001). This effectively summarises the thrust of this current project which examines several episodes of severe inequality caused by Destructive Leadership by studying followers that challenged the hegemonic conditions. Thus, it is unlikely that the researcher will not become actively involved (intentionally or not) and take a position. For all the elements discussed in this sub-section it is logical to use CDA to examine the shifting power dynamics between leaders and followers through the use of discourse. The next subsection will outline the specific application of CDA as a method for this project.

4.8 CDA as a Method

Scholars describe discourse as a context-specific framework for making sense of things (van Leeuwen 2009). Further, discourse and society (*e.g., culture, context*), like discourse and power, are

also mutually constitutive (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011). "If the discourse changes, the object not only changes its meaning, but it becomes a different object, it loses its previous identity" (Jäger 2001, p.43). This includes discursive and non-discursive practices; however, this can result in some difficulty with regard to the triangulation of the phenomena under observation; explanation of the theoretical assumptions; and the methods used to link theory and observation (Meyer 2001). CDA scholars can achieve triangulation by taking a socio-cognitive approach where the researcher must see theory not as causal hypotheses, but a scaffold to structure occurrences of social reality (van Dijk 1997).

Meyer (2001, p.21) describes van Dijk's view that social actors involved in discourse do not exclusively depend on their individual experiences and strategies; but they also rely upon shared social perceptions (context or culture). Researchers can view social life as interconnected networks of *social practices* of diverse sorts (*e.g., economic, political, and cultural*) (Fairclough 2001, p.122). *Social practices* view aligns with Gidden's (1984; 1985) *Structuration theory*, where both *structure* and *agency* are important in determining what simultaneously constrains and enables action. This thesis subscribes to the *social practices* view and is congruent with *Critical Realism* (*i.e., ontological realism and epistemological relativism*). As state earlier, *Critical Realism* is the paradigm that the current project subscribes to. Most CDA scholars contrast other forms of discourse-based research with CDA, by stating that the latter does not begin with a fixed theoretical and methodological stance (Fairclough 2001; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011; Meyer 2001; Scollon 2001; Wodak 2001). These CDA practitioners assert that the CDA research process needs to commence with the elements in the research question that provide the broader context of the importance of the issue at hand.

When selecting which discursive elements to examine for CDA research, there is no singular definition for CDA (Wodak 2001). CDA can encompass related concepts like language, communication, interaction, social problems, power relations, society and culture, ideological work, historical accounts, the link between text and society, interpretative and explanatory research, and social action (van Dijk 1997, p.2; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011, pp.368-372). CDA need not cover all these elements and nor is the aforementioned list exhaustive, so a CDA practitioner has the liberty to craft a list of discursive elements relevant to the research question being investigated (Scollon 2001). It is erroneous to single out any approach as 'real' or 'genuine' CDA because it thrives on diversity and is ever growing and evolving (De Beaugrande 2008, p.18). CDA is not a single method but an approach which comprises different levels where at each level we have to make certain decisions (*i.e., programmatic, social and historical*) (Meyer 2001).

Scholars can approach CDA in different ways according to the specific project (Fairclough 1992b; Meyer 2001). Ideally, CDA ought to be an interdisciplinary endeavour because it explicitly includes socio-psychological, political, and ideological components (Fairclough 1992b; Meyer 2001). The current project is interdisciplinary with components that span sociology, political science, management, and organisational behaviour. The project examines both business and political leadership and looks at psychological traits of participants and the sociological elements of different levels societal systems within the Toxic Triangle. Hence, keeping the Toxic Triangle and research questions in mind, the next sub-sections outline the way this project uses CDA.

4.8.1 Phase 1: Surfacing the Toxic Triangle

Destructive discourse and its sub-components dominate the context-specific framework and are the starting point in each of the cases of the current project. This project uses the Toxic Triangle to frame the context-specific framework (see Figure 4.2 above). Phase 1 of the analysis is *Surfacing the Toxic Triangle* and is the starting point for each case. The analysis of each case begins with analysing the environments conducive to the Destructive Leadership. After which the *surfacing of the Toxic Triangle* includes its other vertices (*i.e., actors*). The actors' types in the Toxic Triangle are Destructive Leaders, Colluder Followers and Conformer Followers. In addition to the Toxic Triangle, the project also examines the actor type of the Courageous Follower. The subsections below will briefly revisit the key vertices of the Toxic Triangle as they were used in Phase 1 of the methodology.

4.8.1.1 Part 1: Conducive Environments

The project explores the conducive environment's by examining macro-level structural factors (*e.g., instability, perceived threats, absence of checks and balances, destructive cultural values, institutional norms*) (Padilla 2013; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.180; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a, p.898). This project factors other external forces which make followers more susceptible to Destructive Leaders like economic downturns, political uncertainty or a company crisis which can heighten anxiety and desire for charismatic leaders (Lipman-Blumen 2005b). This thesis views the conducive environmental factors as *structures* that either constrain or enable *agency* within social practices.

In social practices the prevalent hegemonic conditions establish a s*ocial matrix* that shapes events (Fairclough 1992b, p.237-238). This *social matrix* is analogous to the Toxic Triangle's conducive environment. Thus, in this project, the structural elements are those described below (*i.e., culture,*

environment, and checks, balances, and institutionalisation). The aim is to specify the social and hegemonic relations, structures which constitute the matrix of a particular case study and the discursive practices contained within it. Here this project's CDA will focus on elements that are socially wrong and obstacles to addressing the social wrong (Fairclough 2001).

(1) Cultural Influence: Culture includes societal attitudes, experiences, perceptions, and beliefs (Padilla 2013, p.152). Destructive Leadership is likely to emerge in cultures that endorse collectivism (as opposed to individualism); the avoidance of uncertainty which can lead to greater regulation and laws to maintain order; and high-power distance where constituents expect inequality (Hofstede 1980; Luthans et al. 1998, cited in Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.186). While Hoftede's work refers to influences that operate at the macro societal level, culture's influence filters to the organisational level (Bretos & Errasti 2017). Negative organisational cultural values are distinguished by centralised power, punitive policies, secrecy, favouritism, divisiveness, and fear of retaliation for challenging the leader or the upper echelon (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018, p.5). For instance, in South Korea and China families tend to own firms and are likely to be authoritarian with high distances, bureaucratic and centralised with minimal employee empowerment (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, pp.185-186; Padilla 2013, p.179). Conversely, Western firms are publicly owned, with less bureaucracy and encourage decentralised decision-making, which rewards individualism and meritocracy (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, pp.185-186; Padilla 2013, p.179). However, the culture constrains Japanese CEO's influence compared to US and German ones, and the former have significantly less discretion (Padilla 2013). It is important to recognise that each organisation operates and creates its own culture the leader can heavily influence organisational culture.

(2) Environmental Influence: The environment includes certain economic, social, technological conditions confronting a group (Padilla 2013). The environment has the following sub-dimensions *(i.e., economic and social conditions, environmental complexity, instability and dynamism and environmental perceptions of threat)* (ibid. p.152). Economic prosperity, disparities in incomes, education levels, corruption levels, crime and pace of growth, environmental complexity can all impact on leadership (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018; Thoroughgood et al. 2016; Winn & Dykes 2019). For instance, part of the problems that result in the global financial crisis of 2008 was because of the lack of resources in US Government agencies to keep up with the complexity of the financial markets (Padilla 2013). Instability and dynamism can influence social, organisational, or political can often negatively affect the leadership process (ibid.). In modern post-communist countries, ad hoc negotiations among elites were frequently the basis for major policy decisions (Kornai 1995,

cited in Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.185). Shrewd leaders can exploit fluid and transient structures closed to external scrutiny in conditions where there is rapid change (ibid.). Perceived threats can range from feelings of mistreatment (*e.g., Germans after the treaty of Versailles post WWI*) to the desperate economic and social situations in Somalia and Zimbabwe, to a beleaguered corporation facing bankruptcy. Leaders actively exploit these perceived threats, for instance, Bush's references to the war on terror; or Apple's Steve Jobs reference to IBM as "Big Brother" (Padilla 2013; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.186).

(3) Lack of Checks, Balances and Institutionalisation: Lack of Checks, Balances and Institutionalisation include bodies and institutions that define influence macro societal laws and expected behaviours within groups and countries (Padilla 2013, p.152). Lack of Checks, Balances and Institutionalisation is further divided into three sub-levels: (1) a level of leader discretion; (2) external checks and balances—the media, subject matter experts and Government agencies and (3) internal checks and balances—self-enforced internal controls, a board of directors (Padilla 2013, p.152). Strong organisations (and countries) tend to have strong institutions and strong counterbalancing power centres (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.186).

4.8.1.2 Part 2: Actor Identification

Studying the interplay of social situation, societal structures, action, and actors is the only way to comprehend discourses (Bourdieu 1989; Giddens 1984; Meyer 2001). The actor (*e.g., Leaders or Followers)* is the link between discourse and reality (Meyer 2001, p.20). "Social actors participate in practices in one of a number of roles—as 'agents' (doers of action), 'patients' (participants to whom actions are done) or 'beneficiaries' (participants who benefit from an action, whether in a positive or negative sense" (van Leeuwen 2009, p.149).

Systematic collection of data needs to focus on specific social actors either individuals *(e.g., a Destructive Leader)* or 'collective' actors (*e.g., Conformers/Colluders/Courageous Followers*) or organisations (*e.g., Governments, the Media etc*) (Reisigl 2017; Reisigl & Wodak 2009). Actor identification will often stem from the research question, in other words, whatever the importance an issue might have on a broad social scale, CDA must make clear how this issue is being taken up by some identified members of society (Scollan 2001, p.160). To implement this CDA, this project asked the following CDA question in relation to the research questions and the underlying theoretical constructs: *What characteristics or qualities and features are attributed to social actors in the discourse?* (Reisigl 2017, p.52; Reisigl & Wodak 2009, p.93).

Theory is the foundation of CDA in all of its various forms (Meyer 2001, p.17); further, the author continues that CDA sees itself more in the tradition of Glaser & Strauss' (1967) seminal Grounded Theory. In Grounded Theory data collection is not a discreet phase that is completed before analysis commences but might be ongoing and unfold during the analysis process (Meyer 2001, p.18). This is relevant as not all the initial archival material contained rich enough information and actors changed and transformed over the course of a Destructive Leadership case. In the current project, the CDA reviews the archival material to identify who are the key actors (e.g., leaders and types of followers) based on theoretical constructs of the various and varying actor behaviours based on the extant literature. However, to get a complete view of individual or collective actors, this thesis implemented a recursive process of data collection. This project terms this process as Actor Identification and explored the following four types of individual or collective actors:

(1) Courageous Followers: demonstrate, courage to assume responsibility, courage to serve, courage to challenge, courage to participate in transformation, and courage to take moral action. (Chaleff 2008, p.73, 2009; pp.6-8). They take moral responsibility and courageously resist in a conscious, sustained voluntary selfless manner, which entails high risk or cost to themselves, their family, and associates (Shepela et al. 1999, p.787). Courageous Followers are socialised and selfless with higher empathy, altruism, morals, social-responsibility, and appetite for risk (Fagin-Jones & Midlarsky 2007; Midlarsky, Fagin Jones & Corley 2005; Staub 1993; 2013)

(2) Conformer Followers: are motivated by self-interest and so they comply with Destructive Leaders and their Colluder Followers out of fear (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.183; Padilla 2013). These followers' vulnerability is based on unmet basic needs, negative self-evaluations, dependence, blind obedience, passivity, and psychological immaturity (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.183; Padilla 2013; Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.16).

(3) Colluder Followers: are motivated by self-interest and actively participate in a Destructive Leader's agenda (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.183; Padilla 2013). These followers seek personal gain through association with a Destructive Leader, they are ambitious and selfish; they collaborate with and share the Destructive Leader's world views (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.183; Padilla 2013; Thoroughgood et al. 2016, p.16). Research shows that Colluder Followers can be acolytes that are more extreme than the Destructive Leader and push for extreme outcomes (Thoroughgood et al. 2012a).

(4) Destructive Leaders: are charismatic; have personalised need for power; are narcissistic; have a negative life history; have an ideology of hate; demonstrate repeated and systematic use of control

and coercion to achieve their objectives; and violate the legitimate interest of the organisation and/or followers (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007, p.182; Padilla 2013).

This is the culmination of Phase 1 of the methodology to align the cases to the Toxic Triangle. Once the project identifies the main actors in each case, an examination of the actors' actions was the next logical component of this CDA method.

4.8.2 Phase 2: Actors' Discursive Actions and the Power Balance

In this section, CDA will directly address the *shift in the power balance* central to the research question and address the three secondary research questions. In this project, CDA examines actions, sequences of actions, and their reactions (Scollon 2001; van Leeuwen 2009). Before doing so, we need to determine the merits of examining actions within CDA. Scholars often note that the term *discourse* is not equivalent to the term *text* (Fairclough 1992b; Scollon 2001; van Leeuwen 2009). Several authors concur that while some practitioners of CDA fastidiously focus on the real talk, others focus on abstract theory building, and others on actions; but most proponents of CDA agree that as long as CDA provides insight into inequality, a practitioner should consider all approaches (De Beaugrande 2008; Fairclough 2001; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011; Gill & Whedbee 1997; Meyer 2001; Scollon 2001; van Dijk 1997; 2008; Wodak 2001). This emphasis on insight into inequality, is the CDA approach the current thesis will implement, by focusing on the actors' actions and behaviours.

CDA can view what actors actually do when producing and understanding discourse (van Dijk 1997). "Knowledge of what 'leadership' is, is ultimately based on what leaders *do"* (van Leeuwen 2009, p.145). As discussed in the last section, these actions are often context sensitive, and may depend on the actor's aims, interests, goals, expectations, or other mental representations which is more complex (van Dijk 1997, p.15). This current project will also adopt this recommendation for a more sophisticated CDA, and move beyond merely summarising, paraphrasing or quoting discourse, and differentiate between various constructs to formulate the rules and strategies of their actual use (ibid, p.27) across the different Destructive Leadership case studies.

CDA straddles a focus on structure and a focus on action (Fairclough 2001) and thus aligns with Structuration theory. Actions and language often accompany each other and CDA research refers to this as *Mediated Discourse Analysis* (MDA) (Scollon 2001). MDA focuses on social action rather than on purely discourse or language (ibid. p.140). Several authors have suggested that social action

is a subset of *Discourse Types* within CDA (Fairclough 2001; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011; Gill & Whedbee 1997; Meyer 2001; Reisigl & Wodak 2009; van Dijk 1997; 2008; Wodak 2001).

CDA can highlight the focus on social action regardless of whether it involves language, further, the linguistic focus is a problem produced by the technology of representation, we most commonly use in reporting our analyses (*i.e. the printed text)* (Scollon 2001, p.144). Historical, biographical data usually does not merely outline the written or spoken word of the actors, but also describes their behaviours (Reisigl & Wodak 2009). In summary, in the current project, the focus of CDA is on actions and behaviours to address the research questions.

4.8.2.1 Counter-Discourse Chain Reactions

This part of the methodology will analyse the practical impact of the Courageous Followers' counter-discourse on Conformer Followers, and ultimately, on the power balance against Destructive Leaders. Reactions and motives to discourses are a core representation of social practices (van Leeuwen 2009, p.150). To understand social practices, CDA s*cholars* distinguish between *chains of actions* and the concept of *practice,* as both consist in the historical sequence of mediated actions (Scollon 2001, p.165)—See Figure 4.4 below. Similarly, CDA scholars understand actions through inter-discursive analysis, which is a complex *chain of events* and *genre networks (e.g., discussion, report, debate)* (Fairclough 2009, p.176).
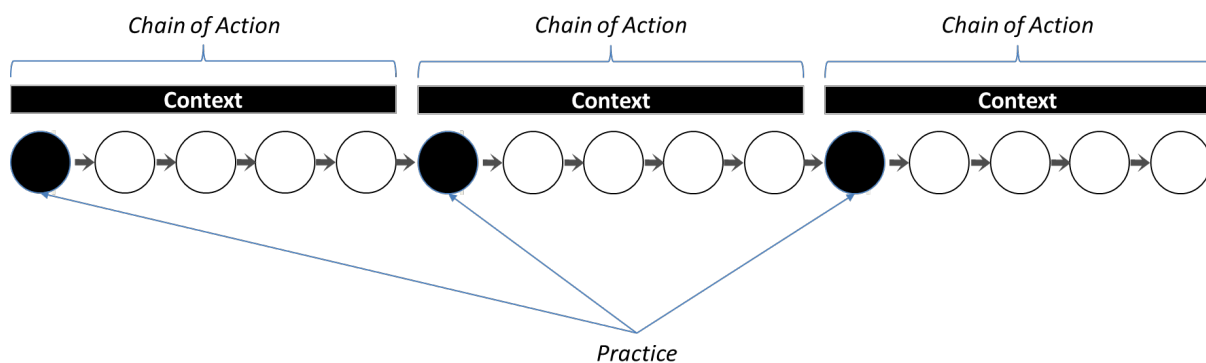
Figure 4.4: Practice and Chains of Actions over time
(Adapted from Scollon (2001, p.166))

Chains of actions are a chronological sequence of actions, for example entering, queueing, paying, picking up coffee and so on, which constitute a higher-level action of *buying a cup of coffee* (Scollon 2001, p.166)—See Figure 4.5 below. However, the practice of just *entering a shop* might be a discontinuous sequence, as it happens in a variety of contexts (*e.g., entering a retail shop instead of a*

coffee shop). Similarly, contexts envelope each Destructive Leadership case that affect the sequence of *chains of actions.* Thus, *chains of actions* are structures within an *activity type,* which are socially constituted and recognised in connection to that activity type (Fairclough 1992b, p.126).
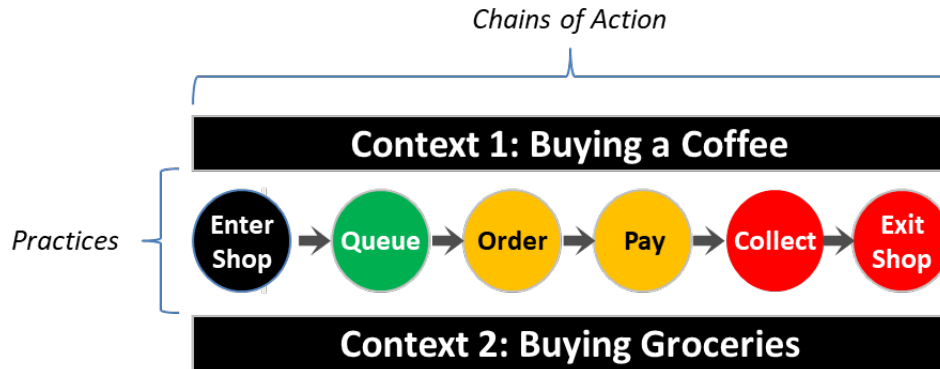
Figure 4.5: Individual *practices* make up *chains of action*

As illustrated in Figure 4.5 above, one could imagine the 'black' coloured spheres as the practice of *'entering a shop'*, either occurring within a *chain of action* like: Context 1: *buying a coffee;* or Context 2: *buying groceries* (Scollon 2001). While the other coloured spheres are other practices that could constitute those chains of action like *queueing, greeting the cashier, paying,* and *collecting* the purchases and so forth (ibid.). As shown in the figure above, similar actions or practices can have different higher-level meanings within different *contexts.* Within the cases of the current project, we are interested in the impact that Courageous Followers' actions when standing up to Destructive Leadership. First, by looking at the initial counter-discursive actions (practices) of the Courageous Followers. Second, by examining which of those practices gained alignment from Conformer Followers. Finally, the subsequent reaction of the Destructive Leadership (*Destructive Leader, Colluder Followers, or other actors*). To further examine the relevance of the reactions, two additional concepts are important*: (1) The Funnel of Commitment and (2) Narrative and Anticipatory Discourses.*

(1) The Funnel of Commitment: While actions make sense in relation to a hierarchy or sequence of actions, some actions are more reversible than others (ibid. p.166). For example, as illustrated in Figure 4.6 below, within the *buying a coffee chain of action, entering a shop* is easily reversible if done with no other actions within the sequence; however, *changing your purchase* after *paying* is not so easily reversible (ibid.). So, when one has *paid* for the coffee, and the coffee starts getting made, one goes further down the *funnel of commitment* as is less reversible.
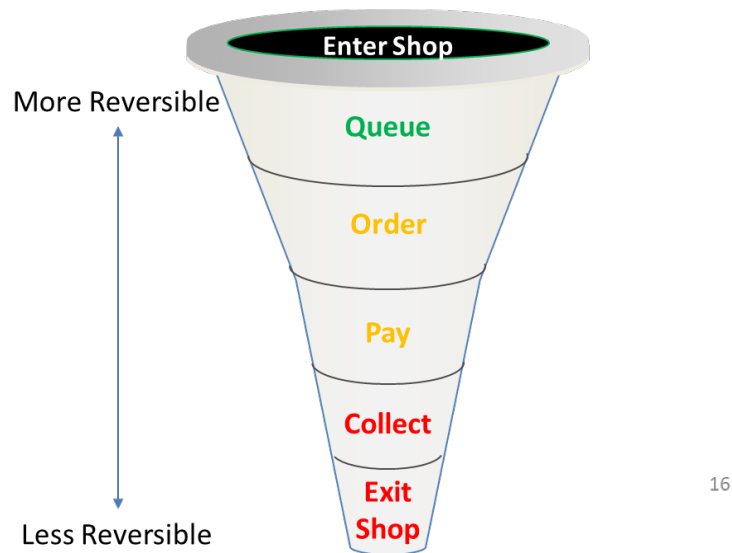
Figure 4.6: Funnel of Commitment

(2) Narrative and Anticipatory Discourses: This provides a meta-discursive or reflective structure as CDA links many social actions to each other in either *retrospective chains of discourse* (discursive reconstructive work), or *preparatory chains of discourse* (anticipatory discourse) (ibid. p.167). These are important both for what they say and for what they do not say, as they provide a higher level of social meaning, these highlight approaches through which the CDA practitioner can determine which discourses are relevant both in taking, and in reflecting upon actions (ibid. p.168). For instance, one can define *having a cup of coffee*, as a social action by the invitation, "Let's go and have a cup of coffee" (ibid.), which could have several different higher-level and retrospective meanings. Retrospectively, a student meeting their supervisor for a coffee is professional within the bounds of their project, but retrospectively, if that relationship endures after the project over many years, one can view it as a part of the tapestry of their friendship. These anticipatory and retrospective discourses occur largely outside of the site of engagement (*e.g., a coffee shop*) within which the actions we are studying occur, but are important for both for what is said, and unsaid (ibid.).

Regarding reversibility of actions, if a Conformer Follower listens to credible criticisms of a Destructive Leader by a Courageous Follower and agrees to just think about it, is more reversible; than if that Conformer Follower reacts by directly confronting the Destructive Leader to get them to change that behaviour. This project will interpret actions at that higher semantic level, so if the less reversible reaction occurs by Conformer Followers, this CDA will then reflect on the reaction of Conformer Follower and code it as 'alignment' with the Courageous Follower's initial discourse. After that alignment, the analysis will explore the reactions of Destructive Leadership to determine

what discursive practices produced a shift in the power balance.

Initial Courageous Follower
Discursive Actions
(Primary Research Qt)

Conformer Follower Counter-
Discursive Reactions
(Secondary Research Qt. 1)

Destructive Leadership Counter-
Discursive Reactions
& Power Balance Changes
(Secondary Research Qt. 2)
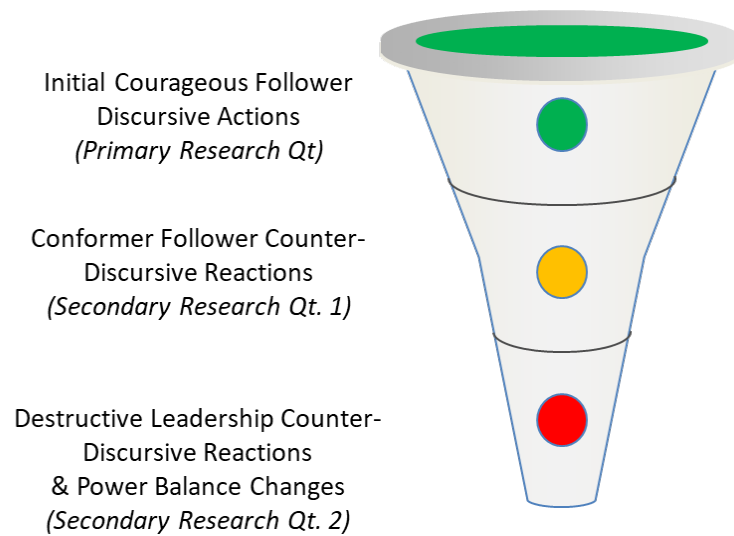
Figure 4.7: Changing Power Balance with *Chains of Action*

In this thesis, CDA will retrospectively interpret the meanings of all the actors' actions by iterating between the three steps discussed next. Figure 4.7 above illustrates this *funnel of commitment* from Courageous Followers to reactions of the Destructive Leadership. As seen in the figure, each research question addresses a component of shifting the power balance deeper within the *funnel of commitment*. The meanings of actions and reactions are only clear because of the benefit of using archival material by retrospectively exploring those chains of discursive actions.

4.8.2.1.1 Step 1: Courageous Follower Discursive Actions

Actors will never discover one action upon which to focus, but CDA must conceive of any mediated action as one which is constituted by lower level actions and which, in turn, constitutes higher level actions (ibid. p.162). As described previously, an everyday example of these levels of actions is: imagine having a cup of coffee with a friend at a café, descriptions of a lower level could involve everything from opening the door to the café to queuing to order etc., higher level actions would be just drinking coffee and chatting, and at an even higher level it could mean maintaining a friendship (ibid.).

The analysis must factor the relation of action with meaning by asking "How is this action (at its multiple levels) linked to the broad social issues with which we are concerned?" (ibid. pp.162-163). Specifically, "how does this action participate in, legitimate, challenge, or contest higher and lower level actions by which it is constituted and which in itself it participates in constituting?" (ibid.

p.163). CDA practitioners suggest that we need to consider how the actors and their actions are employed in the discourse in relation to the research question (Reisigl 2017; Reisigl & Wodak 2009; Scollon 2001). Therefore, to will address the first research question *(i.e., How do Followers stand up to Destructive Leadership?)* the project explores what *counter-discursive actions* Courageous Followers produce, as we explore and examine different actors' actions within each case study.

In this current project, CDA will not dive into the syntactical elements of specific sentences, but more on the semantic ones and therefore is a macro-form of CDA (Fairclough 1992b). To answer the above research questions within social dynamics, the current project will analyse Courageous Followers' *discursive actions,* as recommended by CDA scholars (Levina & Orlikowski's 2009, pp.678-81; Reisigl & Wodak 2009; Scollon 2001). These *discursive actions* identify and describe the written and oral communicative discourses and discursive systems (*e.g., semiotics, memos, meetings, speeches, policies, plans, actions, etc.*) that Courageous Followers employed to initiate and sustain discursive action. This analysis identifies the Courageous Followers' *discourse action's* intended purpose (*e.g., building credibility*), and its form (*e.g., presenting factual information or sending a memo*), to identify what was the intended objective and what particular genre they used.

As shown in Figure 4.8 below, the *chains of actions* for this project with the 'black' spheres representing the Courageous Followers' *discursive actions*. This project will use the *discursive actions* identified through this process as the starting point to produce the conceptual framework that models Courageous Followers' actions to collapse the Toxic Triangle.
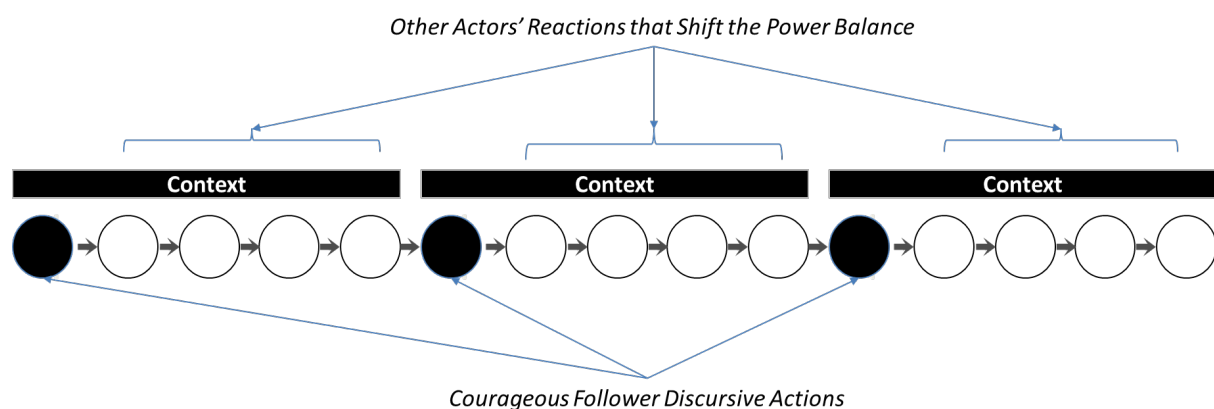
Figure 4.8: Chains of Courageous Follower discursive actions and others' reactions
(Adapted from Scollon (2001, p.166))

4.8.2.1.2 Step 2: Conformer Counter-Discursive Reactions

To explore the reactions after the Courageous Follower discursive actions, the first of the two

secondary research questions *(i.e., How, if at all, do Courageous Followers influence Conformer Followers?)* will be examined. As stated above, here the aim is to ascertain *alignment* between *discursive actions* of Courageous Follower and how Conformer Followers reacted to them within a macro *chain of action* (Levina & Orlikowski 2009; Scollon 2001). Here the CDA explores similarities in the *discursive actions* initiated by Courageous Followers which can be observed in Conformer Followers reactions (subsequent behaviour). Alignment between Courageous Follower espoused *discursive actions* and Conformer Follower enacted *discursive actions* will allow for the concentration on examples of significant congruence between the two resulting in some discursive agreement. This agreement may or may not shift the power balance in relation to Destructive Leadership. For instance, if a Conformer Follower listens to credible criticisms of a Destructive Leader by a Courageous Follower, and then aligns themselves with the Courageous Follower, they could take *discursive actions* to further intensify the resistance against the Destructive Leader. CDA scholars term these sets of *discursive actions* by actors as the counter-discourse (Reisigl 2017; Reisigl & Wodak 2009).

Change can be observed through a variety of occurrences, some are aligned, and others are contradictory or inconsistent, these can be mixtures of formal and informal styles, technical or non-technical, markets or authority and familiarity, written or spoken (Fairclough 1992b, p.97). Sometimes a particular discursive change gets picked up and eventually solidified into a new emergent element that initially appear to be a patchwork, but over time becomes seamless and can eventually establish norms and finally creates structural changes (ibid.). So, it is important to observe what *discursive actions* created by the Courageous Followers got traction with the Conformer Followers after a *period of adjustment* disarticulated the dominant discourse of the Destructive Leadership. Therefore, this project's CDA codes the archival material to capture the alignment between these two types of followers to determine which *discursive actions* by Courageous Followers gained traction with Conformer Followers and which ones failed to gain traction. This CDA captures this analysis under the macro-thematic category called *state of adjustment,* which was qualified by three sub-thematic categories *alignment, misalignment or neutral.* This CDA determines alignment by studying the reactions of Conformer Followers that showed that they had committed to support the initial *counter-discursive actions* of the Courageous Follower/s by taking certain *discursive actions* themselves against the Destructive Leadership.

4.8.2.1.3 Step 3: Destructive Leadership Counter-Discursive Reactions and Outcomes

After the above, the focus needs to see if the Courageous and Conformer Follower *alignment* produced a *reaction* from the Destructive Leadership within the *chain of action,* and thus shifted the

power balance in favour of the counter-discourse away from the existing destructive hegemony. To do so, the project now explores the final research sub-questions: *How, if at all, do Courageous and Conformer Followers change the power balance and collapse the Toxic Triangle?*

This project observes the shift in power balance through behaviours that represent the renegotiation (or not) of power, this CDA views it as the counter-discourse either being intensified or mitigated (Reisigl 2017; Reisigl & Wodak 2009). Several studies discussed that producers and interpreters of discourse, change the discursive conventions, codes and elements to produce cumulative structural changes thus altering hegemonic conditions (Giddens 1984; 1985; Fairclough 1992b; 2001; Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011). Over time, this disarticulates the existing order of power and creates new ones, that may affect order at both an institutional level or may transcend institutions and thus have a societal impact.

Phase 2 of this current project's CDA iterates between the three steps outlined here to determine if the initial *counter-discursive actions* (of the followers against the Destructive Leadership) make *structural changes.* As *action* and *structure* mutually influence each other over time (Giddens 1984). This project implements these changes by examining whether and how each instance of discursive alignment between Courageous and Conformer Followers (explored in through the previous secondary research questions), led to a structural change manifested in renegotiation of power relations in the leadership episode and/or shifts in power positions within each group. Therefore, the CDA uses another meta-thematic category called *power status between followers & Destructive Leadership* and qualifies this category with three sub-categories (*i.e., favourable renegotiation, unchanged and unfavourably renegotiation*). *The CDA observes favourable renegotiation* when the Destructive Leadership appeared weakened, in disarray or started negotiations, and conversely negative when that did not occur.

In the above way, this project subscribes to CDA's social practice analysis (Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011; van Dijk 1997; 2001; van Leeuwen 2009) by reviewing the outcomes of *counter-discursive discursive discursive discursive actions* and exploring the subsequent *reactions* from Destructive Leadership. The *project's CDA* records the Destructive Leaderships *reactions* when the *alignment* between Courageous Followers and Conformer Followers have induced those *reactions*. The *reactions* are recorded to determine the impact the *alignment* has on the power balance (negative or positive) against Destructive Leadership. For instance, if a Courageous Follower was directly to confront a Destructive Leader and their Colluder Followers, and the analysis observes that this leads to harmful outcomes for the follower, the CDA classifies this as a negative shift in the power balance. However, if a Courageous Follower along with aligned Conformer Followers confronted

a Destructive Leader and their Colluder Followers and the former received concessions, the CDA classifies this as a positive shift in the power balance. Therefore, this step in the methodology explores how discursive practices produced, reproduced, or transformed the power dynamics. In this way, the CDA attempts to follow different Courageous Follower *counter-discursive actions* along different *counter-discursive chain reactions* to determine their relative success (or lack thereof) in standing up to the Destructive Leadership.

4.8.3 Triangulation with CDA

This project adopts the CDA scholars' major principles to establish the significance of actions under study. A CDA study can achieve triangulation by relying on over two of the following: (1) *Actor generalisations*: Statements and claims actors make about their own actions, ideologies and motives; (2) *Neutral ('objective') observations*: Observations made by the researcher for which one can claim some level of reliability (i.e., multiple observations would produce the same 'facts') and validity (i.e., the observations represent an objective 'truth'); (3) *Individual member's experience*: An experience of an individual actor's often departs from that of the group, but those actors' experiences often keep a richness of concrete detail that undercuts excessive stereotyping and generalisation because these experiences include concrete historical detail about the habitus of the individual; and (4) *Observer's interactions with members*: An observer's interactions with members where the researcher brings their own analyses back to participants to get their reactions and interpretations (Scollon 2001, pp.153-154).

Validity Controls

This project's CDA has used archival sources to achieve the first three elements of CDA triangulation outlined above. As advocated by CDA scholars, this project uses contradictions among multiple types of archival material for in the final interpretation to achieve triangulation (ibid.). This CDA initially achieves triangulation through the rigorous process of biography selection partly inherited from the Historiometric Leadership scholars and expanded through this project. Some internal validity controls maintained in the project are: (1) number of outside sources referenced; (2) author credibility (*e.g., multiple peer-reviewed publications or first-hand accounts*); (3) degree of bias (*both positive and negative*) (4) was the author raised in case's country of origin; (5) publication type (*e.g., peer-reviewed, newspaper, etc.*); (6) native language of the source publication to be mindful of semantic changes that occurred during translation (Ligon, Harris & Hunter 2012, p.1124). Here are some external validity controls: (1) geographic region of the case (*i.e., Western or Non-Western*);

(2) gender of the main actors; (3) post or pre-WWII time period; (4) length of height of episodes; (5) length of case study; (6) type of setting (*e.g., media, government, business*) (ibid.).

The project selected case studies only if the power struggled occurred in the last century, so sufficient time has passed between the episode and current day to allow the study to analyse *retrospective chains of discursive actions* and *funnels of commitment*. Finally, the project only selected cases if it had at least one fact-base academic biography describing the case, thus bringing more validity to the archival data.

4.8.4 Analytical Framework and Research Design

Theory-building and theory-testing studies demands methodological rigour (Eisenhardt 1991). Qualitative scholars regard theory building from case studies as the best method to traverse from qualitative evidence to deductive research (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). This project will have three case studies with twelve episodes—see the *Sample Frame* represented in Table 4.2 on p.93 above. Each episode highlights Courageous Followers attempts to resist Destructive Leaders within different Toxic Triangles. Through this process the project explored *discursive actions* that have been successful and unsuccessful in resistance attempts. While the research is exploratory, the project aligns these *discursive actions* to the literature to provide additional theoretical rigour.

Qualitative case study scholars suggest that a priori framework with constructs contribute to the initial design of theory-building research (Eisenhardt 1989). This project's the analytical framework aligns with Firth's 'typical context of the situation' (*i.e., features of participants (persons, personalities), verbal action, non-verbal action, relevant objects, effects of verbal action*) (Robins 1971, p.37). Due to the breadth of the domains between the cases (*e.g., business, politics across Western and Easter cultures*) and the wide-ranging episodes within each case, the unit of analysis (*e.g., individual, organisational, societal*) was not specifically one organisation or individual or society. The Toxic Triangle lends itself well to multiple units of analysis, as scholars have applied it to the Destructive Leadership phenomena that encompasses contexts from the macro to the microenvironment. The Toxic Triangle looks at broad environmental factors like culture and the economy to internal checks and balances within an organisation.

The project will analyse the archival material in two phases. The first phase has two parts, which contribute to *Surfacing the Toxic Triangle,* and as illustrated in Figure 4.9 below: (1) a review of the *conducive environments* that contributed to the Destructive Leadership and (2) the identification of actors or groups of actors (*i.e., the destructive leader and genres of followers*) based on theoretical

characteristics and behaviours previously discussed in the literature. In the second phase, the project analyses the *discursive actions* of actors and their impact on the power balance. As also illustrated in the figure below, this phase comprises three steps: (1) the examination of the Courageous Followers' *counter-discursive actions* against the Destructive Leadership; (2) the Conformer Followers *reactions* to those *counter-discursive actions* and (3) the Destructive Leadership's subsequent *reactions* and associated outcomes with respect to the power balance.

While working through the above phases there are flexible ways in which to code data, for instance, using broad terms to code large portions of the data and potentially focusing on 'moments of crisis' (Fairclough 1992b, p.230). These broad terms make visible aspects of social practices that might have been hard to notice and also demonstrate change, and how people deal with different contingencies (ibid.). Content analysis is a key starting point of most discourse by demonstrating that some features of the text are more compatible than other features, thus enabling the researcher to create different *discourse types* (ibid.).
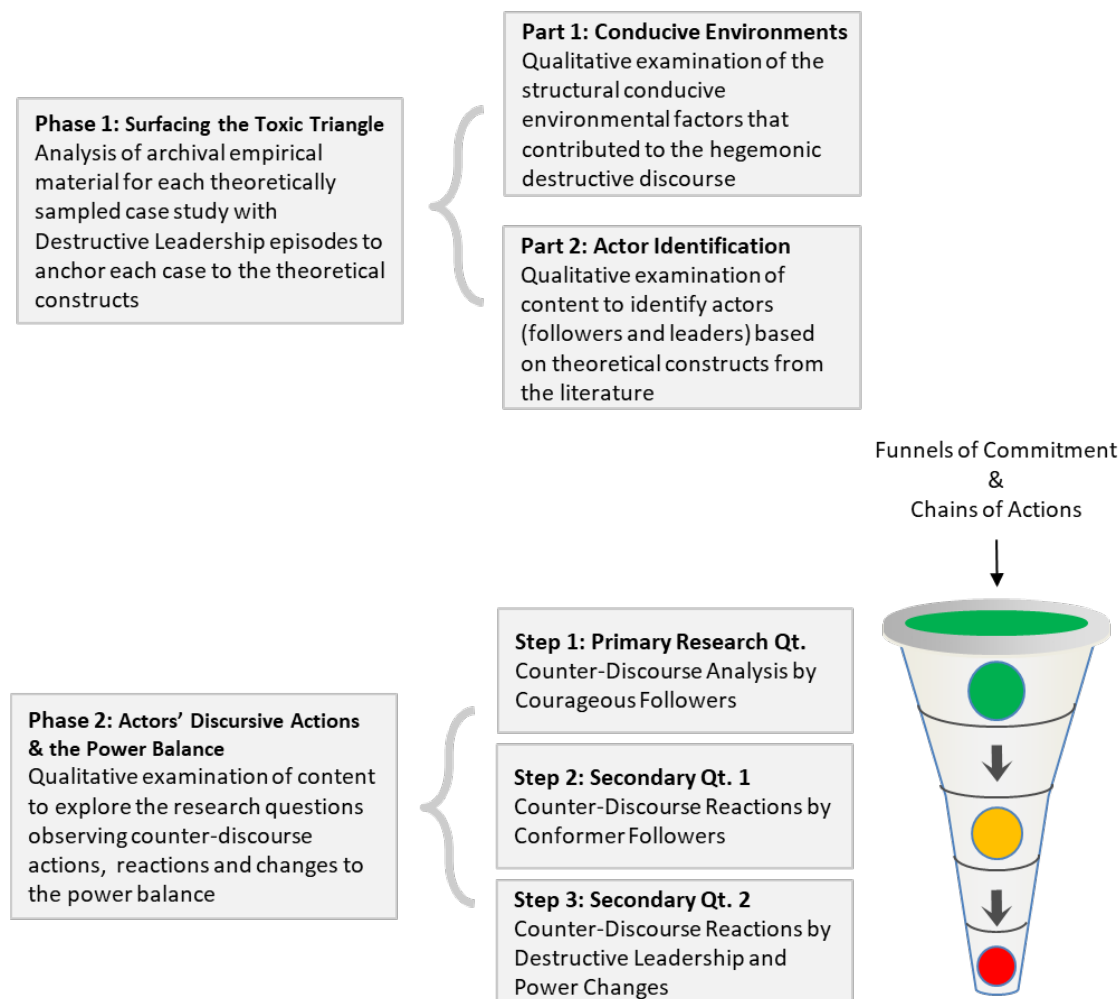
Figure 4.9: Analytical Framework & Research Design

The project has termed collections of similar *discourse types* as *discursive categories* of actions and is a key element of the analytical framework. *A discursive category* is a broad umbrella term, as often it is not clear if something is a genre, an action, style, or discourse (Fairclough 1992, p.232). This is important as the analysis of social practices is difficult to reduce to an explicit checklist (ibid. p.237). There are many hundreds, if not thousands of relevant units, levels, dimensions, moves, strategies, types of acts, devices, and other structures of discourse (van Dijk 2001, p.98). However, CDA also describes multi-dimensions of analysis of phenomena involved in discourse (*e.g., sounds, forms, meanings, or actions*) (ibid.). This project subscribes to CDA scholar's description of discourse as action and interaction which are social actions accomplished by actors (van Dijk 1997, p.12). Beyond the minutiae of linguistics, thus the current project will primarily focus on meaning and actions of discourse as represented in the text rather than the micro-level linguistics. At a macro-level CDA scholars depart from traditional linguistics and grammar and focus on topics or themes within the text (ibid. p.9).

To capture the breadth of the range, as detailed in above, the unit of analysis will be *discursive actions* to look at comparable factors that actors used irrespective of the context. To address the research questions, these *discursive categories* include actions, with genres (*e.g., semiotics, memos, meetings, speeches, policies*) that actors repeatedly demonstrated to realise particular social purposes (Fairclough 1992b; Scollon 2001). In the current project's implementation of CDA, the emphasis is on the general intention of the text, on key semantic or thematic blocks. So, this CDA will harness patterns of actions to explore the *discursive categories* that were used to construct the meaning of power (Fiol 1991). In this way, the project rationalised clusters of *discursive actions* into *discursive categories* representing recurring themes. These *discursive actions*, within specific fields of social action, will be the primary units of analysis (Reisigl 2017; Reisigl & Wodak 2009). To provide a strong framework, this project uses an abductive approach to generate *discursive categories* of *discursive actions* to raise the level of abstraction. The project did an iterative process linking back to the extant theory building on each episode until the CDA reached a saturation point.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter detailed the rationale of the research paradigm being *historical realism,* the blend of *realism* and *relativism* as it explores the tension between *structure* and *agency.* Considering that Destructive Leadership and power balances shift over time, using archival empirical material, this project has implemented a form of longitudinal study. This study will examine three theoretically sampled cases, comprising 12 episodes and 70 events in total. Each episode describes a mix of

successful and unsuccessful discursive acts undertaken by Courageous Followers against the Destructive Leadership operating in the said case.

Several scholars have said that *power* and *discourse* are indistinguishable and form a part of each other (Clegg, Courpasson & Phillips 2006; Foucault 1980; Hardy & Phillips 2004; Phillips, Lawrence & Hardy 2004). Hence, this project will use *Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)* to explore the shifts in power balance. The CDA undertaken in this project links the theoretical constructs that constitute the Toxic Triangle to the literature on: Courageous Followership; power and influence; and Structuration Theory. The analytical framework introduced in Section 4.8.4 (above) shows how the study implements CDA in two phases, with multiple sub-components. These components have several internal and external validity controls to ensure triangulation as described in Section 4.8.3 (above).

Chapter 5 – Analysis & Findings – Case Study 1: Mass Movements

5.1 Overview

This chapter discusses the first of three case studies, exploring the process of how followers attempt to shift the power balance against Destructive Leadership. This case focuses on power dynamics in the resistance to European Imperialism in the first decades of the 20th century. To get some insight into the process, as described in the methodology chapter, the first section *(i.e., Phase 1)* surfaces the Toxic Triangle across all episodes of the case.

In Phase 1, each case reviews the Destructive Leadership setting. This contains an alignment between the case and the vertices of the Toxic Triangle. The process will anchor each case to the theoretical constructs. This anchoring includes reviewing empirical material to categorise actors based on their attributes and behaviours as Destructive Leaders, Susceptible Followers (*i.e., Conformer Followers, Colluder Followers*) and the Conducive Situational Factors (*e.g., culture, environmental influence, quality of institutions*). There will also be a similar anchoring process to reveal individuals who behaved as Courageous Followers.

Phase 2 explores *actors' discursive actions and the power balance* through four episodes that unfolded over the 16 year of the period investigated. Section 5.3.1.2 Discursive Analytical Framework - Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions, at the end of the first episode (on p.125 below), outlines the framework of the *discursive categories ,* prior to analysing that episode. These adduced *discursive categories* contain clusters of *discursive events and actions* and are used when analysing all the three cases and twelve episodes. This *discursive analytical framework* developed on the project is a key part of its contribution to the academic fields of leadership and followership.

To provide background, the first case explores the behaviours of Courageous Followers in standing up to the Destructive Leaders of European Imperialism from 1906 to the early 1920s. This case covers the Courageous Followership of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi and several other Followers who sought to resist and ultimately overthrow British imperialism in South Africa and India. Before Gandhi's departure to South Africa, he described himself as an insecure, inarticulate and nervous man (Gandhi 1927) and far from a great leader of the 20th Century he was to become (Mandela 1999). In his own autobiography, Gandhi describes that he struggled with studying the Civil Procedure Code, and even in areas of the law that he enjoyed, he did not have

the courage to conduct a case, and failed as a lawyer in India (Gandhi 1927).

The literature suggests that certain individuals like Gandhi while widely regarded as leaders, began their resistance as Courageous Followers (Malakyan 2014). It is self-evident that nearly all people start out as followers in some sense before becoming leaders. Gandhi went to South Africa after having failed to launch a legal career in the Indian cities of Rajkot or Bombay (Chadha 1997; Fischer 1954; Gandhi 1927). In this case, Gandhi balances a *dichotomous role* as an oppressed *follower* under the Destructive Leadership during European imperialism, while simultaneously rising to be a leader of the Indian freedom struggle. The case also contains accounts of *discursive actions* from several other followers who worked towards countering the Destructive Leadership of the regime.

This project analysed the Mass Movements case using nearly 80 sources of archival materials *(refer to Appendix A: Bibliography Mass Movements Case for a list of sources on p.308).* In different ways, these all describe discursive acts of resistance and counter-resistance pursued by Gandhi and other followers. Some material reviewed contained Gandhi's own writing including his contemporaneous speeches and newspaper articles in *Indian Opinion, Young India and Harijan.* The case reviews several of the 99 volumes of Gandhi's collected works that relate to the four episodes selected. Also considered were seven biographies on Gandhi, as well as several biographies covering the lives of individuals integral to that period. These included key actors relevant to the episode such as Edward Wood (Lord Halifax), Muhammad Ali Jinnah, Charles Freer Andrews, General Jan Smuts, Rufus Isaacs (Lord Reading), Winston Churchill, and Jawaharlal Nehru. Some of these works have been validated by historiometric leadership scholars (Bedell et al. 2006). The project reviewed several other sources of empirical material on Gandhi and the Indian Freedom struggle such as seminal pieces by Subash Chandra Bose, Dinanath Gopal Tendulkar and Alfred Draper's account of the Amritsar massacre. These sources provided the case with multiple historical and first-hand accounts and contributed to data triangulation.

5.2 Phase 1: Surfacing the Toxic Triangle: Aligning its Vertices to This Case

This subsection surfaces the *conducive environment* vertex of the Toxic Triangle within the overall case. As the other vertices (i.e., the various actors' attributes and behaviours) of the Toxic Triangle varied between episodes, the case will discuss those vertices and Courageous Followers' within each episode. Of importance, a focus on Courageous Followers' discursive actions, thus surfacing the Toxic Triangle is partly for the purpose of establishing the situational antecedents to the *discursive acts* of resistance.

The *conducive environment* encompasses four elements from the macro to the micro levels in the form of *cultural values, instability, perceived threats,* and *lack of checks and balances* (Padilla 2013; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). During the period of European Imperialism in Africa and Asia, Gandhi (and most non-Europeans) endured an environment of oppression, racism and disadvantage (Fischer 1954; Gandhi 1999c; Mandela 1999). The *conducive environmental* factors were a racist-based society, one aligning with Jones' global definition of racism as: "a system of structuring opportunity and assigning value based on phenotype (Jones 2002, p.10)." Such systems unfairly disadvantage or advantage certain individuals or communities and lead, among other things, to a waste of human resources across society (ibid.). This disparity contributed to deeply rooted ideas of white supremacy and racism that the Europeans *institutionalised* in the laws and societal hierarchies (Curry 2009; Gandhi 1927).

In India, there were entrenched practices of segregation, with many social establishments across the country being only for Europeans, barring entry and participation by people of colour (Hyde 1967; Tinker 1979). Such practices were also imposed in South Africa. For example, non-whites were not permitted in certain churches (Hyde 1967; Tinker 1979). The overall cultural values which influenced the Destructive Leadership in this case stemmed from centuries of destructive European invasions and occupation of different continents and its peoples in the West's project of global colonisation.

Further, the Destructive Leadership justified its actions often based on *perceived threats* to protect the elite, white ruling class (Chadha 1997). This *institutionalisation* of racism gave licence to European organisations and people to execute racist behaviour from the macro to the micro levels in their daily interactions. Beyond race-based laws and taxes, the empirical material reveals that this environment of racism is observed through the Destructive Leadership's abuse, imprisonment or massacre of their own constituents (*i.e., individuals in positions of followership*) based purely on race and justified by threats (often perceived or fabricated) to maintain the *stability* of status quo (Draper 1985; Huttenback 1971; *Indenture: A new system of slavery?* 2019; Tinker 1979).

The Destructive Leadership of the day often created fear by talking about an Asiatic or Coolies (a derogatory term to refer to humans from the Indian subcontinent) invasion which would cause *instability* to pass more discriminatory laws (Huttenback 1971; Gandhi 1928). In this way *perceived threats* and *instability* were used to further *institutionalise* discrimination. At the same time, reports state that when Europeans shot or sexually assaulted non-Whites, they would often get acquitted or incur a minor fine (Hyde 1967). Thus, the archival material shows that the *checks and balances,* or implementing them, were inadequate as the European ruling class created them. The European

Destructive Leadership administered these *checks and balances* to suit their own purposes. In such a regime accountability was mostly non-existent.

During and in the wake of European imperialism, this project argues that, based on race, large underprivileged populations of the world experienced disadvantageous outcomes. This thesis subscribes to the definition that Destructive Leadership is based on outcomes and social impact (Mumford 2006; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Therefore, because of the negative outcomes and social impact, this case aligns to Destructive Leadership. With the pervasiveness of this Toxic Triangle, we will now explore the discursive acts of the followers who found the courage to challenge European imperialism.

5.3 Phase 2: Actors' Discursive Actions and the Power Balance

This section analyses four episodes that constitute this case. The analysis of each episode focuses on uncovering which initial discursive actions and subsequent sequences of discursive reactions contributed to, or failed to contribute, to collapsing the Toxic Triangle—Figure 5.1 below. Drawing on the method of CDA, there is an exploration of how Courageous Followers stood up to and resisted Destructive Leaders along with the resulting *chains of actions* by Conformer Followers and the Destructive Leadership.
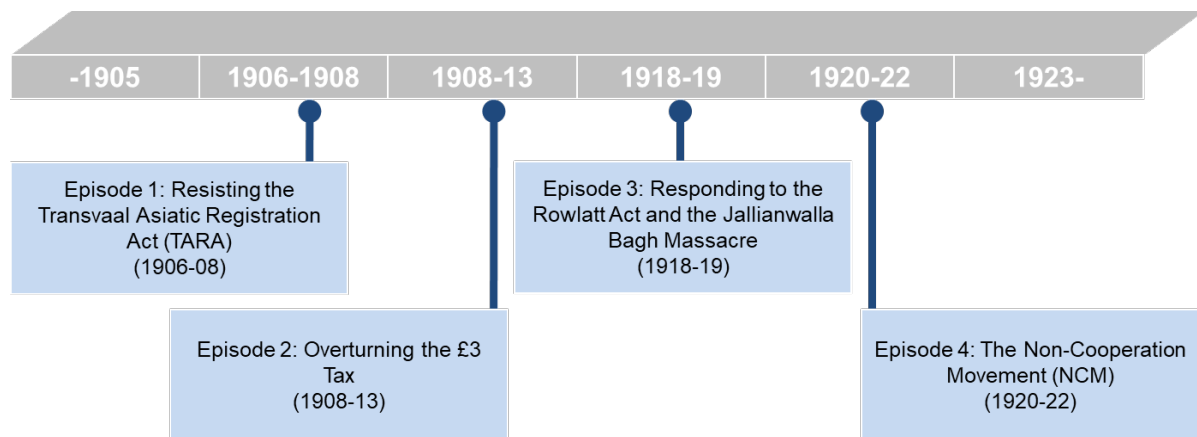
Figure 5.1: Episodes in the Case on Courageous Followership against European Imperialism

1. **Resisting the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act (TARA):** Gandhi begins as a Courageous Follower when resisting the Transvaal Asiatic Act which furthered institutionalised racism in South Africa (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1999a; Tendulkar

1951a).

2. **Overturning the £3 Tax:** Gandhi and other Courageous Followers successfully overturn discriminatory laws, in particular the £3 Tax on poor indentured labourers in South Africa (Chaturvedi & Sykes 1949; Gandhi 1928; Guha 2013; Nanda 1968);

3. **Responding to the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre:** Courageous Followers resist the passage of the Rowlatt Act in India, which severely curtailed civil liberties of Indians and was an antecedent to the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre of hundreds of innocent unarmed civilians (including children) ordered by the British (Chadha 1997; Draper 1985; Tinker 1979);

4. **The Non-Cooperation Movement (NCM):** Indians pursue the first mass 'Non-Cooperation' Indian independence movement (Low 1966; Tendulkar 1951b), which was a non-violent civil-disobedience resistance that shifted the power balance against Imperialist government (Bose 1934a; Fischer 1954).

5.3.1 Episode 1: Resisting the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act (TARA)

Introduction

Gandhi lived in South Africa at the turn of the 20th century, having gone there after his own admitted failing as a lawyer and teacher in India (Fischer 1954; Huttenback 1971). In his early life, Gandhi wore Western suits; learned European dancing and French; and generally sought to conform to the Imperial system (Gandhi 1927). Upon moving to South Africa, he was virtually a lone individual, having none of what French and Raven's (1959) term bases of power, which take in such entities as *reward power, coercive power, legitimate power, referent power, and expert power.*

This episode discusses the formation of the union of South Africa, which included the leaders of the newly constituted country passing of several race-based laws around 1906. Under the European hegemony in South Africa, a critical piece of legislation passed was the Transvaal Asiatic Registration act (TARA). Among other things, this act required all Asians to be registered (with fingerprinting) and restricting them to live in designated areas (or ghettos) (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1927; 1928; Tendulkar 1951a). These developments occurred in the provinces of Transvaal and Natal during the transition to a Union government in South Africa which had just gained autonomy from direct British rule.

The primary Destructive Leaders in this episode were General Jan Christian Smuts and General Louis Botha. Botha was the newly elected Prime Minister of Transvaal and Smuts was appointed the Colonial Secretary of the new Government, the latter primarily dealing with the Asian community (Hancock 1962)—see Figure 5.2 below. Both individuals eventually served as Prime Minister of the newly formed union of South Africa (ibid.). The leaders displayed behaviours congruent with Destructive Leaders, which included discrimination towards other races, authorising violence, poor integrity, and the reneging on agreements (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1927; 1928). A range of key British and British-based politicians, bureaucrats, and law enforcement officials, including such figures as Lord Elgin; Montfort Chamney; Justice Malcolm Searle, Lord Selborne, supported and helped to expand the discrimination in South Africa. Therefore, this project classifies the aforementioned individuals as Colluder Followers in this episode. Collectively the Destructive Leaders and their Colluder Followers represented the Destructive Leadership.

The Europeans in South Africa practiced discrimination right through the society including segregation based on race through the institutions of both the state and community which is why this project classifies the wider public as Conformer Followers—as captured in Figure 5.2 below. The archival material shows that racism was so entrenched in the culture of white South Africans that even certain churches were extended to whites only (Chaturvedi & Sykes 1949; Tinker 1979). Accounts show that Charles Freer Andrews, an English Christian missionary, protested that institutions of Christianity (Churches) that propagated white racism were opposed to Christ himself (Chaturvedi & Sykes 1949; Tinker 1979). He is recorded to have said that "Christianity in its present unholy alliance with the white race utterly cannot cope with the evil [of racism]" (Tinker 1979, p.88). The archival materials show that Englishman Henry Polak and German Hermann Kallenbach among other Europeans concurred with Andrews' view, as they courageously and actively supported the Indians in their resistance, some even went to prison for the cause (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1999a; Guha 2013).

Racist cultural values; Perceived threats to protect the white ruling class; biased checks and balances with discriminatory laws, taxes and inequitious wealth distribution

Environment

Susceptible Followers

Destructive Leaders

Key Colluders: Lord Elgin; Montfort Chamney; Justice Malcolm Searle, Lord Selborne
Key Conformers: Public Servants; Politicians, South African Europeans, South African Christians, South African Asians

General Jan Smuts and General Louis Botha (1st and 2nd Prime Ministers of South Africa)

Figure 5.2: The Toxic Triangle when Gandhi was in South Africa

5.3.1.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

A destructive situation developed on August 22nd, 1906, when the Transvaal Government published the draft Asiatic Law Amendment Ordinance in the *Government Gazette* (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928). This required all Asians over eight years of age to register for mandatory fingerprinting and be issued with a certificate of registration that they had to carry with them at all times. Non-compliance meant all Asians would risk fines, deportation, seizure of assets or imprisonment (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928). This act designated the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act (TARA) was significant in provoking resistance to the Destructive Leadership in South Africa.

5.3.1.1.1 Organising Meetings, Speeches and Publications on the "Black Ordinance"

To resist this law, the followers started by organising a small meeting of Indians (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1927). In that meeting, Gandhi explained each line of the proposed Ordinance and reportedly shared his perspective by saying: "This is a very serious crisis. If the Ordinance was passed and if we acquiesced in it, it would be imitated all over South Africa" (Gandhi 1928, p.159). The record shows that Gandhi and others worked hard to change people's perspectives by stating the consequences if they did nothing (Chadha 1997).

A significant action on Gandhi's part was to translate the Ordinance into several Indian languages

and to publish it in the *Indian Opinion* newspaper (ibid.). Through the newspaper, Gandhi presented the Ordinance as evidence to reach a broader coalition of people spanning the boundaries of different languages (Gandhi 1928). The Asians intensified their actions and labelled the proposed act the "Black Ordinance" and made it the principal topic reported in their newspaper (ibid. p.170). Reports show that they organised several meetings and published translations of this Ordinance which had the effect of growing coalitions of supporters (Gandhi 1927). In the face of this developing resistance, the European leadership chose to ignore the small movement (Chadha 1997).

5.3.1.1.2 Multi-Faith Community Resolution - An Oath

Another incident of resistance occurred when businessman H.O. Ally with the Hamida Islamic, organised a meeting presided by prominent resident Abdul Gani (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928; Huttenback 1971). They conducted the meeting in five different languages to span the boundaries of people with different religions and cultures (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928; Huttenback 1971).

Attendees discussed a major resolution against the 'Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act' (TARA) (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928; Huttenback 1971). Speaker Haji Habib is recorded as saying that "we must pass this resolution with God as witness and never yield a cowardly submission to such a degrading legislation" (Gandhi 1928, p.167). In response, Gandhi, as an attendee, spoke up:

> We all believe in one and the same God, the differences of nomenclature in Hinduism and Islam notwithstanding. To pledge ourselves or to take an oath in the name of that God or with Him as witness is not something to be trifled with. If having taken such an oath, we violate our pledge we are guilty before God and man. (ibid. p.165)

With Gandhi's perspective, the multi-faith coalition made a collective decision to cross a point of no return (Chadha 1997). Gandhi said they must face consequences like ridicule, hunger, insults, fines, discomfort, floggings, imprisonment and be willing to die; but not submit to TARA (Gandhi 1928, pp.167-69).

The moment intensified when Gandhi declared: "So long as there is even a handful of men true to their pledge, there can only be one end to the struggle, and that is victory" (ibid. p.168). Historians regard this as the birth of the Satyagraha movement of peaceful civil disobedience, as articulated by Gandhi (Chadha 1997).

5.3.1.1.3 Taking the Resistance Beyond the Boundaries of South Africa

In the lead up to the vote on TARA, the Indians pursued most available legal avenues (Gandhi 1927). The European Leadership nevertheless still passed the legislation, its final implementation requiring the approval of the British Government (Chadha 1997). In response, the coalition elected Gandhi and Ally to travel to Britain to do whatever could be done ahead of Lord Elgin, the British Secretary of State for Colonies signing the ordinance (Chadha 1997; Hunt 1978; Huttenback 1971).

Reportedly, two coalition members from different minority groups who felt excluded from the trip to Britain, sabotaged Gandhi's efforts by writing a letter to Elgin painting Gandhi as a professional political agitator (Hunt 1978; Huttenback 1971). Gandhi's appeal to Elgin failed, and the ordinance was approved (Hunt 1978; Huttenback 1971).

In response to the setback, Gandhi saw Elgin's dismissal as a challenge and persisted in the fight against the legislation (Hunt 1978). Gandhi and Ally remained in London and escalated their activities by repeatedly meeting with several Liberal and Labour Members of Parliament who were sympathetic to their cause (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928; Huttenback 1971). Gandhi wrote to a British MP Claude Hay, saying: "We are appealing to all parties and have received support too from them" (Gandhi 1999a, p.162). In such efforts, Gandhi managed to build a coalition among some Conservatives, Liberals, Irish Nationalists, and the Labour party (Hunt 1978). The cross-party coalition that had been forged gained the attention of Liberal Prime Minister, Campbell-Bannerman. The persistence of Gandhi and Ally paid off; in the face of this opposition, Elgin was forced to reverse his decision and repeal the Ordinance (ibid.).

5.3.1.1.4 Forming the Satyagraha Association to Resist

For the Courageous Followers, the repeal of the ordinance was unfortunately temporary. Elgin reportedly advised the Transvaal authorities to wait a few months as Transvaal would cease to be a Crown Colony and would be able to enact its own laws (Hunt 1978; Huttenback 1971). Thus, at the first session of parliament in March 1907, the newly elected Transvaal government re-passed the same TARA legislation (Hunt 1978; Huttenback 1971).

In response, the Indians created the 'Passive Resistance Association' to coordinate their resistance (Nanda 1968, p.97). Through the association, Indians called for mass boycotting of the race-based fingerprinting by publishing news articles, holding meetings and with posters and flyers (ibid.). To highlight the racist nature of the law, accounts state that they symbolically relabelled the 'Black

Ordinance' as the 'Black Act' (Tendulkar 1951a, p.135).

The Asians intensely grew their coalition by holding public meetings and at every opportunity encouraged people to take oaths of resistance (Gandhi 1928; 1999b; Tendulkar 1951a). Posters were displayed saying:

> Boycott the permit office! By going to gaol we do not resist but suffer for our common good and self-respect - Loyalty to the King demands loyalty to the King of Kings - Indians be free! (Gandhi 1999b, p.83)

The European Leadership responded by emphasising that every European unanimously asked for the law and that the Indians needed to be loyal to peace and comply with it (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1999b). After many failed attempts to remove TARA, Gandhi felt that Indians thought *passive resistance* was being seen as weak (Gandhi 1928). Through the *Indian Opinion* newspaper (published in several languages), Gandhi offered a small prize for suggestions for a new name. Through this process Gandhi rebranded it the 'Satyagraha' association (ibid.).

'Satyagraha' means the *force of truth and love and non-violence* (Gandhi 1928, p.173). Reportedly, the movement crossed ethnic boundaries and English newspapers started covering the cause, thus attracting the attention of egalitarian-minded Europeans (ibid. p.174). Despite all these efforts, TARA remained in place.

5.3.1.1.5 Going to Prison for the First Time to Advance the Struggle

The next significant development was for members of Satyagraha to be prepared to go to prison. Ram Sundara was the first Satyagrahi to go to prison; on release however, he fled the province (Gandhi 1907, p.487). Despite that, Gandhi continued to call people to boycott the fingerprinting and openly refused to register himself (Chadha 1997). The Government arrested Gandhi and sentenced him to prison (ibid.). Once sentenced, Gandhi feared that nobody would join him (Gandhi 1928).

After Gandhi's arrest, accounts show that the prisons were filled with a 150 Satyagrahis including some Chinese (Chadha 1997). Gandhi supported the Chinese community through the *Indian Opinion* newspaper condemning the oppressive laws which caused a suicide of a Chinese labourer (Gandhi 1907). Reports suggest that the movement crossed boundaries as news of this struggle spread to the homelands of those migrants and beyond (Chadha 1997).

In his contemporaneous writings, Gandhi elaborated on the meaning of being a Satyagrahi. He

provided the following perspective to his fellow followers: "A Satyagrahi differs from the generality of men in this, that if he submits to a restriction, he submits voluntarily, not because he is afraid of punishment, but because he thinks that such submission is essential to the common weal" (Gandhi 1928, p.247). Gandhi continued articulating an alternative discourse by saying a Satyagrahi has no fear and that the Government cannot exercise power over them as they held the 'weapon of Satyagraha' in their hands (Gandhi 1928; 1999d, p.388).

Eventually, the European Leadership felt compelled to respond to developments. With Botha and Smuts sending an envoy to present a settlement to the prisoners (Chadha 1997). The settlement suggested that if the minorities voluntarily registered themselves, then the Leadership would repeal the discriminatory act (ibid.). Gandhi and fellow Satyagrahis, a Tamilian and the president of the Chinese Association chose to accept the compromise settlement and signed it.

5.3.1.1.6 Assaulting Gandhi and European Leadership Reneges

After Smuts confirmed that the cabinet had agreed to the amendments, the situation presented Gandhi and other members of the movement with a different challenge as they had to convince people to comply with t the new agreement (Chadha 1997). Gandhi in many speeches and meetings and through the *Indian Opinion* newspaper implored the people to show good faith, writing that truth is the basis of Satyagraha:

> A Satyagrahi bids good-bye to fear. He is therefore never afraid of trusting the opponent. Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the Satyagrahi is ready to trust him for the twenty first time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed (Gandhi 1928, p.246)

Some of the resisters did not support the agreement. Accounts show that a Pathan man, Mir Alam, for example opposed to acquiescing to Smuts, and said only criminals get all ten of their fingerprints taken (Chadha 1997, p.130). Alam threatened to kill the first person who applied for registration; in response Gandhi said he would go first (Nanda 1968; Tendulkar 1951a). Records show that when Gandhi was walking to register Alam along with a group of fellow ethnic Pathans, confronted the physically weaker Gandhi, knocked him unconscious and beat him (Nanda 1968; Tendulkar 1951a).

Despite being beaten up, needing stitches, in severe pain and unable to walk, Gandhi insisted on being the first on the register and requested the Registrar Monfort Chamney meet with him (Nanda 1968; Tendulkar 1951a). Eventually the voluntary registration began. All such efforts however, turned out to be in vain. The European leadership did not act in good faith, choosing instead to renege on their undertaking to repeal TARA (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928). This was a harsh lesson

for the growing movement. Gandhi accused Smuts of breaching his promise. While Gandhi's critics taunted him (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928).

5.3.1.2 Discursive Analytical Framework - Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

The case so far has identified a diverse range of *discursive acts* pursued by Gandhi and his followers in resisting the British race-based TARA legislation. Some of these acts included: Gandhi and others organising meetings, giving speeches and writing publications on the "Black Ordinance"; groups of followers taking oaths to refuse to submit to the ordinance; appealing to the British in London to repeal TARA; forming the Satyagraha Association; or going to jail. Courageous Followers achieved partial levels of success against the authorities through these *discursive actions*.

In the various micro-actions pursued by any Courageous Followers in their efforts to resist a Destructive Leadership, it is possible to interpret such initiatives in terms of larger *discursive categories*; that is to raise the level of abstraction and generalisability of individual actions, so one can understand them in some systematic way. On this point, Eisenhardt and Graebner (2007, p.30) speak of the importance of parsimony, robustness, and generalisability as qualities of superior theory, even when theory building via multiple case studies. Below is a list of the *discursive categories* identified from the TARA episode and from subsequent episodes investigated in this research project:

1. Confronting Internally

2. 'Rubiconising'

3. Marshalling Credible Evidence

4. Building and Maintaining Coalitions

5. Perspectivising

6. Boundary Spanning

7. Intensifying

To further understand these discursive categories and the nature of their generation, consider these few preliminary remarks. While they provide an overall perspective on the *discursive actions* pursued by Courageous Followers, and point to how they might achieve success, the categories are not

intended to be exhaustive. It is possible, from additional research to identify other categories, that could also crucial to successful resistance against Destructive Leaders. Another point is that, while this project conceives of each *discursive category* as distinctive, they are not necessarily discreet; sometimes the findings show that actions consist of comprise combinations of several categories. In many situations, the *discursive categories* will also operate in tandem. Finally, the last two categories *intensification* and *boundary spanning* are qualitatively different from the preceding categories. These latter two *discursive categories* relate to the degree of the action (*i.e., intensification*) and the locus of action (i.e., *boundary spanning),* which can be across different structures or organisational entities. These two *discursive categories* do not just characterise the action itself.

As noted, this project has generated the *discursive categories* in part by a preliminary analysis of data from the episodes considered in the research. The project has aligned the categories to Structuration theory's *interactions, modalities, structural systems*, s*tructures, rules* and *resources (see Table 3.2 on p.76 above).* This analysis has also invoked *power and influence mechanisms* where individuals can use their *agency* to change *structure*. Thus, the adduced *discursive categories* are both theory—and data—generated.

In what follows, the thesis defines each of the *discursive categories*, including exemplification of each, via specific actions described in the preceding TARA episode. The end of this chapter summarises all this material in table form, see Table 5.1 on p.165 below. The taxonomy of categories presented here operates in effect as the discursive analytical framework for the research; it is a key part of the project's contribution to the fields of leadership and followership.

(1) Confronting Internally: is a category of action involving Courageous Followers directly confronting the Destructive Leadership, within the latter's dominion of control (e.g., country, state, organisation, group). When faced with Destructive Leadership, *confronting internally*, is a very common follower strategy (Kusy & Holloway 2009; Lipman-Blumen 2005a; May et al. 2015).

One can associate *confronting internally* with the following mechanisms of power and influence: expert power, giving upward feedback, and articulating an alternative discourse. These *discursive actions* are typically realised through a range of discursive forms of an interpersonal nature including meetings, informal/formal conversations, memos; and can include information sharing or publishing publications confined to the dominion of the leadership group.

> In the TARA episode, *confronting internally* was not effective. Before the Transvaalian
> independence, until the Courageous Followers took their cause to Britain outside the

dominion of the Transvaal provincial government, the Destructive Leadership paid little attention to the Courageous Followers. Despite the Courageous Followers repeated attempts, the South African leadership ignored their objections; passed the discriminatory ordinance and sent it to Britain for approval.

Further, the moment Transvaal was granted autonomy from the British Empire, they reintroduced the same ordinance and it was passed. When the Courageous Followers resistance through the Satyagraha movement gained attention beyond the South Africa, due to vast number of arrests, it was only then that the Destructive Leadership negotiated and agreed to repeal TARA. However, the moment the Courageous Followers registered themselves voluntarily, the Destructive Leadership reneged on the signed agreement. Here, *confronting internally* implied that the Courageous Followers stayed within the *political* system's *state* structure *(see Table 3.2 on p.76 above)*, which heavily favoured the Destructive Leadership under the rule of *patriotism* with the *resources* of the *state*.

(2) 'Rubiconising': this category of action, drawing on Caesar's historic act of defiance (Beneker 2011), is when Courageous Followers act decisively on a plan or values, and in effect, cross a point of no return. Timing can be critical. Once Courageous Followers make a plan, they need to be decisive and expeditiously implement those plans against a more powerful Destructive Leadership to maintain momentum and shift the power balance. The project associates *'rubiconising'* with *courageous congruency* between *espoused values* and *actions,* continually exhibiting *congruency* between *values* and *actions* is *moral competence* (Gentile 2010). People do not practice this kind of *moral competence,* but groups can strengthen and improve morale with moral competence (Gentile 2010; Winn & Dykes 2019).

This project associates *'rubiconising'* with the following mechanisms of power and influence: *rule manipulation, increasing uncertainty, resource control,* and *network positioning.* This *discursive category* can also use *power through* or *power against* organisations against the Destructive Leadership. These *discursive actions* can take the form of meetings, phone calls, gatherings, speeches; extreme plans, radical actions, or enforcing deadlines. *'Rubiconising'* occurred in the episode when:

An example of *'Rubiconising'* from the TARA episode was when the multi-faith community took the oath to suffer 'all' the penalties, but not submit to TARA. After the first Satyagrahi, Sundara went to prison but fled the province on his release. In contrast Gandhi, despite his fears, went to prison and was *true to* his *values* in this *'rubiconising'* act. This gave strength to other members of the movement with 150 Satyagrahis following Gandhi's lead and

voluntarily going to prison. Those Satyagrahis were also *congruent* with their oath to '*rubiconise*' further strengthening the movement. This eventually resulted in an agreement with Botha and Smuts (the Destructive Leadership), notwithstanding their duplicity in subsequently reneging on this deal. Using the norms of *solidarity,* the Courageous Followers used the *communal* system's *ethnic* and *religious* structures to counter the *political* system's state *structures.*

To be *congruent* with the Destructive Leadership's agreement, Gandhi had to reverse course. Despite physical threats and actions against his life, Gandhi '*rubiconised*' and voluntarily registered himself. This courageous act of '*rubiconising*' got other Satyagrahis to register voluntarily and honour the agreement.

(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence: is a category of action when Courageous Followers collate and present credible evidence with a view to influencing other actors. To influence leaders (internally) followers often use supporting material – data, information, experience and the like (*i.e., marshalling credible evidence)* (Kipnis et al. 1984).

One can associate *marshalling credible evidence* with the following mechanisms of power and influence: *expert power, legitimate power, information control,* and *increasing uncertainty.* These *discursive actions* can take the form of: interviews, meetings, collecting classified government documentation, financial statements and secret company reports. Individuals can present this evidence via factual statements, plans or through documents.

In the TARA episode, after Government Gazette printed the proposed "Black Ordinance", Gandhi and other Courageous Followers used it as *credible evidence* of the injustice to follow. Gandhi and others worked through and translated each line of the proposed document in front of other Conformer Followers that were illiterate or did not speak the language the Government wrote the ordinance in.

Subsequently, Gandhi published copies of the ordinance along with translations in several languages in the *Indian Opinion* newspaper (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1927; 1928). Here too Gandhi *marshaled credible evidence* to influence supporters at a macro-level. Using the *Indian Opinion* newspaper Gandhi used *power through* an organisation against the Destructive Leadership to influence Conformer Followers.

In these instances, the Courageous Followers used the *intellectual* system structure with the *professional* structure system, as Gandhi being a lawyer was the resource with *expertise* and *legitimacy* to counter the *political* system's *state* structures.

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions: is a category of action when Courageous Followers grow support by influencing and recruiting other actors to align with one's agenda and then continually work to *maintain the coalition*. Follower often build coalitions which can get the attention of the leaders (Courpasson & Clegg 2012; Kipnis et al. 1984).

The project associates *building and maintaining coalitions* with the following mechanisms of power and influence: *expert power, legitimate power, information control, network positioning, increasing uncertainty* and *articulating ideologies*. This *discursive category* can also use *power through* or *power against* organisations. These *discursive actions* can take the form of personal communications, meetings, secret meetings, coded messages, public gathering, posters, advertising and other forms of *symbolism*.

> During the TARA episode, as soon as the Government published the ordinance and right through this episode, the Courageous Followers started to *build and maintain coalitions*. Gandhi and other key followers gained *network power* through this process as they were central actors to *build and maintain coalitions*.

> A failure to *maintain coalition* support is also significant with the TARA episode also showing how a lack of unity can negatively impact the Courageous Followers movement. This was seen for example, when members of the Courageous Follower coalition subverted Gandhi's and others' efforts to appeal to Lord Elgin. This subversion resulted in Elgin initially approving the ordinance and declining Gandhi's request. After that setback, Gandhi persisted and *built and maintained coalitions* with members across the British political system, that included, Conservatives, Liberals, Irish Nationalists and the Labour party. This eventually, led to the successful (albeit short-lived) repeal of the ordinance. *The Courageous Followers sought to build and maintain coalitions* drawing on principles of *egalitarianism* to influence the British *political* system to counter Transvaal's *political* system from the outside.

> Gandhi appeared to have learned from this lack of unity. When Ram Sundara (the first Satyagrahi to go to prison) fled the province on release, he *maintained the coalition's* objectives by going to prison himself. To *build and maintain coalitions,* the Courageous Followers created the Satyagraha Association. Again, this enabled them to concentrate their efforts and use *power through* that organisation. Through this the Courageous Followers harnessed the *communal* system with the *rules* of *Satyagraha (i.e., truth and love and non-violence)* to counter the *political* system.

(5) Perspectivising: is a category of action when Courageous Followers frame an alternative argument

against the ideologies and norms of the Destructive Leadership. *Perspectivising* is used to raise awareness to individuals or groups to shift the power balance and is more likely to be effective at a macro-level outside of the dominion of the Destructive Leadership. Historical CDA scholars have defined this *discursive strategy as* positioning one's point of view and expressing involvement or distance (Reisigl 2017, p.52; Reisigl & Wodak 2009, p.94). This category also encompasses *argumentation* designed to *persuade* others of the validity of specific claims of truth and normative rightness (Reisigl 2017, p.52; Reisigl & Wodak 2009, p.94).

One can associate *perspectivising* with the following mechanisms of power and influence: *increasing uncertainty, network positioning, over identification* and *articulating an alternative discourse*. This *discursive category* is also related to *power through* or *power against* organisations. These *discursive actions* can take the form of manifestoes, press articles, meetings, interviews, broadcasted memos, factual or emotive statements, speeches (or even to individuals) to plant the seeds for change often with *credible evidence* and through *symbolism*.

In the TARA episode, this discursive category was evident in the very first set of meetings about the act where Gandhi pointed out the gravity of the ordinance and raised awareness of its consequences. Perspectivising was also reflected in Gandhi's writings in the *Indian Opinion* newspaper and in posters calling for people to boycott the fingerprint registration process. Here too, Gandhi being a lawyer used the *intellectual* system structure with the *professional* structure system as the resource with *expertise* and *legitimacy* to counter the *state* structure.

> *Perspectivising,* through the Satyagraha association and movement, shows that Gandhi was also *symbolising* and using the power mechanism of *articulating a new ideology* which is a 'Domination' power counter-strategy. Through the principles of Satyagraha Gandhi was able to *articulate a new discourse* and help people *construct new identities,* serving as power mechanisms that can counter 'Subjectification' and 'Domination' power strategies of *conformity, disciplinary regimes,* and *governmentality.* The *articulation of Satyagraha's ideology* is observed to be powerful and was a significant contributing factor to Gandhi being able to win over the hearts and minds of people. It also allowed Courageous and Conformer Followers to bind themselves to the principles (*i.e., rules*) of *truth* and *non-violence* over the laws (*i.e., rules*) of the *state* structure.
>
> It can also be argued that through the rebranding the passive resistance movement Satyagraha, Gandhi was *perspectivising* and also using the power mechanism by creating *an alternative value system* for Conformer Followers to be loyal to as opposed to the extant Structures. Chaleff (2009) argues that this is also critical, to enable Courageous Followers to

feel loyalty to a set of principles over a an individual or individuals. Satyagraha was a unifying *perspective* across the boundaries of deep religious and cultural divisions among the Indian and other ethnic groups. The Courageous Followers often conducted their meetings in different languages. The *perspective* of Satyagraha helped the Courageous Followers unify the diverse groups of Conformer Followers to overcome significant challenges.

When Gandhi wanted to get people to change their minds and voluntarily register, it can be rationalised that he continued to *intensify* the *perspectivising* through the symbolic act of being the first to sign the register (*i.e., symbolising*) under what the archival material describes as life-threatening circumstances.

(6) Boundary Spanning: is a category of action when Courageous Followers go from the micro to the macro-social level and vice versa. *Boundary spanning* is also includes expanding to a level equal or greater than the Destructive Leader's dominion of control *(e.g., country, state, organisation, group)*. The literature classifies *boundary spanning* can as actions that go across *structures (e.g., religious, political, communal etc)*. *Boundary spanning* involves performing activities both inside and outside of structures (Haas 2015; Long, Cunningham & Braithwaite 2013; Pedersen et al. 2017). One sees *transformation* as a type of *boundary spanning* connected with using *agency* to change *structure* through confrontation (Akkerman & Bakker 2011).

This project associates *boundary spanning* with the following mechanisms of power and influence: *increasing uncertainty, network positioning, increasing uncertainty* and *articulating an alternative discourse*. This *discursive category* can also use *power against* the Destructive Leadership. These *discursive actions* can take the form of meetings, personal communications, public statements or press releases, including certain symbolic acts.

> In the TARA episode, *boundary spanning* was a central activity. People from India have different ethnicities, cultures and languages. In the meeting when the followers took their oath, Gandhi emphasised the term God irrespective of differences of nomenclature. In this way, there was *boundary spanning* across different religious beliefs. Gandhi continually relied on the *communal* system's *ethnic* and *religious* structures with the resource of *public sentiment* and rule of *solidarity* to challenge the *state* structures, often using the press to amplify his point of view (*i.e., perspectivising and boundary spanning*).
>
> At that time, it appears Gandhi still maintained a basic belief in the legitimacy of the British Empire. An example of this was his challenging of the rules of the state by overtly invoking

the rule of peace as a Christian tenant *(i.e., using religious structures with tenants being akin to rules)*. Thus, he wrote in the Johannesburg Star newspaper: "It is because I consider myself to be a lover of the Empire… I have advised my countrymen at all costs to resist the Act in the most peaceful, and shall I add, Christian manner" (Gandhi 1999b, p.389).

Self-sacrifice and equality are core tenets of several major religions (Bergin 1980) and by extension societies. Gandhi continually used those tenets to *boundary span* by drawing on it, and making it core to the principles of Satyagraha (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1927; 1928). Therefore, it can be rationalised that to unite the diverse Indian population and appeal to Europeans *(i.e., boundary spanning)* Gandhi appears to have harnessed structural diversity through the *political* and *communal* activity systems by drawing on the rules in the *religious*, *ethnic* and *state* structures. These structures subscribed the rules of self-sacrifice, solidarity, egalitarianism, truth and non-violence, even if they used different terminology.

Another key aspect of *boundary spanning* in this episode is the success that the Courageous Followers achieved by reaching out to the British who had authority over the Crown controlled provinces in South Africa. Similarly, they also achieved success when the Satyagraha movement gained traction in European newspapers and in the homelands of the oppressed Asians. Here an external *political* and *communal* systems were used to counter Transvaal's *political* system.

Indian historian Guha reiterated that Gandhi's was successful at *boundary spanning* and unifying *(i.e., build and maintain coalitions)* a diverse people. Guha noted that Gandhi through Satyagraha successfully united peoples of different religious, cultural and caste backgrounds through self-sacrifice (Varma & Guha 2019). At the time, Gandhi himself was fully aware of this, writing in the *Indian Opinion,* "If the struggle does nothing else, it will have been worth the fight if only because it will have knit together the different sections of the Indian community" (Gandhi 1907, p.483).

(7) Intensifying: is a category of action when Courageous Followers make multiple persistent attempts, using varying avenues to influence the status quo, even when faced with repeated setbacks. Persistent effort is associated with "grit", which can be developed to build resilience in the face of Destructive Leadership (Winn & Dykes 2019). With *intensifying*, when standing up, followers typically practise resistance *(i.e., develop moral competence)* through persistence (Gentile 2010), where they demand greater information, accountability, and openness from their leaders (Collinson 2006, p.185).

This project associates *intensifying* with the following mechanisms of power and influence: *increasing uncertainty, network positioning, increasing uncertainty* and *articulating an alternative discourse.* These *discursive actions* can take the form of: varying communication methods (*e.g., news, meetings, information or formal conversations, memos or publications*) *and* through multiple avenues of resistance (*e.g. courts, media, watchdogs, community organisations)* using the *power* through groups or organisations and *power against* Destructive Leadership.

> *Intensifying* was a key *discursive category* that repeatedly emerged in the TARA episode. When the Courageous Follower did not make any progress with the Destructive Leadership in South Africa and the Destructive Leadership passed the discriminatory ordinance, the Courageous Followers *intensified* their actions by travelling to Britain to petition Lord Elgin.

> When Elgin initially declined Gandhi's request, Gandhi noted the challenge of the situation, responding by *intensifying* his *building of coalitions. Coalitions were built* by reaching out to members across the British political spectrum till they successfully got the ordinance repealed.

> Post the Transvaal ceasing to be a Crown Colony, when the new Transvaal government reintroduced and passed TARA, the Courageous Followers *intensified their actions* again, forming the Satyagraha association. Further this intensification took the form of a *'rubiconising'* act in the decision to go to prison in large numbers.

> Gandhi and other Courageous Followers tirelessly (*i.e., intensifying)* gave speeches, attended meetings and used the *Indian Opinion* (and other newspapers) to write articles to give people a new *perspective* on their situation under the colonial regime. Through the media, Gandhi used the *power through* that organisation to *span boundaries* and unite different religious communities.

The term and the usage of Satyagraha was highly *symbolic* and provides some rationale for Gandhi using his agency to create new rules that challenged the existing structures. Therefore, while Gandhi's Satyagraha failed in its immediate objective to repeal the "Black Act", he succeeded in raising the awareness of these issues and turning them into a mass movement. In this way Gandhi could *span boundaries* using the *communal* system's *religious* structure by getting people to adhere to the principles of *solidarity* as Gandhi continued to *build and maintain coalitions* as seen in the next episode.

5.3.2 Episode 2: Overturning the £3 Tax

Introduction

The second episode considered in this case involved acts of resistance to a range of additional oppressive laws introduced in the aftermath of TARA. After Botha and Smuts' betrayal regarding repealing TARA, the new self-governing union of South Africa went further and introduced new bills targeting just people from Asia. The Natal immigration act (NIA), restricted immigration into that province based on race (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928; 1999c; 1999d; 1999e; 1999f; Tendulkar 1951a).

In addition to this, the government introduced an indentured labourer tax of £3 *(their annual salary was about £6-9)* per year, besides the £1 tax that they already had to pay, leaving most of them imprisoned or to starve (ibid.; Chaturvedi & Sykes 1949; *Indenture: A new system of slavery?* 2019; Guha 2013; Nanda 1968). The effect of this law was that these poor labourers had to pay 44% to 67% of their annual salary in tax. These taxes also meant that the indentured labourers could not afford to leave the country and were therefore forced to remain like slaves in South Africa.

A final discriminatory act at this time was the Christian marriage ruling by a supreme court Justice Malcolm Searle that rendered non-Christian marriages void (Chadha 1997; Chaturvedi & Sykes 1949; Fischer 1954; Gandhi 1913). These discriminatory acts had a profound impact on the psyche of the non-European community and encouraged them to take the following actions.

5.3.2.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

As the destructive situation expanded under the independent South African government Gandhi and the Courageous Followers engaged in several *discursive acts* of resistance against the Destructive Leadership. These ranged from conducting open meetings in communal and religious forums, to writing in newspapers, where Gandhi reminded people of their oath and of the suffering that might result from upholding their long-term dignity (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928; 1999d). Below are key events of this episode.

5.3.2.1.1 Burning Registration Certificates

After the TARA betrayal by Smuts, Gandhi and the other Asians escalated their actions by the burning of the registration certificates in part of a series of symbolic public acts. This behaviour was powerful, and it got the attention of the London *Daily Mail* which compared it to the Boston

Tea Party (Chadha 1997). Through these symbolic acts, the followers' movement went beyond the South Africa.

Gandhi continually used the institution of the media to challenge discrimination, keep the movement united, and persist with their courage. Gandhi wrote in a message to the *Indian Opinion*, "Keep absolutely firm to the end. Suffering is our only remedy. Victory is certain" (Gandhi 1999d, p.208; Tendulkar 1951a, p.154). Gandhi showed congruency between his espoused values and decisive actions. Besides going to prison himself, Gandhi permitted his eldest son, Harilal, as just a teenager to go to prison for a year as a Satyagrahi, and during sentencing had asked the magistrate for the harshest punishment (Chadha 1997).

5.3.2.1.2 Going Abroad to Resist the South African Leadership

The unification of the South African provinces enabled the authorities to enact increased anti-Indian discrimination across the country (Nanda 1968; Pyarelal 1956). Reports show that the leadership continued responding through actions of deportations, imprisonments, confiscation of property (Chadha 1997). Further, the archival data indicates that this institutionalised sanctioned discrimination severely blunted the Satyagraha movement (ibid.). Despite the many discursive actions pursued, Gandhi and the Asians had still not significantly shifted the power balance in South Africa.

To improve their conditions, the Indians attempted to go beyond the boundaries of the European leadership. The Satyagrahi movement deputised Gandhi along with Haji Habid to reach out the British by travelling to London in June 1909 (ibid.). The archives report that this was not Gandhi's idea, but rather members of the community who felt that passive resistance was not making use of external resources within the larger British Empire (ibid.). By raising awareness, the archival data shows that the world was becoming more aware of the plight of Indians because of the dramatic nature of the Satyagraha movement (Chadha 1997; Nanda 1968; Pyarelal 1956). Thus, the resistance started to cross levels to London through multiple channels.

5.3.2.1.3 Presenting Facts to Convince People

In London, Gandhi continued intensely to share the perspective of the Indians by presenting evidence to different people (Hunt 1978). For instance, reports show that Gandhi convinced Lord Ampthill *(Arthur Oliver Russell former acting Viceroy of India and an active opposer of Indian nationalism)* to provide active support to the Satyagrahis (Chadha 1997; Hunt 1978). To do so, the archives show

that Gandhi exchanged around 60 letters with Ampthill (Chadha 1997; Hunt 1978).

Ampthill told Gandhi to kept discussions regarding Botha and Smuts private (Chadha 1997; Hunt 1978). However, Gandhi soon realised that the movement was making little progress (Chadha 1997; Hunt 1978). Further, Smuts often claimed that Gandhi was discussing issues in London that he had not raised in South Africa (Huttenback 1971). Gandhi countered that by citing evidence (*e.g., statements or documents*) produced by Botha and Smuts (ibid.). This included citing Smuts' discriminatory statements, the racial discrimination enshrined the law and the imprisonment of passive resisters by the South African authorities (Chadha 1997).

To gain support, reports show that Gandhi continually met many British journalists and Members of Parliament (Chadha 1997; Hunt 1978). As a result, the movement made some progress with Smuts making some token concessions *(e.g., allowing a maximum of six 'approved' Asians a year to enter Transvaal)*, while being unwilling to repeal TARA or NIA (Hunt 1978). Smuts' insisted that South Africa would "leave the door as wide as possible to white immigrants" but would never do the same for Asian ones (ibid. p.119).

5.3.2.1.4 Using Religion to Galvanise People

In 1909, after the British divided Bengal, some Indian activists assassinated a British prosecutor (Gandhi 1999a; 1999d; Tendulkar 1951a). In response, Gandhi condemned this act controversially asserting that assassins are ignorant, and that if the British left under such circumstances, it would mean that murderers would end up ruling India (Gandhi 1999d). This went down badly among some revolutionaries with records showing that this resulted in some developing a deep dislike of Gandhi in response (Chadha 1997).

Shortly after the assassination, Gandhi attended a religious Dussera festival celebration by an extremist Indian group. At the celebration, reports show that Gandhi strongly reiterated his perspective by drawing on God Rama and his family in practising sacrifice, suffering, and defeating their enemy using the power of truth over falsehood (ibid.). Gandhi said that this event had a powerful impact on him, and the idea of resisting violence became the theme of his book *Hind Swaraj (i.e., Indian Home Rule)* (ibid.).

Gandhi's pacifist perspective appears to have had a positive effect on developments when Lord Crew *(Secretary of State for India)* informed him that the leadership would modify the laws to remove discrimination (Huttenback 1971). However, Smuts reneged and beyond some minor concessions,

wrote to Crew saying they would not grant Indians equality with Europeans (ibid.). After that, despite only partial success, Gandhi persisted and from then on advocated the removal of European rule through peaceful actions (Gandhi 1921a).

5.3.2.1.5 Getting Help to Support Civil-Disobedience

Gandhi knew that people were unlikely to remain Satyagrahi's and go to prison if nobody took care of their families (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928). In response to this situation, Gandhi along with Gopal Krishna Gokhale—Former President of the Indian National Congress and Gandhi's mentor—raised funds from rich industrialists and maharajahs (Gandhi 1927). Indian women raised funds by publicly tearing off their gold jewellery (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928). In 1910, Indian families were suffering, so to continue their resistance, Gandhi with the generosity of Dr. Hermann Kallenbach a wealthy German set up Tolstoy farm, which served as a refuge for the   Satyagrahis who had suffered persecution for their activities (Gandhi 1927; 1928). Tolstoy Farm in effect became a practical manifestation of many of the ideas developed through the Satyagrahi movement. Gandhi and the Satyagrahi's intensely practised habits to withstand prison and peacefully protest (Gandhi 1927; 1928). They did so by living simple lives, keeping a strict daily regimen, wearing clothes similar to prisoners, sleeping with wooden pillows, and eating food in bowls that prisons used (Gandhi 1927; 1928). As the arrests continued, the movement received attention from overseas (Gandhi 1927, 1928).

In 1911, Gokhale through his membership of India's Viceroy Council (Chadha 1997) persuaded the Council to get Downing Street, to cease the recruitment of indentured labourers, from India for Natal, unless South Africa eradicated the racial bars (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928). When the South African leadership refused, the Viceroy of India prevented indentured Indian labourers from going to Natal (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928). This ceased access to cheap semi-skilled labour (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928). British MP H. Cox said that in South Africa "the white man can live and breed; but that he cannot engage in labourer's work" (Gandhi 1999a, p.146). Within one month the South African leadership repealed NIA and instated a migration test in lieu of race-based migration (Chadha 1997). This was a significant victory for the Satyagrahis.

5.3.2.1.6 Women Joining the Movement

After Gokhale's departure from South Africa, there was another critical incident of discrimination that galvanised the Indians. In March 1913, Justice Malcolm Searle ruled that only Christian marriages were valid (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928; 1999f). Overnight, Hindu, Muslim and Parsi

Indians learned that their marriages were invalid, and their children were effectively illegitimate (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928; 1999f). Until that point women did not directly participate in Satyagraha; however, after the ruling women actively joined the Satyagraha movement (Tendulkar 1951a).

Gandhi used the press extensively to share his perspective on overturning the discrimination (Gandhi 1928; 1999f; Tendulkar 1951a). On 13th September 1913, Gandhi wrote in the *Indian Opinion* that "the fight this time must be for altering the spirit of the government and European population of South Africa... attained by prolonged and bitter suffering that must melt the hearts" (Gandhi 1913, p.225). Shortly after, nearly 2500 individuals, including children, women and men broke discriminatory laws (Chadha 1997). In response, the European elites often physically beat up the resisters or cut off resources like water supply (ibid.).

On the 28th October 1913, the media reported an *army of peace* marched for twenty-five miles per day, over several weeks, with minimal food (Tendulkar 1951a). By the 9th of November, the leadership had arrested Gandhi three times in four days, and each time allies bailed Gandhi out, he re-joined the protesters immediately (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928). Eventually, the courts sentenced Gandhi to nine months of hard labour (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928).

With the intensification of their actions and global publicity that accompanied this, the movement managed to shift public sentiment increasingly in favour of the Satyagrahis. In one highly significant development in this shift, the British Viceroy in India took the unprecedented step of publicly denouncing the South African leaders and their laws (Chadha 1997). Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, a political leader in India, who had been silent, started to use his resources to support the cause (ibid.). A month later, under intense pressure, records show that the South Africa leadership established an Indian Enquiry Commission and released the prisoners (ibid.).

5.3.2.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

As a consequence of the activities of the movement over this period the issues in South Africa became the burning topic throughout the British Empire (Chadha 1997). With the help of negotiators from the British and the British India Government, the movement experienced several successes. These included the South African Leadership being forced to pass the Indian Relief Bill which recognised non-Christian Indian marriages; they were also pressured into abolishing the £3 tax on Asians (Tendulkar 1951a). While some issues remained - the TARA was still in force, as well the Union Immigration Act also allowing only six educated Indians to immigrate to South

Africa every year (Gandhi 1928; 1999f). These backdowns were nevertheless significant blows against the Toxic leadership. Next, the *discursive actions* employed the Courageous Followers in this episode will be discussed.

(1) 'Rubiconising':

In this episode, the Courageous Followers continually engaged in *'rubiconising'*. They did so by engaging in a range of extra-legal acts, such as burning their registration certificates in public acts of defiance with the risk of imprisonment. Gandhi realised the importance of such actions and sought external assistance in *building and maintaining coalitions* by raising funds for fellow Satyagrahis and their families. By creating Tolstoy Farm the Courageous Followers did not just have a safe place for their families, they also practised building their abilities to withstand prison (Gandhi 1927). In this way they were building their *moral competence,* which gave them the capability to *'rubiconise'* if or when they got arrested.

Ironically, the more extreme the Destructive Leadership got, the more it galvanised the Courageous Followers who responded through acts of mass acts of *'rubiconising'*. For instance, the women who had been largely passive Conformer Followers publicly started tearing off their jewellery and joined the movement. After the marriage ruling, women joined the movement virtually doubling the size of the protests, leading to 2,500 of them forming a peaceful army that marched for weeks (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1928). The Satyagrahis refused to submit to the discriminatory laws even when the leadership physically assaulted and imprisoned vast numbers of them. Therefore, the movement gradually grew, and more Conformer Followers began *'rubiconising'* in different ways.

In this episode, Satyagrahis were also *congruent* with their oath to *'rubiconise'* and this strengthened the movement. The Satyagrahis used the rules of *solidarity* within the *communal* system's *ethnic* and *religious* structures with the resource of *public sentiment* to counter the *political* system's *state* structures *(see Table 3.2 on p.76 above and Table 8.1 on p.262 below).*

(2) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

Gandhi continued to *marshal credible evidence* to effectively *build and maintain coalitions*. For instance, the archives show that Gandhi convinced Lord Ampthill, previously an active opponent of Indian nationalism, to help the Satyagrahis. He did this by presenting evidence to him, through repeated correspondence (Chadha 1997; Hunt 1978) (*i.e., intensifying the boundary spanning by marshalling credible evidence*). In London, when Smuts suggested that Gandhi was raising issues which he had not raised

in South Africa, Gandhi countered that by citing statements made by both Botha and Smuts (Chadha 1997; Hunt 1978). In this way the project observes that Gandhi was *marshalling credible evidence* to *perspectivise*.

Gandhi also *marshalled credible evidence* via the media, including the *Indian Opinion* newspaper, British newspapers, and other Indian newspapers where the imprisonments and discrimination faced by Indians in South Africa was carefully documented. He also *marshalled credible evidence* to convince law makers in India and Britain of the Destructive Leadership's discrimination. In these instances, Gandhi used the *intellectual* system's *professional* structure and codes. In particular as a lawyer, he could act as a resource with *expertise* and *legitimacy* to counter the *political* system's *state* structures. and *over identify* with the rule of *egalitarianism* a core tenant in Western democracies and providing evidence to substantiate the followers' case.

(3) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

The building of coalitions was with a range of disparate groups and organisations. Gandhi *built and maintained coalitions* with British MPs like Lord Ampthill, the British suffragettes, and prominent individuals in the British Government in India in his quest to resist the Destructive Leadership. Within the Indian community, after Justice Searle's discriminatory marriage ruling, the Indian women joined the movement. Instantly, the women virtually doubled the number of Courageous Followers. This *intensified* resistance activities and aided the *building and maintaining coalitions*. In this way, the Destructive Leadership's actions galvanised passive Conformers Followers, who till that point had stayed away from active resistance. To counter the South African system efforts to further institutionalise the discrimination, the Indians from different *religious* structures united under the *communal* system. The followers used with the *power through* religious institutions along the *domestic* system's *familial* structure that touched most households against the Destructive Leadership.

The Destructive Leadership's overreach by invading the non-Christian institutions of marriage seemed to be a critical mistake; not only did it double the numbers associated with the movement, it allowed the movement to *span boundaries* with vivid family-relatable *credible evidence* of discriminatory court rulings. In this way the Satyagrahis' actions aligned with two determinants of influence (*i.e., strength and the number of people*) (Latané 1981; Latané & L'Herrou 1996, p.1219) against the Destructive Leadership. The archives show that at this point the Destructive Leadership was afraid of the Courageous Followers *intensifying* their use of *power through* organisations, and of the Satyagrahi movement *boundary spanning*. In a transcript of a meeting, Smuts reportedly told Gandhi,

"I do not know how your people spread, they go everywhere I have now more petitions... You are too hard" (Chadha 1997, p.360). Accounts of the meeting state that General Smuts requested Gandhi not to bring people from India or elsewhere to fight, and Smuts implored that he wanted to help Gandhi (ibid.). This represented a marked shift in the power balance, as previously Smuts had often refused to even acknowledge Gandhi.

(4) Perspectivising:

The Satyagraha movement was critical to *perspectivising*. Gandhi and other Courageous Followers of the Satyagraha movement often used alternative structures to *perspectivise* while *building and maintaining coalitions*. For instance, the archives show that Gandhi contrasted the progress of Western civilisation with Christian values (ibid.). This project argues that he was drawing on the principles of Christianity *(e.g., peace and equality)* to counter European and British pursuit of imperialism. Gandhi often used of alternative systems *(e.g., communal and intellectual)* along with *power through* organisations. Gandhi drew parallels between Satyagraha and the women's suffrage movements in London, and often received a sympathetic ear from that segment of society (ibid.). In this way, Gandhi harnessed the power of alternative movements, using *power through* those organisations, and the *perspective* on the rule of equality, which enabled the movement to *span boundaries* beyond the dominion of the Destructive Leadership.

Plurality of religion and their tenets (i.*e., rules)* was a core factor in Gandhi's life. Gandhi took every opportunity (*i.e.*, *intensifying*) to *articulate his ideology* of the Satyagraha's principles of non-violence in line with several major religions. Gandhi by drawing on *religious* structures appears to have gained significant moral authority and power to influence Conformer Followers. Being disliked by Indians did not stop Gandhi, he *intensified* the *articulating of his ideology* of non-violence and used the structures of *religion* and *perspectivising* through *symbolism* to bolster his arguments. Gandhi's *symbolism* was most powerfully enacted when he *practised* his ideology of non-violence by peaceful civil disobedience and by going to prison, these discursive acts also demonstrated *congruency* that shaped people's *perspectives* of him and the Satyagraha movement.

(5) Boundary Spanning:

Boundary spanning was central to this episode. Gandhi persistently *(i.e., intensification)* reached out the Gokhale—who previously had not been to South Africa—to visit South Africa (*building and maintaining coalitions* and *boundary spanning*). Gokhale was a professor of and a close friend of Lord Hardinge the Viceroy (ibid.). As described above, Smuts was fearful of external forces. To mitigate

Gokhale's impact and view of South Africa, the archives report that Smuts got the Union government to make Gokhale a state guest and showered him with flattery (ibid.). Here the analysis observes that intervention from beyond South Africa's *borders impacted the Destructive Leadership (i.e., boundary spanning).*

Gandhi in coalition with Gokhale further escalated the movement's power by intensifying the *boundary spanning.* Using *power through* Gokhale's position and the Indian and British governments, the Satyagrahis drew on external *political* systems to counter the South African *political* system. They did so by harnessing the rule of *egalitarianism* through the *legislative* and *executive* institutions in India and Britain. Consequently, the Courageous Followers with Lord Ampthill and the South Africa British India Committee pressured the British government in London to cease Indian migration to Natal (ibid.)—*boundary spanning and intensifying* using *power through* external organisations. The approach of preventing indentured migration from India to Natal had the potential to impact the Destructive Leadership economically by not giving them access to cheap labour. Thus, this thesis argues that the Courageous Followers successfully used the *economic* system, with *capitalistic* structures, and the rule of *profit-maximisation,* against the Destructive Leadership's self-interest.

(6) Intensifying:

The Courageous Followers escalated and persisted *(i.e., intensified)* after Smuts reneged on the signed agreement at the end of the first episode. The Continual burning of registration certificates was *intensifying;* this *discursive category* repeatedly emerged in this episode. The Courageous Followers and Gandhi *intensified* their actions, and the burning of the certificates was the part of a series of symbolic public acts (*i.e., perspectivising* through *symbolising*) that helped the movement *span boundaries.*

Gandhi's *intensified* his actions by getting repeatedly arrested and continuing to rejoin the peaceful march within four days. These repeated arrests got global publicity, so the movement *spanned boundaries* and was using the resource of *public sentiment* to *increase uncertainty* which helped shift the power balance. After being released from prison, Gandhi *intensified* the *symbolism* by abandoned wearing western clothing[4] and told a mass meeting he did so in honour of those killed during the strike (Gandhi 1927).

Using *religious* structures to *perspectivise*, Gandhi continually wrote in newspapers and books to

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[4] This is how he continued dressing for the next three and a half decades of his life and how he has been portrayed, however, prior to that time he used wear Western clothing.

promote his ideal of resisting violence, which became the theme of his book *Hind Swaraj* (Indian Home Rule) (ibid.)—*intensifying* the power mechanism of the *articulation of ideology*. Gandhi started writing Hind Swaraj after a setback against Smuts, he often *intensified* his actions after a defeat; and through the book, Gandhi *intensified* his *perspectivising* by *articulating his alternative ideology* through discourse. As much as Gandhi was resisting the British, he fought many battles against Indians. It was only through his continual *intensification* of *perspectivising* by *articulation of ideology and discourse*, *building and maintaining coalitions* and *moral competence,* that he managed to non-violently shift the power balance.

After this episode, Gandhi felt he had finished his work in South Africa. The above actions had laid the foundation for Gandhi's Courageous Followership subsequent activities to combat British Imperialism in India. The events of this episode, while partially successful, had had the effect of only denting the Destructive Leadership of British imperialism. Racially biased laws were still in place, and the leadership still discriminated against non-whites in a systematic way in South Africa., This episode has served to demonstrate the *discursive actions* required to shift the power balance and collapse a Toxic Triangle even when starting with minimal power bases.

5.3.3 Episode 3: Responding to the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre

"Democracy in India could be nothing but a sham, a façade" — Sir Michael O'Dwyer, Lieutenant Governor of the Punjab in India from 1912 until 1919 (Draper 1985, p.19)

Introduction

From South Africa, Gandhi returned to India in 1915. This episode involves the period in India shortly after WWI when in response to discriminatory laws and atrocities committed by the British, Gandhi and other Courageous Followers escalated their resistance. During WWI the British curtailed the civil liberties of Indian citizens although the regular Indian Army represented a massive force in Britain's battle in Europe against Germany and its allies (Chadha 1997; Draper 1985). In 1918, post WWI the British government appointed Sidney Rowlatt to investigate and report on conspiracies connected with India's freedom struggle, termed as the *Indian revolutionary movement* (Chadha 1997; Draper 1985).

In January 1919, Rowlatt's Sedition Committee recommended the continued curtailing of civil liberties of the Indian people in their own country (Bolitho 1954). The resultant act gave the

leadership the authority to imprison any individual for up to two years without trial, if the British even suspected of them sedition. Emergency powers were also granted to deal with any revolutionary activities (Gandhi 1999h). In March 1919, the Central Legislative Council made up of British government officials passed the bill thus institutionalising Rowlatt's recommendations into law (Chadha 1997).

The passing of the Rowlatt Act that curtailed civil liberties and gave emergencies powers, can be understood in terms of the constructs of a Toxic Triangle—as seen in Figure 5.3 below. This Toxic Triangle has similar conducive environment factors as the previous one with racist cultural values that the British leadership translated into laws that favoured the British over the Indians in India. The Destructive Leadership used the perceived threats of sedition or an Indian revolution to pass more Draconian laws as described above. Further, as per the Toxic Triangle, checks and balances were ineffective, as most due process was lacking, with those overseeing the laws being British politicians, bureaucrats or law enforcement *(i.e., they were policing themselves)*. The archives show that these British politicians were often in England and sympathetic to the British Raj in India at the expense of the Indians (Draper 1985).

Racist cultural values; perceived threats to protect the white ruling class; biased checks and balances with discriminatory laws, race-based curtailing of civil liberties

Environment

Key Colluders: Sir Michael O'Dwyer; General Dyer; Sidney Rowlatt; Edwin Montague
Key Conformers: Public Servants; British Politicians, British Public in India, Indian Public

Susceptible Followers

Destructive Leaders

Lord Chelmsford (Viceroy of India during the period)

Figure 5.3: The Toxic Triangle – Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwalla Bagh Massacre WWI (1918-19)

The Destructive Leader in this case was the viceroy of India, Lord Chelmsford, who not only approved of the discrimination, but actively took steps to ensure its continuance (ibid.). The key

Colluder Followers in this episode were the Governor of Punjab, Sir Michael O'Dwyer *(whose quote appears at the start of this episode)* along with army officer, General Reginald Dyer who implemented the laws in an even more extreme fashion. Dyer's acts of aggression included the Jallianwala Baag massacre in Amritsar, Punjab and also the issuing of orders which forced Indians to crawl on the road (Collett 2005). The extent of the brutality earned Dyer the title of the 'Butcher of Amritsar' (ibid. p.1).

Another noteworthy Colluder Follower was Edwin Montague who served as Secretary of the State, and although regarded as a liberal by the British, his writings showed he still firmly believed in British domination in India (Hyde 1967). Finally, the analysis classifies Sidney Rowlatt who was a judge and was the president of the Rowlatt Committee as a Colluder Follower for drafting his eponymous act (Chadha 1997; Draper 1985). The Conformer Followers included on a broad scale the public servants, the British politicians, and the wider passive British and Indian public.

5.3.3.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

Prior to and after the passage of the Rowlatt Act, the Courageous Followers including Gandhi and the Indian National Congress engaged in a series of discursive acts. These acts included several meetings, strikes, pledges, protests, campaigns, committees, speeches and newspaper articles, through which the Courageous Followers criticised the Rowlatt bill. The Indians declared that with the end of WWI they expected the restoration of civil liberties and so the British were being oppressive and abusing their power by extending wartime restrictions and laws (Draper 1985). Below are key *discursive events* and *actions* of this episode.

5.3.3.1.1 Signing and Publishing the Satyagraha Pledge

After repeated appeals to the British, in anticipation of the draft bill being passed, on the 24th of February 1919, Gandhi along with other prominent Indians including Vallabhbhai J. Patel, Chandulal Manilal Desai, Kesariprasad Manilal Thakoor, Anasuyabai Sarabhai went further and signed a Satyagraha pledge (Gandhi 1999g).

The Indians printed the Satyagraha Pledge in the *New India* newspaper and publicised it widely (ibid.). In the pledge the Indians declared that the bill was:

> Unjust, subversive of the principle of liberty and justice, and destructive of the elementary rights of individuals on which the safety of the community as a whole and the State itself is based… in the event of these Bills becoming laws… we shall refuse civilly to obey (ibid. p.297)

The British leadership ignored the pledge by this group of prominent Indians. On the 21st of March 1919, despite the united opposition from most sections of Indians, Rowlatt's Bills passed into law and the Indians felt the consequences in their own country (Draper 1985).

5.3.3.1.2 Calling a National Strike

After the passage of the Rowlatt Act, the Indians spoke out strongly against the legislation in meetings and newspapers. Gandhi went further and called for a national strike of all businesses and work with a day of fasting and prayer. Due to miscommunication, on the 30th of March 1919, civilians in Delhi went on strike, while the rest of the country was scheduled to strike on the 6th of April 1919 (Chadha 1997). The British leadership responded by opening fire killing unarmed civilians in Delhi (ibid.).

Despite the violent response from the British in Delhi, on the 6th of April, the rest of the country went on strike (Gandhi 1999g). At a gathering on that day, Gandhi delivered a speech in Bombay promoting the principles of Satyagraha especially the needs for self-sacrifice, discipline and non-violence, after which the procession moved to a temple for prayers (Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1999g). Following the speech Gandhi outlined resolutions including one which was a simple prayer for the Secretary of State for India (Edwin Montague) to advise the British Monarch and the Viceroy to discontinue or withdraw discriminatory acts (Gandhi 1999g).

5.3.3.1.3 Protecting Freedom of Speech with Strength in Numbers

The Rowlatt Act made Gandhi's own writings *(e.g., Hind Swaraj and Sarvodaya along with the Gujarati translation of Ruskin's Unto This Last)* prohibited literature with the distributor held liable (Chadha 1997). After the prayers and speeches, reports show that Gandhi, along with prominent female Indian freedom fighter Sarojini Naidu, intensified their protest and in a symbolic act of defiance walking the streets of Bombay selling copies of the above publications (ibid.). Other protesters defied the Rowlatt Act and paid up to 800 times their retail price and passed copies on in an act of solidarity (ibid.).

The archives show that Gandhi had corresponded with Russian philosopher Leo Tolstoy and adopted the latter's earlier advice (Tendulkar 1951a). Tolstoy's advice suggested that it was wrong to blame the British for their presence in India, as how could a nation of 200 million clever and strong people be subjugated by 30,000 weak and ordinary people (Tolstoy 2009). Tolstoy continued don't just resist evil, do not cooperate with it (ibid.). On the day of the strike, because

of the large volume of Indian protesters, the British authorities did not have the resources to do anything and helplessly watched on as Gandhi, Naidu and thousands of others peacefully disobeyed the Rowlatt Act (Chadha 1997).

5.3.3.1.4 Civilian Meeting Ends with Massacre

In the city of Amritsar, the 6th of April strike had passed peacefully (Draper 1985). However, O'Dwyer the Governor of Punjab, stated that anyone who participated in a strike or who took a vow, was part of a criminal conspiracy (ibid.). In days after the strike, O'Dwyer authorised the killings of several unarmed protesters (ibid.).

On the 13th of April, India civilians held a public meeting in a small dusty square with few narrow exits called Jallianwala Bagh (Draper 1985; Gandhi 1999h). The archives show that there were about 5,000 attendees voted on two resolutions (Draper 1985; Gandhi 1999h). British General Reginald Dyer finding out about a public meeting arrived with troops and sealed the square's narrow exits. With the unarmed attendees trapped inside. The troops fired directly into the crowd for 10 minutes (Draper 1985; Gandhi 1999h). Investigations revealed that the British fired around 1,650 rounds, murdering hundreds of unarmed attendees *(sources vary between 379 and 2000)*; and injuring hundreds more, including women and children (Chadha 1997; Burns 1997; Draper 1985; Gandhi 1999h; Sonwalkar 2017).

After the massacre, in another highly provocative act the British leadership issued what was known as the *crawling order* whereby Indians were required to crawl on certain roads, or risk public flogging (Bose 1934a; Radhakrishnan 1939; Tendulkar 1951b). The British repeatedly flogged Indians, including children, if they did not salute officers. For nearly two months, strict censorship prevented news of these incidents from reaching the outside world (Chadha 1997).

5.3.3.1.5 Creating an Alternative Commission to Investigate Massacre

In June 1919, when the wider Indian public heard about the massacre, Gandhi used speeches and newspapers to chastise the wider British public and leadership for their contributory role (Gandhi 2003). Archives show that the Amritsar Massacre had a far-reaching effect on moderate Indians and was a significant turning point for Gandhi who until that point was a British loyalist (Chadha 1997).

On the 21st of July 1919, in a speech, Gandhi publicly warned the British leadership to reverse the

laws that led to the massacre:

> If my occasional resistance be a lighted match, the Rowlatt legislation and the persistence in retaining it on the statute book is a thousand matches scattered throughout India. The only way to avoid civil resistance altogether is to withdraw that legislation (Radhakrishnan 1939, pp.189-90; Tendulkar 1951a, p.394)

Members of the movement also demanded an official government enquiry and in September 1919, a commission was announced under Lord Hunter (Chaturvedi & Sykes 1949). Inside the Commission (and outside) Dyer reportedly boasted about his actions (Chadha 1997; Draper 1985; Nehru 1982). While the Hunter Commission censured Dyer, they and the British House of Lords declined to prosecute most people higher up in the change of command like O'Dwyer (Radhakrishnan 1939). Further, reports indicate that the Commission suppressed the actual number of fatalities (Burns 1997; Gandhi 1999h; Sonwalkar 2017).

When the Hunter report came out, Gandhi resisted by presenting a different perspective in the *Young India* newspaper stating that the report defended every official act of inhumanity with a vain glorification of Punjab's Governor O'Dwyer (Gandhi 2003). Gandhi added that the Hunter report euphemised General Dyer's human rights violations by saying it was simply a misinterpretation of his duty (Chadha 1997). Using the press and speeches at mass meetings, Gandhi continued that the British's criticism of Dyer's criminal acts was unjust and went against the fact that every nation and every individual has rights (Gandhi 1999h).

In response, the Indian National Congress boycotted the Hunter Commission and set up an alternative commission led by Motilal Nehru and Chitta Ranjan Das, who were highly experienced legal practitioners (Draper 1985). The Indian investigation published 19 findings and six recommendations to address the atrocities and heal the country, all serving as a counter to the Hunter Commission and providing an alternative perspective of the events (Gandhi 1999h).

5.3.3.1.6 Launching the 'Khadi' Campaign

Due to the violence being inflicted on people, Gandhi suspended the campaign of civil disobedience. The British leadership used this opportunity take extreme measures, against both the local populace and Anglo dissenters (Tendulkar 1951a). Among the latter, B.G Horniman *(editor of the Bombay Chronicle)* was deported back to England, and *Bombay Chronicle*,.to which Gandhi contributed, was suspended from publication (Chadha 1997; Tendulkar 1951a). The leadership also prevented Gandhi from travelling outside Bombay.

Undeterred, Gandhi continued an alternative form of resistance by delivering speeches to launch the 'Khadi' campaign (Chadha 1997). In the first instance, The Khadi campaign was an economic strategy wherein Indians were exhorted to weave their own cloth. Through the campaign, Gandhi expanded the resistance, explaining that the campaign was an attempt to revive the spinning wheel, to reduce the import of British cloth, and provide a small income to the poor (ibid.). The 'Khadi' campaign gave the poor some economic independence by being able to make and sell cloth (Tendulkar 1951b).

The spinning wheel of the 'Khadi;' campaign also served as an important symbol of Indian independence, becoming a key element on the official pre-independence Indian Flag (*Independence Day Special: Evolution of the Indian flag* 2015). As discussed previously, Gandhi also changed his attire and denounced western clothes to wear a white khadi dhoti — *unstitched cloth wrapped around the waist and the legs and knotted at the waist* — to identify with the poorest Indians.

The symbolic act of wearing khadi grew and resonated with many Indians. Soon members of the Indian National Congress (INC) changed from European to khadi attire (Nehru 1982). The archives show that this symbolic positioning helped to transform the INC from an upper middle-class debating society, to transcend socioeconomic boundaries and become a formidable grassroots political institution. This institution driving the Indian freedom movement and enabled it to win many concessions from the British (Chadha 1997).

5.3.3.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

While at the end of this episode the Rowlatt Act remained in place, much had happened to shift the power balance away from the Destructive Leadership towards the Courageous Followers of the freedom movement. An important example of this was the instituting of the Government of India Act of 1919 by Royal Assent (ibid.). This Act incorporated a new constitution on a basis described as 'diarchy' — *The Rule of Two* — Britain and India of India (Bolitho 1954, p72; Bose 1934a; Chadha 1997). While extant power structures remained in place at the federal level – the British maintained veto power; control over the budget; and law enforcement (Bolitho 1954, p72; Bose 1934a; Chadha 1997) – much authority was devolved to Indians at the provincial level. Below is a summary of the discursive actions that contributed to these shifts in power balance over this period.

(1) Confronting Internally:

The April 1919 massacre in Jallianwalla Bagh, Punjab, and subsequent abuse occurred under the emergency powers of the Rowlatt Act. The massacre demonstrated that when Destructive Leadership has no *checks and balances,* innocents get brutalised. This Destructive Leadership underscored the culture of racial superiority that did not place any value on the lives of the innocent Indian civilians and reportedly took great satisfaction in perpetrating humiliation. The Act instituted strict censorship, so it took nearly two months before the atrocities became public outside the dominion of O'Dwyer the Governor of Punjab. Only after the atrocities came to light outside of Punjab, did the Hunter Commission get established. Thus, *confronting internally* even after *building coalitions* within the dominion of the Destructive Leadership did not work in this episode.

(2) 'Rubiconising':

The Satyagraha pledge was *an alternative discourse* and framing the Rowlatt Act as an instrument of *subjugation.* Thus, the Courageous Followers were offering a different perspective *(i.e., perspectivising)* and simultaneously *'rubiconising'* by signalling to the Destructive Leadership that they would risk imprisonment if the Rowlatt Bill were to become law. The *discursive act* of the pledge drew a line in the sand and issued an ultimatum of sorts. Further, through the Satyagraha pledge the Courageous Followers were explicitly invoking the structures of the *state* against the Destructive Leadership through the principles *(i.e., rules)* of *freedom (liberty)* and *human rights (justice).*

Calling the national strike *(and praying for the Destructive Leadership)* on the 6th of April was also a *'rubiconising'* act. Further, the Courageous Followers *rubiconised* and challenged the Rowlatt Act's by selling prohibited printed material, after which, other Indians bought the material and publicly paid a much higher than the retail price for it. The purchasers were also risking arrest; this demonstrates that Conformer Followers were also starting to develop courageous behaviours. Through praying, the Courageous Followers used the *communal* system with *religious* structures and subscribed to the rule of *solidarity* in an attempt to shift the power balance. This gave them *strength in numbers,* which is a key antecedent to gaining *social impact* (Latané 1981) and in doing so, they followed Tolstoy's advice that 200 million Indians are stronger than several thousand Britishers and the former should not cooperate with evil.

(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

By setting up their own enquiry and boycotting the Hunter Commission to investigate the Jallianwala Bagh, the Courageous Followers spent months *marshalling credible evidence.* They interviewed several witnesses and widely published their findings. In this way they were countering

the structures of the *state* with their own structures by drawing on both the *political* and the *intellectual* systems. The Courageous Followers gave the *intellectual systems* credence by enlisting prominent Indian legal minds. Therefore, Courageous Followers drew *professional* structures to create *alternative judicial discourse* and *legislative* organisations that gave them *power against* the Destructive Leadership's power mechanism of *shaping of anticipated results*. By publishing 19 findings and six recommendations, the Courageous Followers were resisting through different avenues and giving the public an *alternative discourse*, and thus it can also be argued that they were also *intensifying* their *perspectivising*.

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

After the passage of the Rowlatt Act, the Courageous Followers started *building and maintaining coalitions* through several avenues. The most significant coalition created by Gandhi's call for a national strike of all businesses and work, with a day of fasting and prayer. Here the Courageous Followers were *building and maintaining coalitions* and exerting pressure on the Destructive Leadership using the *economic* and *communal* systems by invoking the *capitalistic* and *religious* structures and using *labour* as a resource to *increase uncertainty* in attempting to shift the power balance.

Post the massacre, the Courageous Followers also *built and maintained coalitions,* through the Indian National Congress, when they formed their own commission to investigate the massacre. When the Rowlatt Act passed or injustice like the massacre occurred, instead of getting subdued, the Courageous Followers escalated *(i.e. intensifying)* their *building and maintaining coalitions* and their *'rubiconising'* through protests and marches. This was critical to their success.

(5) Perspectivising:

The 'Khadi' campaign was designed to give the poor some economic independence. Through the campaign Gandhi was tapping into the *economic* system using *labour* as a resource and using the rule of *profit-maximisation* against the British. Gandhi also made his dhoti from 'Khadi', thus the analysis infers that he himself embodied *symbolising* and gave people a continual reminder of his *perspective*. He also tirelessly *(i.e., intensification)* delivered speeches on his *perspective* regarding the benefits of 'Khadi' towards empowering the Indians and lifting the country out of poverty. In this way the 'Khadhi' campaign was both an articulation of the idea of economic self-sufficiency, as well as a *symbol* of cultural pride.

Gandhi stated that the Rowlatt Act, that led to the massacre, was akin to scattering a thousand matches of resistance across India. Such a characterisation can be seen as strong instance of

perspectivising. Here Gandhi also used the power mechanisms of *articulation of discourse*, *increasing uncertainty* and *non-conformity* against the Destructive Leadership, while inspiring other followers. Through his discourse, the analysis contends that Gandhi is using *coercion* and *shaping of anticipated results,* as he claimed that the British themselves had crossed a Rubicon, and fires of resistance will spring up all over India. Through this *discursive act* Gandhi was also invoking the political systems rules of *egalitarianism,* that the British themselves claimed they had embedded into their governance systems.

The Courageous Followers also offered an *alternative perspective* through their investigations into the massacre. Those Courageous Followers published the findings and recommendations widely, and their *counter-discourse* served as an alternative *perspective* backed by *credible evidence.* A hundred years later, that event and the Indian Commission's perspective is still a source of deep contention between Britain and India (Bhattacharya 2019; Burns 1997; Sonwalkar 2017).

(6) Boundary Spanning:

In this episode, we can see that the 'Khadi' campaign *spanned boundaries.* The campaign allowed the Indian elite to relate to the poorest Indians in rural areas. This *boundary spanning* manifested itself through the change in dress of the elected representatives of the INC and became a formidable grassroots political institution. This allowed the INC to increase its strength in numbers *(i.e., social impact)* and gain *power through* their organisation against the Destructive Leadership. The campaign also united Indians of different religions, ethnicities, cultures and languages by *symbolically* focusing and empowering themselves as a vehicle to reduce discrimination. Here again, Gandhi tapped into the *communal* and *economic* systems against the *state's* systems.

In the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, and surrounding incidents in Punjab, the power of *boundary spanning* over *confronting internally* was seen by its absence. Because of strict censorship, news of the massacre only reached outside Punjab two months after it occurred. During that time, the Destructive Leadership of Punjab continued to commit cruel actions like the *crawling order* and flogging children. Further, there was no investigation into the massacre until the movement *spanned boundaries* and the wider Courageous Followers put pressure on the government to initiate the Hunter Commission and conducted their own investigations.

(7) Intensifying:

Intensifying was again a key discursive category that repeatedly emerged in this episode. When the Courageous Follower Satyagraha Pledge failed to get traction with the Destructive Leadership, the

Courageous Followers *intensified* by calling a national strike of all businesses and work with a day of fasting and prayer. After the prayers they *intensified* again, deliberately breaking the law by selling and distributing prohibited publications.

When the British Destructive Leadership did not respond to the massacre, the Courageous Followers repeatedly called for an enquiry. After the enquiry by the Hunter Commission did not provide accurate numbers of deaths, and the British House of Lords refused to prosecute most people higher up the chain of command like O'Dwyer; the Courageous Followers *intensified* by creating their own public enquiry which gave them an *alternative discourse* and *legitimate power.*

Through the analysis of this episode, the Courageous Followers' were observed to have *intensified* their discursive actions of *building and maintaining coalitions*, *perspectivising*, *symbolising*, and *'rubiconising'*. With the passage of the Government of India Act of 1919, they were partially successful in disarticulating the Toxic Triangle and shifting the power balance.

5.3.4 Episode 4: The Non-Cooperation Movement (NCM)

Introduction

This episode covers the period immediately after the resistance to the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre; and the Government of India Act of 1919 (GIA). In this episode, because of an unsatisfactory outcome regarding the Rowlatt Act and the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, the Indians persisted and ramped up their acts of resistance. This led them to starting the non-violent 'Non-cooperation' movement (NCM), which the archives demonstrate had the British Government on the run (Low 1966).

During this episode, Viceroy Chelmsford ended his tenure in India, in 1921, to be replaced by Rufus Daniel Isaacs, 1st Marquess of Reading *(henceforth referred to as Reading)* (Hyde 1967; Mersey 1949). Under Chelmsford's leadership the British passed the Rowlatt Act which institutionalised discrimination; he was initially supportive of Dyer, ignored evidence of, and was reluctant to respond to the massacre. Chelmsford continues as the Destructive Leader in this episode. Despite the evident failure of his rule, upon returning to Britain Chelmsford was elevated to Viscount (Gandhi 1999j), an act confirming the British culture of rewarding Destructive Leadership.

Reflecting the shift in the power balance after the previous episode, the archives show that while Reading initially struck a more conciliatory relationship with the Indians (Chadha 1997); he also

authorised brutal violence against unarmed people that resisted the regime and arrested several thousands of them including Gandhi for peaceful non-cooperation (Bose 1934a). Thus, this episode also classifies Reading as a Destructive Leader, as illustrated in Figure 5.4 below.

Racist cultural values; perceived threats to protect the white ruling class; biased checks and balances with discriminatory laws, race-based curtailing of civil liberties

Environment

Susceptible Followers

Destructive Leaders

Key Colluders: British PM Lloyd George;

Key Conformers: Public Servants; British Politicians, British Public in India, Indian Public

Lord Chelmsford, Lord Reading (Viceroys of India during the period)

Figure 5.4: The NCM Disarticulates The Toxic Triangle (1920-22)

To provide further background, after the Jallianwalla Bagh massacre, Gandhi – against the odds - insisted that he still trusted Britain's good intentions. Despite finding the GIA constitutional reforms unsatisfactory, compounded with significant Indian opposition to the reforms, he backed them (Gandhi 1927). After the Hunter and Indian Congress reports came out, it revealed that forces of the British Crown committed extreme brutality in Amritsar, including outrages against vulnerable Indian women under the guise of martial law (Bose 1934a).

Forestalling the release of the reports investigating the crimes, the British passed the Indemnity Act protecting all officers that took part in the Punjab atrocities (Tendulkar 1951a). Conversely, the accounts show that with the GIA constitutional reforms, the Indian public expected a new era of justice that would have punished the perpetrators, while adequately compensating the victims, but the British did not take any such action (Bose 1934a). Further, the British House of Lords rejected most actions taken against the British perpetrators of the brutalities in Punjab (Bose 1934a; Chadha 1997). This demonstrates that while the Viceroy and the State Governors locally

administered India, the British Politicians in the UK still had a macro influence on this episode.

This macro-environment included British PM Lloyd George, who through false reassurances assisted the Destructive Leadership in India and because of his distal influence, this episode classifies him as a Colluder Follower. Edwin Montague, a close confidant of Reading, while considered a liberal by the British of the day, is reported to have demanded Indian loyalty to the crown (Hyde 1967).

5.3.4.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

With the backdrop of Rowlatt Act, lack of justice for the atrocities in Punjab, and the inadequacy of GIA; the Courageous Followers engaged in a range of *discursive acts*. Below are key events that the Indians enacted against the Destructive Leaders.

5.3.4.1.1 Uniting Communities - NCM is Conceived

World War I and its aftermath had religious ramifications for India. One outcome of World War I was the British defeat of the Muslim Ottoman Empire (Low 1966). British PM Lloyd George had given assurances to Indian Muslims who had fought for Britain during WWI, that Britain would preserve the Turkish Sultan's powers as Caliph. However, those powers were shredded by the *Treaty of Sèvres* (Bolitho 1954). The archives show that the Indian Muslim community thought the British had mistreated the Turkish Sultan, who was their Caliph (Bolitho 1954; Radhakrishnan 1939). Consequently, the Muslims started a Khilafat (Caliphate) movement (Bolitho 1954; Radhakrishnan 1939).

Gandhi was sympathetic to the Muslim's cause, and through a series of public and private meetings built an alliance with the powerful Indian Khilafat movement (Chaturvedi & Sykes 1949; Gandhi 1999j). The movement was an organisation that was planning a sustained agitation against what they regarded as Britain's betrayal of Islam (Chaturvedi & Sykes 1949; Gandhi 1999j).

During a Khilafat conference in November 1919, the idea of the Non-Cooperation Movement (NCM) was born, where the Muslim's agreed to stop the slaughtering of cows, in return for Hindu support of the Khilafat movement (Chadha 1997). After the conference, the Indians including Gandhi wrote several letters and repeatedly attempted to persuade Chelmsford through internal channels regarding their cause to restore the Sultan's powers, but to no avail (ibid.).

5.3.4.1.2 Approving the NCM Resolution

In June 1920, Gandhi got the NCM sanctioned by the Khilafat movement's Committee (ibid.). Historians generally give Gandhi credit for uniting the Hindu and Muslim communities against the British (Varma & Guha 2019). However, the records show that keeping unity and convincing others was difficult, Gandhi faced opposition from the older Indian Congress members (Chadha 1997; Nanda 1968). Older Congress members stated that all this effort to just get the British to rethink the Khilafat or Punjab was not enough, they wanted *Swaraj* (self-rule), by peaceful and legitimate means, using resources within and external to the British Empire (Chadha 1997; Nanda 1968). A core purpose of the NCM was to gain freedom, equality and protect the human rights of Indians after the massacre and the Rowlatt Act (Chadha 1997; Nanda 1968).

In August 1920, in a major act of defiance, the Indian National Congress (INC) rejected the GIA constitutional reforms and approved the NCM (Chadha 1997). The INC also passed resolutions against untouchability and the revival of the spinning-wheel to make Khadi, as they rewrote their constitution (ibid.). Nehru—India's future first PM—said that these actions shifted the INC from a Westernised to an Indian Institution, with European clothes and English as a language being almost entirely replaced by simple Khadi attire and Indian languages respectively (Nehru 1982). Nehru continued that this attracted a broader coalition of lower middle-class delegates, as opposed to primarily the educated Indian elite (ibid.).

5.3.4.1.3 Planning the Escalation of the NCM

The advancement of the NCM became the centrepiece of resistance at this point in the struggle. A progressive program of resistance was developed through a series of the NCM resolutions that were actively promoted through newspaper articles and speeches. These included that: (1) Indians must return their titles, decorations, honours and awarded by the British (Chaturvedi & Sykes 1949; Nanda 1968); (2) they must boycott public transportation and British-manufactured goods, especially clothing (Shridharani 1939); (3) if still unsuccessful, every Indian must withdraw from British-Government schools, police stations, the military, and the civil service, and lawyers leave the courts, all without physical force (Low 1966; Tendulkar 1951b); (4) if that did not work, they would refuse to pay taxes (Chadha 1997).

To prepare for the latter stages of the NCM, the Indians created (or revived) alternative forms of governance. The INC wanted a successful *Swaraj (i.e., self-rule)* and knew that they must be capable of governing (ibid.). The INC developed a well-organised Congress machinery and set up

provincial committees with roots reaching down to the districts, towns and villages (ibid.). To resolve disputes, the INC set up an alternative judicial system called Panchayats across India (Shridharani 1939).

Prior to beginning the NCM, Gandhi wrote a letter to inform Viceroy Chelmsford of the Hindu's and Muslim's decision to withdraw his support for the Government (Gandhi 2003). The archives show that Chelmsford replied that it was "the most foolish of all foolish schemes" (Gandhi 1999j, p.3; Nanda 1968, p.202). Gandhi defiantly persisted and cautioned Chelmsford through the *Young India* newspaper by stating: "Unfortunately for His excellency the movement is likely to grow with ridicule as it is certain to flourish on repression" (Gandhi 1999j, p.222; Gandhi 2003; Tendulkar 1951b).

5.3.4.1.4 Speaking Tours, Returning Titles and Burning Clothes

After informing the Government of the NCM, the Indians implemented their plan. Along with Shaukat Ali from the Khilafat movement, Gandhi went on a seven-month speaking tour across India, promoting Hindu-Muslim unity, criticising the British betrayal of Islam and the massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh (Chadha 1997). In a speech at Rawalpindi, Gandhi sought to unite the Hindus and Muslims against the British by saying: "You may hang us on the gallows, you may send us to prison but you will get no cooperation from us" (Gandhi 1999i, p.67). Simultaneously, Gandhi used the *Young India* newspapers to magnify the same message (Tendulkar 1951b)

When NCM started, several prominent Indians returned their titles (Harper 2018). Famously, Nobel Laurette, ~~Sir~~[5] Rabindranath Tagore wrote to Chelmsford renouncing his knighthood saying:

> The time has come when badges of honour make our shame glaring in the incongruous context of humiliation... I... wish to stand... by the side of those countrymen who... suffer degradation not fit for human beings (Tendulkar 1951a, p.393).

Accounts detail that the Indian people enthusiastically boycotted foreign cloth and created huge bonfires burning European garments (Chadha 1997). Gandhi reported said "Untouchability of foreign cloth is as much a virtue with all of us as untouchability of the suppressed classes must be a sin with every devout Hindu" (Tendulkar 1951b, p.74). In response to the actions of the NCM, the British responded with their usual repressive measures of force, but the movement continued (Bose 1934a).

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[5] In accordance with Tagore's symbolic discursive act to return the title, it has been denoted with a strikethrough

5.3.4.1.5 Escalating with Strikes, Not Paying Taxes and Stronger Resolutions

By February 1921, the Sikhs had also joined the alliance with the INCs against the British (Hyde 1967). When the British became more repressive, the Indians expanded their resistance by using strikes, not paying taxes, and strengthening resolutions (Bose 1934a; Chadha 1997; Gandhi 1999j). The archives report that the Assam-Bengal Railway Strike completely paralysed the north-eastern corridor of the country and made the people conscious of the power they have when they united against the British (Bose 1934a).

In another instance, a district refused to pay taxes which resulted in the forcible seizure of property, harassment, prosecution, intimidation by the military police and soldiers (ibid.). In September 1921, the British arrested the Ali brothers *(founders of Khilafat movement)* for attempting to encourage Muslims to leave the army (Chadha 1997). Two weeks later, the INC approved of the Ali brothers' actions, and resolved that Indians should not remain in the employment of a government that has degraded India (Tendulkar 1951b). This resolution also authorised a boycott of paying taxes; in open defiance of the British, 50 prominent Indian lawyers and thinkers signed, published, and promoted it (ibid.).

Near the end of 1921, records show that the British had jailed twenty thousand Indians for civil disobedience and sedition (Chadha 1997). In response, the Indians passed resolutions to (1) expand civil disobedience to *all* the Government laws and constitutions; and (2) continue protesting non-violently and peacefully submitting themselves if arrested (Low 1966; Tendulkar 1951b).

5.3.4.1.6 Presenting Reports of Repression and Giving an Ultimatum

Gandhi and others escalated their discourse and presented several detailed reports of repression in the newspaper *Young India* and promoted the expansion of civil disobedience across the country. For instance, Gandhi published:

> The visible symbols of our gathering national strength and the signs of ebbing life in the present Government are afforded by the series of prosecutions upon which the Government has launched in all parts of the country. Our progressive advance is marked by the thickening of repression (Gandhi 1921b, p.359).

Further, Gandhi wrote in Young India, "Our duty therefore… is to invite martial law… and evolve the courage to draw the rifle fire not in our back as in 1919, but in our open and willing

breasts and without resentment" (Bhattacharya 2019, p.2; Tendulkar 1951b, p.104).

On 23 November 1921, the Indians informed Viceroy Reading, that in response to the British repression, they would escalate to complete active civil disobedience in one territory *(Bardoli),* unless the British released all non-violent prisoners and stopped interfering in non-violent activities of Indians (Chadha 1997; Low 1966). Accounts show that this made Reading and the British anxious (Hyde 1967). The archive shows that a few weeks later, Reading informed Gandhi that if he called off the NCM, he would rescind the Government's repressive measures, release prisoners, and call a round table conference (Low 1966).

5.3.4.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

As a result of the actions of the NCM, reports show that the British rule in India was on the run (ibid.). This period in the early 1920s signified an even more decisive shift in the power balance of the Courageous Followers with the Conformer Followers against the Destructive Leadership. Arguably it created the momentum and strategic base for the movement that was eventually to pave the way to independence and self-rule several decades later. The decisive nature of this period can be understood in terms of key actions under each of the project's discursive categories.

(1) Confronting Internally:

Here, confronting i*nternally* refers to using existing political structures controlled by imperialistic Britain. When Gandhi and Khilafat movement aligned, they initially wrote several letters to the Viceroy, and sent a deputation to present their case but made no progress with the Destructive Leadership.

When Gandhi directly wrote to the Viceroy informing him that the Indians would implement NCM, as the British were continuing to: betray the Muslims; keep the Rowlatt Act; and maintain injustice regarding the massacre's perpetrators. The Destructive Leader responded that it was "the most foolish of all foolish schemes" (Gandhi 1999j, p.3). Thus, here too *confronting internally,* as a strategy against Destructive Leadership, did not work when the power balance has not shifted.

(2) 'Rubiconising':

A range of *'rubiconising'* acts were pursued by the Courageous Followers which showed their intent to *intensify* their campaign. These included boycotts, sacrificing their livelihoods, clothing, and by returning titles and honours. Gandhi returned the medals awarded to him by the British

Government for his efforts during the Boer War in South Africa (Chadha 1997). The act of returning was *symbolising* and *'rubiconising'*, here, Gandhi also was showing *congruency* between plans and actions.

Historical accounts document that thousands of average Indians (Conformer Followers) renounced their British titles; quit the British courts; and students, teachers and professionals went to the villages to teach literacy and 'Non-Cooperation' (Tendulkar 1951b). As part of the Khadi movement, thousands more Indians took part in bonfires burning European garments (Chadha 1997).

Using the rules of solidarity, the Courageous Followers harnessed the *communal* and *political* system's *religious* structures and *counter-state* structures adhering to the resources of *networks* with rules of *solidarity* and *patriotism* to India, against the British *political* system's *state* structures *(see Table 3.2 on p.76 above).* The displays of defiance were *'rubiconising' acts,* and in this way the Conformer Followers started to *'rubiconise'* and exhibit Courageous Follower behaviours, thus slowly shifting the power balance.

(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

In this episode, Gandhi and others continually presented the injustice caused by the Destructive Leaderships actions in Punjab as evidence of potential wide-ranging damage, if they did not stand up to the British. The Courageous Followers also detailed reports of repression in the newspapers and through speeches. In this way, the Courageous Followers *marshalled credible evidence* to illustrate the consequences and promote the NCM's expansion of civil disobedience across the country. Here they harnessed their *communal* system's *network* resources to learn of *credible evidence* and magnify it by using *power through* the newspapers or organisations like the INC against the Destructive Leadership.

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

Accounts report that the British believed their strength in India greatly depended on the differences between the Hindu and Muslim communities (Bolitho 1954). The latter's alliance was a great danger to British and mitigated their infamous *divide-and-conquer* strategy. The Courageous Followers *building and maintaining coalitions* between Hindus and Muslims was a huge achievement for the movement, and highly significant in shifting the power balance against the Destructive Leadership. The resistance would not have been as powerful if it were not for *building and maintaining coalitions.*

The seven-month tour by Shaukat Ali from the Khilafat movement and Gandhi shows a concerted effort to unify the two communities and spread their joint message, while forcefully recriminated against the Destructive Leadership. In this way, the Courageous Followers *spanned boundaries* and *intensified* their *perspectivising* by *building and maintaining coalitions*. The unity between the two religious communities was so strong that records show that they used to vie with one another to show their fraternisation (Tendulkar 1951b). These discursive acts of *building and maintaining coalitions* using the *communal* system's *religious* structures and rules of *solidarity* worked well against the *state's* structures.

(5) Perspectivising:

The *perspectivising* advances in the movement were highly significant in this period. *Perspectivising* centred around the development of the NCM and the various tenets that it included. In speeches and publications, Gandhi shared his *perspective* on the Destructive Leadership's incongruence with the latter's espoused principles of *equality* and *Christianity*. Gandhi publicly drew attention to scores of mistreatments towards Indians. This form of *perspectivising* powerfully reached out to people across the world, in one speech he forcefully condemned the British by stating that: "The British Empire today represents Satanism and they who love God can afford to have no love for Satan" (Gandhi 1999i, p.361)

By invoking *equality*, the Courageous Followers were *perspectivising* using the core tenant of *egalitarian* within *state structures*. It can be argued that this *perspectivising* also *spanned boundaries* by invoking certain rules of the US and French constitutions. For instance, those countries' constitutions enshrined *human rights* and *equality* in the late 1700s (*The Bill of Rights: What Does it Say?* 2016; *Déclaration des Droits de l'Homme et du Citoyen de 1789* 2019). So, by the early 20th century, *human rights* and *equality* were core tenants in most Western democracies. Thus, through this discourse Gandhi was using the power mechanism of *over-identification* with the Destructive Leadership that valued human rights in their own country and Western culture.

By burning European made clothes Gandhi *intensified* his *perspectivising* using *symbolism*. The INC likened it to burning all the dross, dirt and weakness in the country (Bose 1934a, p.50). Gandhi even *perspectivised* using the *untouchable* metaphor to address inequality within the Hindu caste system. Gandhi continually stressed *(i.e. perspectivised)* the practical benefit of the spinning wheel as it would provide income to families, while helping the Indians elevate themselves from the "economic slavery" and British "capitalist exploitation" (Hyde 1967, p.369; Tendulkar 1951b, p.30). The archives state that Gandhi wanted Indians to withdraw their labour from any activity that "sustained the British government and economy in India" (Ghosh 2017, p.58). Therefore,

Gandhi appears to have explicitly attempted to harness the *economic* system with the dominant *capitalistic* structure against the *state* structure.

(6) Boundary Spanning:

When Khilafat and INC approved the NCM, the Courageous Followers were willing to use institutions and *religious* structures and rules beyond the Destructive Leadership and engaged in *boundary spanning*. The multi-faith *boundary spanning* continued,as the Sikhs had also joined the alliance (Hyde 1967).

Through the 'Khadi' campaign, the Courageous Followers had empowered poor Indians and changed the language, type of delegate and dress code within the INC. The INC also built an alternative governance system, with grassroots committees spanning down to the districts, towns and villages; and an alternative judicial system called Panchayats across India. Hence, because of the *intense boundary spanning,* the Courageous Followers galvanised Conformer Followers across the whole country across the religious and socioeconomic spectrum. The Courageous Followers also used *power through* organisations at various levels of society to resist the Destructive Leadership. Thus, the Courageous Followers used their *agency* to change and counter *structures*.

(7) Intensifying:

After writing to Chelmsford about the NCM and getting ridiculed by him, Gandhi *intensified* by publicly cautioning Chelmsford that this would only amplify the movement. In this way, Gandhi was using the power mechanism of *shaping anticipated results* through the presentation of a potential outcome to affect the Destructive Leader's behaviour. Those that can *reduce uncertainty* get coercive power (Fleming & Spicer 2014; Popper 2011; Porter, Allen & Angle 2003). Conversely, this thesis argues that the INC was using the power mechanism of inc*reasing uncertainty* to give the Courageous Followers more power.

The progressive stages of the NCM's plan, was an *intensification* of actions, from returning titles, to Khadi, to burning clothes, to leaving the British institutions, to boycotting taxes. The Courageous Followers also seem to have used the power dimension of *manipulation* by using the power mechanisms of *changing the rules* through the power of their *network positioning* to *mobilise bias* against the British through an *intense* campaign of *perspectivising.*

Thus the NCM was a '*rubiconising'* plan for the *intensification* of power mechanisms, through the use of *coercive power* to *increase uncertainty* and *control resources*, while resisting *domination* power through

power mechanisms of the *articulation of an alternative ideology* and *non-conformity with institutions*. Additionally, the Courageous Followers were resisting *subjectification* power through boycotting the disciplinary regime and *constructing alternative identities*. The Indians were resisting *governmentality* power by *articulating an alternative discourse*. Further, the Courageous Followers *intensely* used *power through* organisations like the INC and Khilafat Committee against the Destructive Leadership.

After increasing British repression, Gandhi and the Courageous Followers responded with a resolution to *intensify* their *'rubiconising'* through the ultimatum of complete active civil disobedience. With the ultimatum, the Destructive Leadership feared that if the provinces stopped paying tax, they would render the British Raj bankrupt (Chadha 1997). A few weeks later, Reading agreeing to the Courageous Followers' terms. Thus, the power balance had shifted away from the Destructive Leadership and towards the Courageous Followers.

5.4 Conclusion

Several *discursive categories* of resistance emerged through the analysis of the four episodes in this case. Four of the *discursive categories* seemed to be critical to the success of Courageous Followers against Destructive Leaders. (1) Courageous Followers gained success by bridging the boundaries *(i.e., boundary spanning)* between socio-economic, cultural, ethics, and religious communities. (2) Courageous Followers required a concerted and sustained effort *(i.e., intensifying)* to magnify their other *discursive acts*—*'rubiconising', perspectivising, marshalling credible evidence, building and maintaining coalitions*, while *boundary spanning*—especially in the face of setbacks. (3) Without *building and maintaining coalitions*, the movement/s would have not have been possible (4) In addition, *perspectivising* in this case study took the form of the development and articulation of a broad philosophy of resistance and cultural pride, including the *symbolism* of Satyagraha; 'Khadi' and the NCM movements. This *perspectivising* enabled Courageous Followers to *span boundaries*, and *build and maintain coalitions*. A summary and the definitions for all these *discursive categories* are in Section 5.3.1.2 Discursive Analytical Framework - Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions on p.125 above and in Table 5.1 below.

This case also highlighted how followers use their *agency* to change and counter *structures*. For instance, the NCM and the Satyagraha movement successfully invoked many structures and networks from the *communal, economic, domestic, political* and *intellectual,* against the *state* structures of the Destructive Leadership. Further, the Courageous Followers created often their own structures in the form of political and non-governmental organisations with their own rules which gave them

power against the Destructive Leadership. We know from the historical record that this was far from the end of the Indian struggle against British Imperialism. However, the Indian's the later success in gaining freedom, in 1947, through the Quit India movement was driven by a range of *discursive acts* that were developed during the period described in the prceding case.

Table 5.1: Mass Movements Discursive Actions of Resistance Against European Imperialism

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System *(i.e., Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual)*
(1) Confronting Internally: is directly to confront the Destructive Leadership within the latter's dominion of control *(e.g., country, state, organisation, group)*	• Expert power • Giving upward feedback • Articulating an alternative discourse	• Meetings • Information • Formal Conversations • Informal Conversations • Memos • Publications	Initially Courageous Followers used the legal mechanisms within the dominion of the Destructive Leadership, but the latter ignored them passed TARA	Ineffective	Relied largely on the extant structures of the *political* system
(2) 'Rubiconising': is acting decisively on a plan or values to cross a point of no return.	• Rule manipulation • Increasing uncertainty • Resource control • Network positioning • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• Meetings • Phone calls • Gathering • Speeches • Extreme plans • Radical actions • Enforce deadlines	When the Gandhi and the Satyagrahis followed through and went to prison, they were congruent with their oath under God to 'rubiconise'. This eventually resulted in an agreement with the Destructive Leadership the latter reneged	Partially Effective	*Communal* system's *ethnic* and *religious* structures to counter the *political* system's state structures
(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence: is the collation and presentation of credible evidence with a view to influence other actors	• Expert power • Legitimate power • Information control • Increasing Uncertainty	• Interviews • Meetings • Classified documentation • Financial statements • Secret reports • Statements • Plans	By setting up their own enquiring and boycotting the Hunter Commission to investigate the Jallianwala Bagh, the Courageous Followers spent months *marshalling credible evidence*	Partially Effective	*Intellectual* system's *professional* structure using the resources of *expertise* and *legitimacy*

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System *(i.e., Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual)*
(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions: is to grow support by influencing and recruiting other actors to align with one's agenda and then to maintain continually the coalition	• Expert power • Formal or legitimate position • Network positioning • Information control • Increasing Uncertainty • Articulating ideologies • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• Phone calls • Meetings • Coded messages • Public Gatherings • Posters • Advertising • *Symbolism*	In London, Gandhi *persisted* and *built and maintained coalitions* with members across the British political system that included Conservatives, Liberals, Irish Nationalists and the Labour party. This significantly increased influence and was necessary to shift the power balance and reversing the South African Government's decision.	Effective	*Egalitarianism* was the rule to *build coalitions* with the external British *political* structure system.
(5) Perspectivising: is framing an alternative argument, this was used to raise awareness to individuals or groups that can shift the power balance and is more likely to be effective at a macro-level outside of the dominion of the Destructive Leadership	• Increasing uncertainty • Network positioning • Over identification • Articulating an alternative discourse • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• Press articles • Meetings • Interviews • Broadcasted messages • Factual statements • Emotive statements • Advertising • Speeches • *Symbolism*	Gandhi was *perspectivising* from the very first set of meetings on the topic by pointing out the gravity of the Rowlatt Act and raising awareness of its consequences This was reflected in his writings in the Indian Opinion newspaper and in posters calling for national strikes	Effective	*Intellectual* system *with professional* structure using the resources of *expertise* and *legitimacy*

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System (*i.e., Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual*)
(6) Boundary Spanning: is the act of going from the micro to the macro-social level and vice versa. Boundary spanning is also includes expanding to a level equal or greater than the Destructive Leader's dominion of control (e.g., country, state, organisation, group)	• Increasing uncertainty • Network positioning • Over identification • Articulating an alternative discourse • Power through organisations • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• All of the above	When Khilafat and INC approved the NCM, the Courageous Followers were willing to use institutions and *religious* structures and rules beyond the Destructive Leadership engaged in *boundary spanning.*	Effective	*Communal* system's *ethnic* and *religious* structures with the resource of *public sentiment* and rule of *solidarity*
(7) Intensifying: is making multiple persistent attempts and using varying avenues to influence the status quo even when faced with repeated setbacks	• Expert power • Network position • Over identification • Articulating an alternative discourse • Increasing uncertainty • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• All of the above	The Gandhi and other Courageous Followers tirelessly *(i.e., intensifying)* gave speeches, attended meetings and used the *Indian Opinion* (and other newspapers) to write articles to give people a new *perspective.* Through the media, Gandhi used the *power through* that organisation to *span boundaries* and unite different religious communities.	Effective	All of the above

Chapter 6 – Analysis & Findings – Case Study 2: Politics

6.1 Overview

This chapter analyses the second of three case studies, exploring the process of how followers attempted to shift the power balance against Destructive Leadership. Like in the previous chapter, the case study is presented over two phases. Phase 1 surfaces the Toxic Triangle across all episodes of the case. The analysis anchors each case to the theoretical constructs. Phase 2 explores the actors' *discursive actions* and the power balance shifts across four episodes.

To provide background, this case explores the behaviours of Courageous Followers in standing up to the US Government on issues of the Vietnam war and the Watergate scandal across the period from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s. This case explores the Destructive Leadership of the office of the US president during the Vietnam war, focusing predominantly on US President Richard Nixon. In analysing the antecedents leading up to Nixon's presidency and his downfall, the project also investigated the behaviour of Nixon's predecessor, Lyndon Johnson.

This case explores the Courageous Followers who attempted to stand up to the Destructive Leadership across both the Johnson and Nixon presidencies. The episodes cover the Courageous Followership of Dr Daniel Ellsberg with the Pentagon Papers; US Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara; and the media with Katharine Graham and other staff at the Washington Post (WP) and New York Times (NYT) that sought to reveal the truth, and change the course of US Presidential history.

To triangulate, the project analysed this case using multiple sources *(refer to Appendix B: Bibliography Politics Case for a list of sources on p.314)* from nearly 50 pieces of archival materials including some of the declassified Pentagon Papers. The project reviewed eight biographies covering the lives of Richard Nixon, Lyndon Johnson and Katharine Graham. Graham was the Publisher of the WP which published both the Pentagon Papers and pursued the investigation of the Watergate scandal. In addition, the project examined two well-regarded documentaries. One documentary was *The Most Dangerous Man in America* about Dr Daniel Ellsberg—*senior military strategist and the whistleblower who leaked the Pentagon Papers.* The other documentary called *The Fog of War* about Robert McNamara who was the US Secretary of Defense during both US presidents Kennedy and Johnson's administrations from 1961 to 68. Both documentaries provide first-hand accounts from

individuals involved in this case.

6.2 Phase 1: Surfacing the Toxic Triangle: Aligning its Vertices to This Case

The literature bases Destructive Leadership on outcomes and not intent (Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007), so now the project outlines the destructive outcomes that frame this case. The US invasion of Vietnam contributed to killing 3.4 million Vietnamese people (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). McNamara said that as a percentage, it was the equivalent of killing 27 million Americans (ibid.).

By 1970, the US government involved itself in Vietnam's political affairs under the administrations of five US Presidents *(i.e., Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson, and Nixon)* (Sheehan 1971). The latter two escalated the war significantly, and reports show that they did so predominantly to avoid the humiliation of a loss under their watch (Perlstein 2008; Unger & Unger 1999). Ellsberg stated that the war, was the unjustified murder and homicide, of hundreds of thousands of people, which needed to be stopped (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). Ellsberg asserted, "It wasn't that we were on the wrong side; we were the wrong side" (ibid. min. 01:31:40).

Under Johnson and Nixon, documents show that this was the most disproportionate bombing campaign in the world's history (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). The US bombed the relatively small geographical area of Vietnam—and illegally Cambodia and Laos as well—with nearly three times the tons of bombs compared to the tonnage dropped in the whole of World War II (Amadeo 2019; Ambrose 1992). Ellsberg stated that at one stage it was the equivalent of dropping one Hiroshima-sized bomb a week on Vietnam (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009).

The US used chemical weapons—Chemical Agent Orange—that had a devastating effect on people that lived in 5 million acres of forest and 500,000 acres of farmland (Amadeo 2019; Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). From 1962 to 1971, the US military dumped 75 million litres of chemical agents which causes cancer, diabetes, and birth defects (*Panel: Agent Orange Harm Has Cost $300 Million* 2010). Even 35 years after the war ended, the Vietnamese Red Cross reported that Agent Orange has caused the health problems to 3 million Vietnamese children and adults (ibid.).

The end of World War II produced an environment that proved conducive to destructive political regimes. There was a fear among successive US administrations of losing US influence in Indochina to Communism (Ambrose 1992; Nixon 2013; Sheehan 1971; Summers & Swan 2000;

Unger & Unger 1999). Scholars widely regarded that US foreign policy during the Cold War subscribed to Domino theory, that if one country in Indochina fell to Communism, its neighbours would as well (Willbanks 2013). The prevention of this domino effect is what drove the US foreign policy in Vietnam (ibid.). This created a culture of fear and instability that the US leadership successively harnessed as a perceived threat to manipulate public sentiment. As summarised in Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2 below, from the archival material, it is exactly that instability and perceived threats that successive leaders used to further their interests and maintain public sentiment.

Another crucial systemic environmental factor highlighted was a *lack of checks and balances* in the form of the classification of government information. Ellsberg noted that because only certain individuals had access to that classified information, the oversight on their actions was minimal (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009).

The next vertex of the triangle—Susceptible Followers—shown in Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2 below compounded the *lack of checks and balances* and came in the form of Susceptible Followers who were Conformer Followers. Conformers acquiesce because they see the leader as the legitimate authority, they do not question the leader or they are bystanders who passively allow bad leadership out of fear of retaliation (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018, p.4). Accounts suggest that Johnson and Nixon until the end were scarcely challenged by Congress, the Senate or several government agencies because of their predisposed opposition to Communism and the fear that they did not want to lose the war on their watch (Perlstein 2008; Unger & Unger 1999). Ellsberg stated that the magnitude and lack of success of the war was a well-kept secret by everyone in Government (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). Ellsberg stated that during the Nixon administration despite giving the Pentagon Papers to key members of Congress no one acted (ibid.). Thus, this project classifies most members of the US Congress, Senate and security agencies as Conformer Followers. The empirical material shows that they gave deference to the Executive branch of the US Government as opposed to functioning as a check on the US President.

Conformer Followers did not want to be seen as being disloyal, which is another *conducive environmental* factor of the Toxic Triangle—see Figure 6.1 and Figure 6.2 below. Others did not want to appear to be foolish or go out on a limb. In an interview, Ellsberg quoted a senator who told him, "If I could find somebody else to go with me, I would do it, but I can't do it by myself. I would look foolish. I can't afford that" (Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007, p.2). These elements further underscore how certain cultural factors, weak followership, undue loyalty, a lack of transparency and implementation of proper checks and balances contributed to the Toxic Triangle

for destructive leadership in this case study.

6.2.1 Johnson as a Destructive Leader and his Colluder Followers

This thesis is about Courageous Followers resisting Destructive Leadership, so we will only briefly explore the Colluder Followers and the Destructive Leader's attributes. Colluder Followers usually comprise the leader's proximate followers (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018). Johnson was inclined to listen to a small group of his military generals over any other expert advice (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). This was important as the Pentagon Papers show that the US Joint Chiefs of Staff with General Earle Wheeler as Chair, the Vietnam commander of US forces General William Childs Westmoreland, and Admiral Ulysses Sharp were hawkish and continually looked to expand the war effort over diplomacy (Sheehan 2017). They often would push for extreme escalation in bombing and troop numbers and push Johnson further away from peaceful solutions (ibid.). Senator John Stennis, chair of a Senate subcommittee along with other senators were extremely hawkish and emboldened the leadership to increase bombing of highly populated civilian areas (Brigham 2017; Sheehan 2017). Therefore, Johnson's military advisers and select members of Congress may be seen as Colluder Followers—see Figure 6.1 below.

Instability in Indochina; rise of Communism; cultural influences like loyalty and deference to the US Executive; weak checks from the government and systemic classification of information

Environment

Key Colluders: Some US Generals & Admirals; Joint Chiefs of Staff, Senators

Key Conformers: Government Departments; Congress; Senators; The Public, The Media

Susceptible Followers

Destructive Leader

US President Johnson

Figure 6.1: Surfacing the Toxic Triangle in US Politics - Johnson

As shown in Figure 6.1, Johnson was the Destructive Leader. Johnson demonstrated behaviours

like personalised use of power with poor ethics and integrity. Reports show that he had already been lying to Congress and the public regarding his escalation of war efforts to get re-elected to the presidency in 1964 (Correll 2007; Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009; Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003; Sheehan 1971; Unger & Unger 1999). Despite several accounts stating that Johnson knew that the Gulf of Tonkin incident was misinformation (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009; Woo 2008), he got the Tonkin resolution passed, which accounts describe as a blank cheque that gave him unilateral powers to escalate the war (Small 2011). This reduced the checks and balances on the office of the US President (Ambrose 1992). The Pentagon Papers revealed that Johnson was already bombing North Vietnam, before he got the Tonkin resolution passed, and shortly after the 1964 general election he started "Rolling Thunder" an intensive bombing campaign (ibid.).

Destructive Leaders in the Toxic Triangle use perceived threats to increase their power (Padilla 2013; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Thus, Johnson used Tonkin as an opportunity to gain more power and reduce checks and balances to escalate the war. This duplicitous behaviour shows a lack of integrity and ethics, along with a personalised use of power which are all characteristics of a Destructive Leader.

This project would like to emphasise that not all actions by a Destructive Leader, or outcomes of their leadership, are negative (Thoroughgood et al. 2012a). However, when observing Johnson through the prism of escalating the Vietnam war, he was a Destructive Leader.

6.2.2 Nixon as a Destructive Leader and his Colluder Followers

Nixon followed Johnson as US President, and there was a continuation of several overlapping elements of the Toxic Triangle, for instance, culture, military staff and congress members. This subsection will not revisit those elements. The focus will be on Nixon as a Destructive Leader as outlined in Figure 6.2 below.

When Nixon was running for President, he falsely gave people the impression that he wanted to withdraw from the war (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). Ellsberg said that was not true as he presented many peaceful alternatives to the administration, but to no avail (ibid.). Less than two months after Nixon's inauguration in 1969, the US secretly attacked Cambodia using B-52 bombers (Nixon 2013). Nixon said he kept this a secret to prevent as little public outcry as possible (ibid.). This shows his penchant for a lack of transparency from the start of his presidency. Nixon's duplicitous behaviour shows a lack of integrity and ethics, which is a key attribute that distinguishes

Destructive Leaders from constructive ones (Bass & Steidlmeier 1999; Padilla 2013).

The record shows that Nixon also had a personalised use of power, where he used the power of the White House to suppress freedom of speech to protect himself (Ambrose 1992; Bernstein & Woodward 1999; Perlstein 2008; Small 2011). Similarly, Nixon's inner circle also used their vast judicial resources to obscure the facts that were shown to be true in both the Pentagon Papers and White House transcripts of Nixon's tapes (DiEugenio 2015; Summers & Swan 2000). Nixon had a history of trying to embarrass his opponents by getting negative intelligence on other politicians, for example approving 'ratfucking'[6] against the Democratic Party (Ambrose 1992; Nixon 2013; Perlstein 2008; Small 2011). Therefore, Nixon viewed the personalised use of power as par for the course in his political life. Because of all to these aforementioned factors and more, this project classifies Nixon as a Destructive Leader.
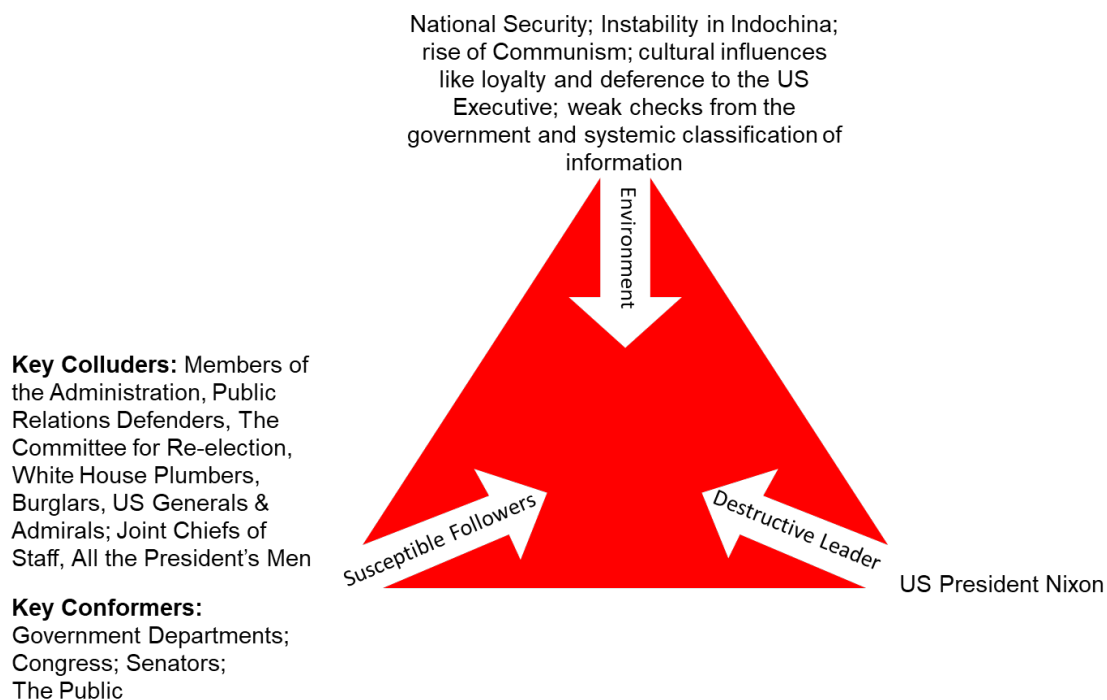
Figure 6.2: Surfacing the Toxic Triangle in US Politics - Nixon

There were several members of Nixon's administration who could be called Colluder followers (see Figure 6.2). For instance, in Nixon's own memoirs, he confirmed that Kissinger advocated bombing runs in Cambodia, despite French President Charles De Gaulle advocating a more

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[6] 'Ratfucking' was a jarring term regularly used by the Nixon Colluder Followers when performing acts of political subterfuge on the Democratic Party, including when breaking into Watergate in the 1970s (Bernstein & Woodward 1999).

diplomatic solution (Nixon 2013). When Ellsberg leaked the truth about the bombings, Kissinger branded Ellsberg as "the most dangerous man in America who must be stopped at all costs," (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009, min 01:59.13).

Other Colluder Followers in Nixon's administration were Counsel to the president John Dean, and Attorney General John Mitchell (Bernstein & Woodward 1999). Both of whom were convicted of crimes related to the Watergate scandal (Bernstein & Woodward 1999; Perlstein 2008). There were also Colluder Followers who defended Nixon in public and suppressed the press, like Nixon's vice-president Spiro Agnew and White House Press Secretary Ron Ziegler who often attacked and intimidated the press (Bernstein & Woodward 1999; Felsenthal 1993; Nixon 2013).

Colluder Followers also included members of the Nixon's Committee for the Re-election of the President (CRP) like Harry Haldeman, Nixon's Chief of Staff (Bernstein & Woodward 1999). Finally, there was John Ehrlichman who was counsel and Assistant to the President for Domestic Affairs and his team of 'White House Plumbers' (ibid.).

6.3 Phase 2: Actors' Discursive Actions and the Power Balance

With the pervasiveness of these Toxic Triangles, this section analyses the behaviours of followers who found the courage to challenge the Destructive Leadership. To get some insight into the process, this subsection will analyse four episodes from this case. Figure 6.3 below illustrates the four episodes of this case. These episodes are:

1. **Resisting the Escalation of the Vietnam War:** Johnson's escalation of the Vietnam War after the assassination of Kennedy, with resistance from certain follower groups, especially his Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara.

2. **Leaking the Pentagon Papers:** The Pentagon Papers go public, an analysis on its relative success against the Nixon administration, with a focus on former senior military strategist turned whistle-blower and activist Dr. Daniel Ellsberg.

3. **Protecting Freedom of Expression:** The media's attempt to protect the first amendment in the US constitution while challenging Nixon. This episode will focus on the discursive actions of Publisher Katharine Graham and her staff at the WP working with the New York Times (NYT).

4. **Exposing the President's Crimes:** The Watergate scandal focusing again on Graham, her staff at the WP and an informant who contributed to the demise of the Nixon presidency with rulings from the US Supreme Court.
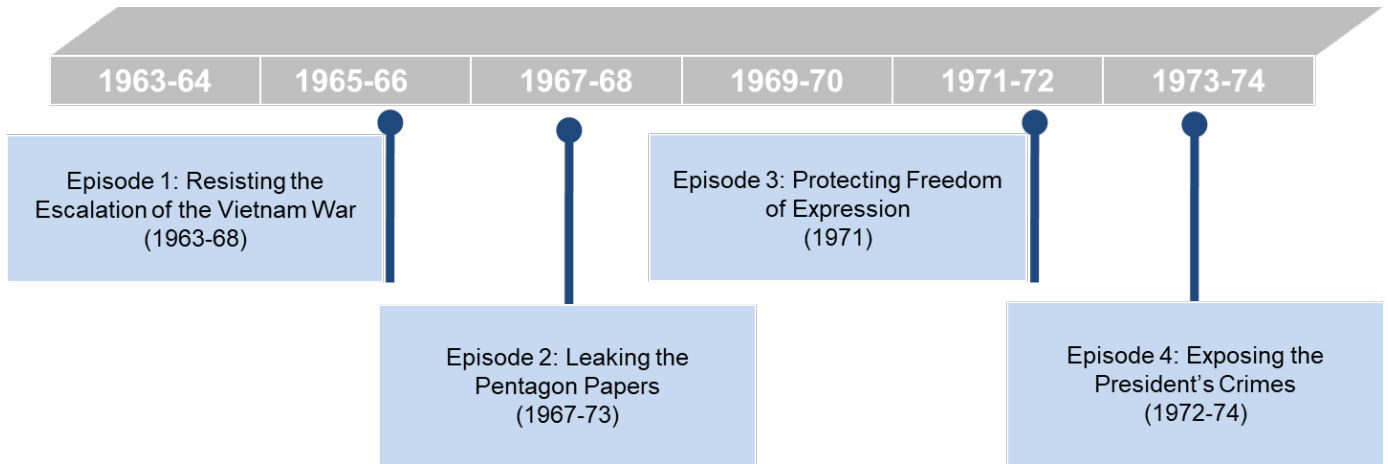
Figure 6.3: Episodes in the Case on Courageous Followership in US Politics

6.3.1 Episode 1: Resisting the Escalation of the Vietnam War

Introduction

This episode involves US Secretary of Defense Robert McNamara efforts to reduce the war efforts during the Vietnam War after US President Kennedy's assassination. McNamara stated that in October 1963, about a month before Kennedy's assassination, he had convinced the president to pull out of Vietnam to end the war (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). However, after Kennedy's death, Johnson reversed Kennedy's decision (ibid.). According to McNamara, Johnson told him he had thought Kennedy's decision was foolish (ibid.). This was in the lead up to the 1964 US Presidential election (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). However, Johnson did not want the public to see him as a warmonger (*The Pentagon Papers* 1971; Unger & Unger 1999). Simultaneously, Johnson, before the election of 1964, repeatedly stated the US would seek no wider war, though he was already bombing North Vietnam and shortly after started "Rolling Thunder" an intensive bombing campaign (Unger & Unger 1999).

As the situation developed further, Robert McNamara who Kennedy handpicked to be US Secretary of Defense became a key figure (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003; Sheehan 1971; 2017). Johnson retained McNamara as Secretary of Defense, who later was described as one of the most controversial figures ever to hold that position (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). McNamara was

controversial because allegedly some regarded him as the best civilian to assert control over the military, while others saw him as an arrogant dictator and a fraud (ibid.). The Pentagon Papers showed that the truth probably lies in the middle.

Initially, McNamara who served in World War II was also extremely influenced by the US foreign policy zeitgeist and supported the war efforts in Vietnam (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003; Sheehan 2017). McNamara in 2003 stated that the zeitgeist enveloped his way of thinking as Americans saw the Vietnam War as an element of the Cold War (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). In contrast, the North Vietnamese saw it as a civil war, with the aim to push out colonial oppressors (ibid.). In fact, when McNamara met a former Vietnamese official, he expressed to him that the US did not understand the basic history of the region, as if the US had, they would have realised that the Vietnamese would not have let the Chinese take over Vietnam (ibid.). Yet, this fear of the spread of Chinese communism was one of the key drivers for the US of this destructive war.

6.3.1.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

Graham, Publisher of the WP, and many others regarded McNamara as a great thinker of the time (Felsenthal 1993). It appears that McNamara's thinking on the war changed from being hawkish. Before Kennedy's assassination, McNamara got the then president to agree to end the war and withdraw the US presence in Vietnam by 1965 (DiEugenio 2015; Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). The US met their 1963 withdrawal target (DiEugenio 2015; Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). In 1964, when Johnson became president, he escalated the war (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). The next subsections explore McNamara's discursive actions to resist Johnson and the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

6.3.1.1.1 Condemning the War in Private

From the Pentagon Papers, McNamara had two distinct approaches to the Vietnam War, private dissension to resist, and public statements to support Johnson (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009; Sheehan 2017). In an interview, Ellsberg noted that McNamara showed great due diligence and read the analysis documentation he had produced (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). Ellsberg continued that on one occasion he observed McNamara stating that despite the escalation of the war efforts in 1966, the situation got worse (ibid.). He then immediately gave a press conference stating, "Gentlemen, I'm very encouraged by what I've seen in Vietnam. In every respect, things are better now. That we're making progress, everything is better" (ibid. min 01:20:33).

In the private McNamara would talk to Johnson about the inability to make an impact in Vietnam, while publicly he claimed that enemy morale was sagging (ibid.). McNamara even justified the escalation of the war to Congress' Appropriations Committee (Correll 2007). However, McNamara privately challenged and blamed Johnson for the Vietnam War after he broke with Kennedy's de-escalation policy (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003).

6.3.1.1.2 Presenting Facts and Figures to Deescalate the War

The Pentagon Papers revealed that McNamara would use facts and figures; and present them in memos and meetings to Johnson. This excerpt from a memo written in November 1966 shows McNamara efforts to convince Johnson with some evidence:

> Enemy losses increased by 115 per week during a period in which friendly strength increased by 166,000, an increase of about 70 losses per 100,000 of friendly strength... We have no evidence that more troops than the 470,000 I am recommending would substantially change the situation (Sheehan 2017, pp.542-43)

Despite McNamara's memo, in March 1967, Johnson increased troop numbers by over 42% (Sheehan 2017). The Pentagon Papers showed that McNamara continually tried to inform Johnson with facts and figures that despite increased military forces, the war was not winning the hearts and minds of the South Vietnamese people, as the US had planned in the early 1960s (ibid.).

6.3.1.1.3 Recruiting Experts to Counter the Hawkish Generals

In May 1967, McNamara got assistance to counter General Westmoreland's and General Wheeler's strategy of increasing the number of troops from Alain Enthoven the Assistant Secretary of Defense (ibid.). Enthoven wrote a series of papers which outlined that increasing the war effort with additional troops would not produce a sharp increase in enemy losses (ibid.). McNamara used these papers to provide Johnson with an alternative perspective to the one the Generals were giving him.

Around that time, accounts suggest that McNamara also recruited John McNaughton, Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (Correll 2007). After which, McNamara's coalition prepared vigorous arguments against the war that they wanted Johnson to approve (Sheehan 2017). The archival material shows that McNamara's alliance regularly tried to counter the Joint Chiefs of Staff and the military (ibid.).

The Pentagon Papers revealed that McNamara's alliance took a multi-pronged approach. For instance, multiple sources sent memos to Johnson to cease the bombing (ibid.). McNaughton was

forceful in his recommendation to not sanction sending more troops to Vietnam, without working on diplomatic action (ibid.). McNaughton also drew on the public's uneasiness and dissatisfaction with the war in trying to change Johnson's mind (ibid.). However, The Pentagon Papers noted that Johnson largely ignored McNamara's alliance (ibid.). The Pentagon Papers' analysts noted the following about these series of attempts:

> these were radical positions... within the Johnson Administration... bitter condemnation of the [Joint] Chiefs and were scarcely designed to flatter the President (ibid. p.503).

6.3.1.1.4 Covertly Commissioning the Pentagon Papers

On 17 June 1967, after repeatedly failing to de-escalate the war, McNamara commissioned *The Vietnam Study Task Force* that created the Pentagon Papers to create an "encyclopedic history of the Vietnam War" (Correll 2007, p. 51). Documents show that McNamara did not assign it to the regular historians in the Department of Defense (ibid.). Instead, he assigned it to McNaughton and his deputy, Morton Halperin (ibid.). Leslie Gelb—*the director of policy planning and arms control in International Security Affairs*—who had oversight of the project, recruited 36 researchers and analysts including active duty military officers, federal civilian employees, and professional scholars. Also included, were staff from the RAND Corporation (a *non-profit research institution)* that employed Ellsberg (Chokshi 2017).

Ellsberg said that McNamara instructed the team to keep this project hidden from the Johnson administration, as he feared he might stop it (Correll 2007; Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007). The task forced primarily used documents from the Office of the Secretary of Defense files (Correll 2007). The archives show that there were no interviews, no calls to the military services, and no consultation with other agencies (ibid.). As Johnson did not know about the study, there was no reaction from him regarding its merits or lack thereof.

6.3.1.1.5 Attempting to Reduce the Bombings in Senate Hearings

In July 1967, a Senate subcommittee—*chaired by Senator John Stennis*—scheduled private hearings on the bombings that gave the public some indication that there was policy division in the administration (Sheehan 2017). Unfortunately, around that time, McNamara lost a strong ally when McNaughton and his family, were killed in a plane collision (ibid.). Over the course of August 1967, several high-ranking military officers including the Joint Chiefs testified to the subcommittee about the need to expand the bombings (Brigham 2017).

McNamara presented a detailed rebuttal of every issue raised by the military officers' previous testimony (ibid.). He testified to the committee that they would not defeat the North Vietnamese by saying:

> However tempting it might be to try to save South Vietnam by bombing North Vietnam, the possibility of achieving victory, or even forcing a negotiated settlement, in that way was "completely illusory" (ibid. p.5)

The Pentagon Papers suggest that Stennis and the subcommittee were military sympathisers and set out to defeat McNamara (Brigham 2017; Sheehan 2017). This emboldened Johnson's direction to continue the war effort over diplomacy (Sheehan 2017). He expanded the bombing around Hanoi and Haiphong (Brigham 2017).

6.3.1.1.6 Writing Memos to Try to Convince the President to Stop the War

McNamara directly challenged Johnson in conversations, meetings and written memos. However, accounts show that despite this, he would usually defer to the President's will. For instance, McNamara was trying to convince Johnson to be transparent about the war, but Johnson resisted, and in the end, McNamara acquiesced to Johnson (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). The Pentagon Papers show that even as the war was escalating, McNamara continued to persist internally, but Johnson did not listen (Sheehan 2017). As a result, McNamara and Johnson continued to diverge in their Vietnam policy (ibid.).

To escalate his efforts, in November 1967, McNamara tried again to change Johnson's view and wrote a strongly worded private memo, saying: "The course we're on is totally wrong. We've got to change it. Cut back at what we're doing in Vietnam. We've got to reduce the casualties" (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003, min 01:29:20). The memo did not work as operation Rolling Thunder continued the heavy bombardment of Vietnam (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003; Sheehan 2017; Unger & Unger 1999). A few months later at the request of the president, McNamara left the Administration (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003; Sheehan 2017).

6.3.1.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

Despite McNamara's described intellect and powerful position as a proximate follower in the Johnson administration, he failed in his immediate goal to de-escalate the war, and the President fired him. Below is the analysis of the *discursive acts* demonstrated in this episode.

(1) Confronting Internally:

McNamara repeatedly attempted *discursive actions* to resist from within, but largely confined himself to structures that were under the dominion of the Destructive Leadership. The Destructive Leadership included not just Johnson, but also the Joint Chiefs of Staff and some members of the Senate. McNamara also had a public-private dichotomy in his positions for and against the war. This was further evidence that he confined himself to *confronting internally,* but supported the Destructive Leadership externally.

From the end of 1963 to 1967, despite the civilian casualties and the lack of progress, the Pentagon Papers recorded that the hawkish advocates for the war had disproportionate influence and power over the Johnson administration. At the end of 1967, McNamara again tried the *discursive actions* of *perspectivising* and *confronting internally* by writing a strongly phrased private memo to Johnson telling him they had to change course and the policy was completely wrong (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). Subsequently, Johnson fired McNamara, and despite his efforts the Toxic Triangle got stronger.

McNamara drew on the *political* and *economic* systems, through the *state* and *capitalistic* structures *(see Table 3.2 on p.76 above),* using rules *(norms)* of *egalitarianism* and *profitability*—the war was costing money. While *confronting internally*, McNamara engaged in other *discursive actions* of *perspectivising* and *marshalling credible evidence,* but that did not shift the power balance. So, it is reasonable to assume he might have had more success had he expanded his efforts to outside the Destructive Leadership's boundaries of control *(e.g., the media or the judiciary).* However, because McNamara confined his *discursive actions, it* may have prevented him from getting Johnson to de-escalate war.

(2) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

Another discursive action adopted by McNamara in challenging the Johnson regime was *perspectivising* by *marshalling credible evidence. McNamara marshalled credible evidence* by continually presenting facts and figures linking escalating US efforts to diminishing progress in Vietnam. In *marshalling credible evidence* to the Destructive Leader, McNamara did not have enough *expert power* in the domain of military strategy when compared to the Joint Chiefs of Staff *(i.e., Colluder Followers).* The archives show that this coalition of Colluder Followers were hawkish military men who were extremely politically savvy.

On one occasion, the Pentagon Papers described that the Joint Chiefs of Staff caught wind of a dovish McNamara memo and responded rapidly and violently to counter it (Sheenan 2017, p.540).

The Papers recorded that they responded on the same day and refuted McNamara's assessment by saying that they had made substantial progress in Vietnam (ibid.). They added that they had demoralised the Vietcong, and that bombing was critical to the US winning. Johnson discounted McNamara's memo and continued with the bombing (ibid.). However, reports show that about 80% of the Vietnamese killed in the north were civilians, and the US deliberately violated a designated sanctuary around the capital to undercut peace from Hanoi (ibid.).

The *discursive action* of *marshalling credible evidence* can draw on the *intellectual* system, which values *expertise* and *legitimacy* as a basic resource, with *professional codes* are often rules. McNamara's lack of success seems that he confined his *discursive actions* to the Destructive Leader and the Colluder Followers. The Colluder Followers had more relative expertise and resources, and therefore more power in this context. Thus, this st*rategy did not* to work. Without stronger power bases, McNamara's discursive actions appeared to take the form of the relatively weaker influencing tactic of *upward feedback, as opposed to a stronger power tactic.*

(3) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

To counter the hawkish military advisers, McNamara also used the *discursive act* of *building and maintaining coalitions*. McNamara built coalitions by enlisting highly respected individuals like Enthoven, McNaughton, Halperin and Gelb who were all within the administration. These individuals wrote memos and papers, based on factual evidence, to convince the Destructive Leadership. Until McNamara increased his *building and maintaining coalitions* his perspective was getting drowned out by the military chiefs.

McNamara's coalition presented different perspectives, and McNaughton was forceful because he had an 18-year-old son, and drew on the anti-war *public sentiment (i.e., a structural resource)* among the younger generation (ibid.). In a memo to McNamara, McNaughton wrote, "A feeling is widely and strongly held that 'the Establishment' is out of its mind" (ibid. p.524). Here McNaughton implies that the *political* system's basic resource of *public sentiment* is changing and to help McNamara convince Johnson. This memo also invoked the power mechanism of *articulating an alternative discourse* to counter the power of *subjectification* to 20 years of US foreign policy, which the Colluder Followers had effectively used. Further, the memo drew attention to another mechanism of power which was *increasing uncertainty* about the war with the public.

While McNamara tried the *discursive action* of *building and maintaining coalitions*, this might have been too little too late considering that the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Generals and Admirals had been

working together to influence Johnson for a much longer time. Those Colluder Followers heavily harnessed their *expert power* over the civilian cabinet members, so the power balance was still in their favour. The study shows that the Joint Chiefs of Staff also tried to withhold a strong memo from Johnson (ibid.). Therefore, they were trying to control flow of *information* as a resource, which the analysis describes as a Colluder power reactionary move. Without expanding the coalition, beyond the boundaries of the Destructive Leadership, this alliance did not have enough bases of power to deescalate the war. Therefore, he might have been more successful to change the power by moving outside to the micro-level and increasing public involvement.

(4) Perspectivising:

McNamara continually *perspectivised* by presenting detailed analysis and facts in memos and meetings. He used facts when he said that additional 100,000 ground troops only led to 70 enemy losses. He even tried to change the *perspective* of the Senate subcommittee by saying the US efforts to save South Vietnam by bombing North Vietnam was "completely illusory".

In 1966 paper to the President, McNamara said, "In spite of an interdiction campaign costing at least $250 million per month at current levels, no significant impact on the war in South Vietnam is evident" (ibid. p.513). Thus, he even tried to change Johnson's mind by arguing that the war was costing too much money and not achieving progress. Here he was using the using the *economic* system, with the resource of *capital,* to counter the *state* system.

McNamara was forceful, and in one of his last memos to Johnson, he emphasised that the course the US was on was totally wrong. However, with his contrary private and public positions, he mostly focussed his efforts on changing the view of the Destructive Leader. The Colluder Followers often countered McNamara's attempts. McNamara did not expend much energy on convincing Conformer Followers, who could have been more effective. Instead, reports show that the public perceived him to be the warmonger. While McNamara referred to the resource of *public sentiment,* he did not harness it within the *political* system. This could have been the key element to change the Destructive Leadership's actions in Vietnam.

(5) Boundary Spanning:

McNamara hardly engaged in *boundary spanning* as this project defines it. *Boundary spanning* is the act of traversing between the micro to the macro-social level to a level equal or greater than the Destructive Leader's dominion of control *(e.g., country, state, organisation, group)* or to go across structures *(e.g., from the political to communal etc).*

McNamara did however engage in *discursive actions* to move from the micro-level to the meso level, when testifying before the Senate subcommittee's private hearing. The Senate is the branch of government that can hold the President to account and has the potential to shift the balance of power. However, it failed as the Colluder Followers and Destructive Leader appeared to have more power bases in the form of *expert, legitimate* and *resource control to influence the senate*. Further, as outlined in surfacing this Toxic Triangle, the senators had a deference to the Executive branch of government and this project designated them as either Colluder or Conformer Followers.

Potentially, McNamara needed to expand to the macro level, and *build and maintain coalitions* to galvanise the Conformers in the wider society to harness *public sentiment. Public sentiment* was changing towards the war, so it is likely that he would have gotten more traction. He could have also publicly discussed the war was costing the US millions while drawing on the economic system. Instead, during his tenure he largely focused on private resistance at the micro-level and thus could not change structure despite using his agency.

(6) Intensifying:

McNamara *intensified* by trying different approaches to convince *(i.e., perspectivising)* Johnson to deescalate the war. As discussed above, he presented different facts and figures and tried using the *intellectual* system. McNamara also *built and maintained coalitions* with expert advisers that tried to convince the President of alternatives. For instance, they advocated prioritising diplomacy over war and *intensified* through a series of papers, and increasingly assertive memos, that the Pentagon Papers recorded. McNaughton also strongly cautioned that even acceding mildly to Generals Westmoreland and Sharp's request, while not making any diplomatic progress, would take them down a path to continuing the war effort (ibid.).

By commissioning *The Vietnam Study Task Force* that produced the Pentagon Papers outside Johnson's purview, McNamara *intensified* his *marshalling of credible evidence* towards the end of his tenure. The task force continued after Johnson asked McNamara to step down from his role. McNamara *built* and set up structures to *maintain a coalition* of analysts to *marshall credible evidence,* even after he left the administration. The task force, besides the military, composed of public servants, private sector staff and academics serving as analysts (Correll 2007). Thus, McNamara invoked both *intellectual* and *communal* systems which have different rules, resources and institutions compared to the political or militaristic structures.

When analysing these *discursive actions* retrospectively, this *intensification* of *marshalling credible evidence*

initiated *chains of actions*. These *chains of actions* gave Ellsberg access to the Pentagon Papers; Ellsberg choose to leak those papers to the press and other politicians; this amplified *public sentiment* against the war; and thus the resistance spread to the macro-level, *spanning boundaries*. Thus, while McNamara failed in his proximate goal of deescalating the war, his *discursive actions* did contribute to shifting the power balance, which the next episode will discuss.

6.3.2 Episode 2: Leaking the Pentagon Papers

The courage we need is not.... to help conceal lies, to do our job by a boss.... It is the courage, at last, to face, honestly, the truth and the reality of what we are doing in the world and act responsibly to change it — Dr. Daniel Ellsberg, one time Marine, later a top policy analyst for the Defense and State Departments (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009, min 02:29:34)

Introduction

This episode explores Dr Daniel Ellsberg and his collaborators' efforts to change the resource of public sentiment to end the war the Vietnam War by leaking the Pentagon Papers. As discussed in the previous episode, McNamara, the former US Secretary of Defense, had commissioned a study on the Vietnam War outside the purview of US President Johnson.

The official title of the Pentagon Papers was "*US-Vietnam Relations, 1945-1967: History of US Decision Making Process on Vietnam Policy*" (Correll 2007, p.52). The study contained 47 volumes, 7,000 pages and the task force completed it just before Nixon took office in 1969 (Correll 2007; Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009; Nixon 2013). Nixon, in his memoirs, confirmed that the Pentagon Papers contained "verbatim documents from the Defense Department, the State Department, the CIA, the White House, and the Joint Chiefs of Staff" (Nixon 2013, p.362).

To provide further background, when Nixon was elected in 1968, it further amplified the Toxic Triangle of US foreign policy in Vietnam. However, Nixon won the US Presidential election promising peace (Summers & Swan 2000). The archival material reveals that for Nixon's own political gains, he covertly orchestrated the collapse of the peace talks leading up to 1968 election, to swing votes away from the incumbent Democratic Party (DiEugenio 2015; Summers & Swan 2000).

In January 1969, when the Nixon Administration took office, the leadership escalated the war (Ambrose 1992; Nixon 2013; Perlstein 2008). At the start, Nixon, along with Kissinger — National Security Advisor — discussed using nuclear weapons in Vietnam; but went ahead and secretly

bombed Cambodia (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009; Nixon 2013; Summers & Swan 2000). Nixon also retained a lot of Johnson's hawkish military advisers, who also looked to escalate the war (Sheehan 2017; Summers & Swan 2000). As shown previously, in surfacing this Toxic Triangle in this case, the conducive environmental factors were still prevalent in the Nixon administration and this episode.

6.3.2.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

The Pentagon Papers study was a crucial artefact that contributed to exposing the Destructive Leadership. Years later, when asked about the purpose of the study, which McNamara had commissioned, reports show that he claimed that it had been to preserve a written record for researchers and not because the war disillusioned him (Correll 2007). So, even years later, it appears McNamara maintained this contrary public versus private stance.

Without the *discursive actions* of Ellsberg and his collaborators, the Destructive Leadership's behaviour, contained in contents of the Pentagon Papers, may have remained classified by the state and the destruction could have continued.

6.3.2.1.1 Presenting Alternatives to End the War

Once Nixon assumed office in 1969, Ellsberg gave the newly appointed Kissinger six or seven fact-based alternatives to end the war (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). However, Kissinger reportedly told him that there wasn't a "win option" (ibid.). In response, Ellsberg replied, "You could use nuclear weapons and kill all the people. I wouldn't call that a win. So there, just as far as I see, is no way to win" (ibid. min 01:28:27.09). Many regarded Ellsberg as 'the' leading military strategist in the US, and at that stage, he was far more experienced than Kissinger (ibid.). Yet Kissinger did not listen to Ellsberg's advice.

Nixon significantly escalated the war and increased casualties. When Johnson left office, US Presidents were responsible for 25,000 US deaths (Amadeo 2019; Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). The death of US personnel increased to 58,000 by the end of the war, which covered Nixon's entire presidency (Amadeo 2019; Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). At this stage, Ellsberg did not make progress to stop the war by working with within the administration (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009).

6.3.2.1.2 Circulating the Papers to Congress Members

Ellsberg started working in secrecy for several months with Anthony Russo *(a former colleague from RAND Corporation)*, to photocopy multiple sets of the Pentagon Papers (Correll 2007; Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007). They they did not give the papers to the media right away. Instead, they reached out to members of Congress in Washington (Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007).

Ellsberg and Russo shared the 47 volumes and 7,000 pages with several members of the government, but virtually no one acted (Correll 2007; Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007). Some of these included Senator J. William Fulbright, Senator George McGovern, Senator Gaylord Nelson and others (Correll 2007; Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007). The archival material shows that a lot of members of Congress did nothing, and reportedly told Ellsberg that they had an important job and that he should take the risk (Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007). Howard Zinn, historian, professor of political science, and an associate of Ellsberg stated:

> There was obviously was a kind of culture of timidity in congress. A deference to the executive branch and the fear of being called unpatriotic. Fear of being accused of revealing military secrets and so on. And that this culture was so strong that even senators and congressmen who were against the war, didn't want to do anything with the papers that Dan Ellsberg offered them. (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009, min 01:49:24)

6.3.2.1.3 Leaking the Pentagon Papers to the Media

Ellsberg widened his approach and went to the media and to get their help to stop the war (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). He distributed the Pentagon Papers to seventeen different media organisations (ibid.). However, there was no guarantee this would succeed in exposing the atrocities of the war. At the time, in the words of Ben Bradlee (*Executive Editor of WP),* most people regarded the media as a mouthpiece of the US administrations, and they had a lot to risk (Bray 1980).

Ellsberg persisted and recruited Neil Sheehan at the New York Times (NYT), to whom he had previously leaked information, about a secret CIA report on enemy troop strength that had made the news (Correll 2007; Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). But leaking the Pentagon Papers was at a much larger level. Sheehan was the journalist who was pivotal in getting the Pentagon Papers printed (Sheehan 1971; 2017). However, Ellsberg said that he had no assurances from Sheehan that the NYT would print the story (Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007)

6.3.2.1.4 Publishing the Papers to Inform the Public

On the 13th of June 1971, the NYT published the first instalment of the Pentagon Papers to inform the public (Correll 2007). However, it initially did not get much traction and Time Magazine reported that the volume of material repelled readers (ibid.). Thus, initially, the public did not absorb this material.

The archives show that initially President Nixon was not that bothered, as it mostly fell on the Johnson administration (ibid.). However, accounts state that Kissinger convinced Nixon to act, and energised him by saying this was a haemorrhage of state secrets that undermined the US Government and the presidency (ibid.).

John Mitchell, Nixon's Attorney General (later implicated in Watergate) threatened people and got a court injunction against the NYT to stop printing any further (ibid.). Contemporaneously, Nixon and Kissinger ordered the White House Plumbers to stop the leaks (ibid.). When Ellsberg was revealed as the source, Kissinger reportedly told the Plumbers that Ellsberg was "the most dangerous man in America who must be stopped at all costs" (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009, min 01:59.13). Nixon also falsely attacked Ellsberg by saying he was giving aid to the enemy (ibid.).

6.3.2.1.5 Filibustering with the Papers to Prevent More Draftees

After the courts prevented the NYT from publishing, Ellsberg continued looking for an alternate publication mechanism (Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007). He immediately returned to recruiting members of Congress, and finally found Senator Mike Gravel, who was intending to continue a filibuster against the draft for the Vietnam War (ibid.).

Ellsberg, who was under FBI surveillance, recruited Ben Bagdikian, *(a former colleague at the RAND Corporation who worked for the WP)* to deliver the Papers to Gravel (Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007; Felsenthal 1993). Contemporaneous accounts show that editors at the WP were fearful that despite the injunction the NYT would continue to print the Pentagon Papers, and they would lose the opportunity to break a large news story (Felsenthal 1993). So, Ellsberg and Bagdikian told the editors at the WP that they would only give them the documents if they committed to publishing them (ibid.).

Gravel also knew that he was a potential target, so recruited disabled Vietnam War veterans, who were members of the *Vietnam Veterans Against the War,* to guard his office and protect the documents (Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007; Rosenbaum 1971). Gravel was fighting to prevent

more individuals from being drafted into the war and suffer because of it (Rosenbaum 1971). However, when other senators found out about Gravel's plan, they exited the senate chamber making it inquorate (Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007). Gravel persisted and instead used a senate subcommittee to put the Pentagon papers into the record of the United States of America (ibid.).

6.3.2.1.6 Going to Prison to Expose the War

Ellsberg asserted that the Pentagon Papers changed his mind on the war and said:

> I wasn't discharging my responsibilities to the country, to the constitution, uh, to the public or to the troops, by keeping those secrets which had led to the escalation of the war. That that had been wrong. But the question was, what would make a difference. (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009, min 01:23:57)

The difference Ellsberg said was that he was willing to go to prison to stop the war (ibid.). Both Ellsberg and Russo showed courage by willing to go to prison to prevent the war and in June 1971 handed themselves in (Correll 2007). Ellsberg said that many people refused to shake his hands, and it took a great personal toll, as they cut him out from groups he respected and wanted to be a part of (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009).

Nixon's administration pursued them through both legal and illegal means. Legally, they used the courts to get Ellsberg indicted; he was facing 115 years in prison (Correll 2007; Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009; *The Pentagon Papers* 1971). When Attorney General Mitchell tried to get Russo to testify against Ellsberg, he stated that Gandhi's dictum "you should not cooperate with evil", stopped him (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009, min 02:18:22). They charged Russo with espionage and conspiracy; and he faced a maximum sentence of 35 years (ibid.).

The government used the violation of the Espionage Act to fire and to scare people (Correll 2007; Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009; Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007; Felsenthal 1993). In September 1971, to discredit Ellsberg, the White House Plumbers broke into his psychiatrist's office (Nixon 2013). Nearly two years after, the judge learned about the break-in and declared a mistrial dismissing the charges against Ellsberg and Russo (Ambrose 1992; Correll 2007; Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009; Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007).

6.3.2.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

Despite the Courageous Followers' *discursive acts*, most Conformer Followers in the public had not absorbed the content of the Pentagon Papers or were willing to act against the Destructive

Leadership of the Nixon administration. In November 1972, the public *(i.e., Conformer Followers)* re-elected Nixon in a significant landslide; he won 49 out of the 50 states (Ambrose 1992; DiEugenio 2015; Summers & Swan 2000).

The US did not stop its involvement in the Vietnam war until 1975 when *public sentiment (i.e., a resource of the political system)* had shifted so strongly that Congress refused to fund the war, and grant the president any further powers (Nixon 2013). While Ellsberg's *discursive actions* did not immediately lead to the end of the war, it significantly *increased uncertainty*—a counter power tactic that Courageous Followers can employ to weaken the Destructive Leadership. Thus, this episode contributed to the disarticulation of the power of the Destructive Leadership and was partially successful. Below are the discursive actions in this episode.

(1) Confronting Internally:

To de-escalate the war, Ellsberg being a senior military strategist, presented the newly appointed Kissinger with several alternatives using facts. But he failed, as the Destructive Leadership wanted a 'win' option. Here, Ellsberg was *confronting internally* within the Nixon administration at the micro-level. At that micro-level, he was using his *expert* power to *perspectivise* by *making plans* and *marshalling credible evidence*. Here Ellsberg was drawing on the *intellectual* systems with dominant resources being *expertise,* and *professional codes* being the rules *(see Table 3.2 on p.76 above)*. However, this was not strong enough to sway Kissinger. The destructive outcomes of the Toxic Triangle got worse, because Nixon can be seen to have escalated their Vietnam campaign.

After Ellsberg's realisation, and after his failed discursive attempts to influence the war at the micro-level, through *confronting internally*, he knew he had to try alternative strategies. At this stage, Ellsberg did what McNamara had done before him and targeted the internal stakeholders and needed to move from the micro to the macro-environment.

(2) 'Rubiconising':

Ellsberg said was that he will go to prison to stop the war. This is a significant decision to '*rubiconise*'. Ellsberg followed through on that decision as soon as he and Russo broke the law by photocopying and distributing the Pentagon Papers. Prior to his decision to *'rubiconise'* Ellsberg said that he was not discharging his responsibility to the constitution. Ellsberg and Russo seemed to be loyal to their country and *constitution* over the government and its leaders, including some colleagues and friends. The *constitution* was the rule that Ellsberg was subscribing to against the Espionage Act within the *state* system. Here the Courageous Followers gained courage through *structural ambiguity*

between the *constitution* and the *laws*.

On the other hand, members of Congress *(i.e., Conformer Followers)* were more driven by their own self-interest they show timidity culture and loyalty to the Executive branch of the government over the *constitution*. These members of Congress did not want to take a risk or appear foolish apart from Gravel. It is for this self-interest and fearful behaviour that this case study classifies this group of elected representatives as Conformer Followers.

Gravel and Bagdikian, by simply exchanging the Pentagon Papers, also *'rubiconised'* as they were breaking the law. Timing was of the essence, so they had to commit decisively, which is an element of *'rubiconising'*. When Gravel tried to filibuster with the Pentagon Papers in the Senate, that was a key act of *'rubiconising'*. When that failed, he persisted and used a Senate subcommittee to get the papers on the record. In this way, Gravel harnessed *structural ambiguity* by using his *legitimate* position as a senator to exploit the rules within the *state* system.

Sheehan and the NYT working with and printing the classified information in the Pentagon Papers was also a *'rubiconising'* act. The WP agreeing to print the Pentagon Papers also decided to *'rubiconise'* and as we shall see in the next episode, they followed through on that decision. In getting the WP to commit to printing, Ellsberg and Bagdikian exploited the *economic* system with resources of *competitive advantage* to follow the rule of *profit maximisation*. They also subscribed to the *intellectual* system by using the *professional codes* of journalism to encourage the WP to commit to '*rubiconising'*. Thus, using the *intellectual* and *economic* systems, they could use *power through* the institutions of the media with *legitimate* power against the Destructive Leadership.

(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

Implicit in this episode is the power of *marshalling credible evidence* with the Pentagon Papers. Initially, the artefact of the Pentagon Papers, which was commissioned by McNamara's previously discursive act of *marshalling credible evidence,* completely changed Ellsberg's view on the war.

On the 1st of October 1969, Ellsberg began *marshalling credible evidence* by secretly copying the 7,000 pages of the Pentagon Paper. In 2009, 40 years later, Ellsberg has this to say related to the power of *marshalling credible evidence:* "I thought then and I think more now than before, that documents had a power to be taken seriously and to attract attention that nothing else did (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009, min 01:48:37)." This powerful statement from Ellsberg indicates the power of the discursive actions of *marshalling credible evidence*.

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

Prior to copying the Pentagon Papers, Ellsberg said that an Indian lady, who was a Gandhian, inspired him and changed his thinking about peace and having no enemy (ibid.). Simultaneously, he worried that his Pentagon colleagues would think he had gone mad (ibid.). Through those interactions, Ellsberg sought people that were a community of 'Draft Resisters' who were willing to go to prison to end the war (ibid.). Here, Ellsberg to gain the courage to move his *discursive actions* from the micro to the macro levels, drew on the alternative structure found in the *communal* system of 'Draft Resisters' who were bound by the rule of *solidarity* against the war. Ellsberg and this community also drew on the rule of *patriotism* to the troops, to gain the courage to attempt to change *(i.e., perspectivising)* the resource of *public sentiment* against the Destructive Leadership within the *state* system.

Besides the NYT, he gave the Pentagon Papers to almost twenty other media organisations (Chokshi 2017). This is further evidence that Ellsberg engaged in *building and maintaining coalitions*, *intensifying* and *perspectivising*. At the time, the media too were described as the steno pool of the Whitehouse (Bray 1980); so they were also a group of Conformer Followers that Courageous Followers needed to 'activate'.

Contemporaneously, Ellsberg continued his discursive actions of *intensifying* and *build and maintain coalitions* with other followers within the US senate and congress, however, before Gravel none of these high-profile representatives did much to hold the Destructive Leadership to account. Gravel recruited disabled Vietnam War veterans who were members of the *Vietnam Veterans Against the War* to guard his office and protect the documents (ibid.). Here Gravel was *building and maintaining coalitions* and tapping into the communal system of war veterans, which subscribed to the rule of *solidarity (i.e., loyalty)*. At the time, without *building and maintaining coalitions* with the content Pentagon papers may have never entered the public discourse.

However, when some senators caught wind of what Gravel was attempting to do, they left or did not return to the Senate floor to ensure that the Senate was inquorate (Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007; Rosenbaum 1971). The analysis observes that these senators were a combination of Colluder and Conformer Followers that were actively trying to prevent a change in the balance of power. Here, the discursive genre took the form of presenting the classified government documentation privately, through phone calls and meetings, and publicly. by making speeches in the senate.

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

(5) Perspectivising:

The Pentagon Papers were a *perspectivising artefact*. After Ellsberg had tried to *perspectivise* internally with Kissinger, he leaked the Pentagon Papers. Initially, Ellsberg and Russo leaked only to members of Congress in an attempt to stop the war. However, even with this new *perspective* on the destructive US actions in Vietnam, few members were willing to act. Gravel was one of the few senators willing to act.

Until Sheehan and the NYT printed the Pentagon Papers, few in the media were willing to risk breaking the law to save lives and expose the truth. Finally, even after NYT published the Pentagon Papers, the public did not digest it and it did not change their sentiment against the Nixon administration. Nixon went on to win a re-election in a landslide, so just *perspectivising* is not enough. This is where the qualitative *discursive category* of *intensification* becomes important.

(6) Boundary Spanning:

After failing to de-escalate the war when approaching Kissinger, Ellsberg wanted to attract attention to the atrocities of the war, so he decided to persuade *(i.e., perspectivising)* by externally presenting the evidence (i.e., *marshalled credible evidence*). In doing so, Ellsberg's *discursive actions* targeted the macro level as he attempted to change the resource of *public sentiment* through leaking the Pentagon Papers.

Ellsberg's *discursive actions* of *boundary spanning* took on several forms from drawing on the external communities of 'Draft Resisters', to reaching out to members of Congress and the media. This was a significant departure from McNamara's approach in the previous episode, who confined his actions with the dominion of the Destructive Leadership. Here Ellsberg was seeking institutions to use their legitimate positions as *power against* the Destructive Leadership. Due to the fact that they were challenging the office of the US President along with the resources and structures that underpin it, these *discursive actions* needed multiple attempts.

(7) Intensifying:

To stop the war, Ellsberg needed to perform the critical *discursive act* of *intensifying,* despite setbacks to widen his approach. *Intensifying* is a discursive action of Courageous Followers that has this project has deduced. The findings show that Ellsberg persisted after Kissinger dismissed his *expert* advice. Ellsberg faced repeated setbacks when approaching members of Congress and the media.

Gravel's filibustering happened in parallel with the NYT story, Ellsberg said he was unsure what

would get traction (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). So Ellsberg was constantly *intensifying* through different channels to get the information out to change the resource of Public Sentiment. Gravel himself *intensified* as if he had given up when the rest of the senators rendered the chamber inquorate; he would have not gotten the Pentagon Papers on the official record.

If at any time along the way, had Ellsberg not *intensified* and continued with his *discursive actions,* the Pentagon Papers might have stayed buried. Ellsberg going to the media can be seen as *intensifying* at the macro level, while McNamara just *intensified* at the micro-level, which also testifies to the importance of *boundary spanning* in conjunction with *intensifying.*

Ellsberg *intensified* his *'rubiconising', building and maintaining coalitions, marshalling credible evidence, perspectivising* and *boundary spanning* to galvanise the Conformer Followers in the wider society to harness the resource of *public sentiment* within the *political* system against the Destructive Leadership. He also harnessed the institutions of the state in the form of law enforcement, the judiciary, and the media. This invoked the rules of *egalitarianism, patriotism* and the *constitution* within the structure of the *state.* Conversely, Nixon and his Colluder and Conformer Followers were demonstrating loyalty to the institutions *(e.g. the Executive)* and themselves, over what they represented. In conclusion, Courageous Followers had to persist, take risks, and make many personal sacrifices to shift the power balance against the Destructive Leadership.

6.3.3 Episode 3: Protecting Freedom of Expression

Introduction

This episode explores the role of the media—*in particular the New York Times (NYT) and The WP*—in standing up the Nixon administration to get the Pentagon Papers published. Of importance to note is that at this stage the media became an activated Conformer Follower group by Ellsberg's previous *discursive actions* and they themselves started to take discursive actions to resist the Destructive Leadership. As discussed previously, Bradlee—*Executive Editor of the WP*—said that up to that point, people widely regarded the media as a mouthpiece of the US administrations (Bray 1980).

The extent of this Toxic Triangle and ensuing Destructive Leadership was best summarised by US Supreme Court Justice Douglas in Gravel v. United States (1972) when he stated:

> The story of the Pentagon Papers is a chronicle of suppression of vital decisions to protect the

reputations and political hides of men who worked an amazingly successful scheme of deception on the American people. They were successful not because they were astute but because the press had become a frightened, regimented, submissive instrument, fattening on favors from those in power and forgetting the great tradition of reporting (ibid. p.648)

The events in this episode had powerful effects on the freedom of the press and the presidency; a view that continues to be echoed in the media (Chokshi 2017). As discussed in the previous episode, with great effort Ellsberg managed to distribute the Pentagon Papers, exposing successive US presidential administrations' role in escalating the Vietnam War.

To provide further background, by suppressing freedom of the press, to hide the atrocities committed by US Foreign policy, this situation perpetuated the Toxic Triangle. When the NYT printed the Pentagon Papers, reportedly, it did not initially bother Nixon, as the papers embarrassed the previous presidents (Correll 2007). However, convinced by his Colluder Kissinger—National Security Advisor—he used widely reported legal and illegal methods to suppress the printing of the Pentagon Papers (Ambrose 1992; Nixon 2013; Perlstein 2008; Small 2011; Summers & Swan 2000).

In 1989, Nixon's Solicitor General Erwin N. Griswold, who presented the government case against the publication of the Pentagon Papers to the Supreme Court, called it an instance of "massive overclassification" and said he saw no "trace of a threat to the national security" in what the media published (Correll 2007, p.55). The Colluder and Conformer Followers remain the same as in the previous episode.

6.3.3.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

With the above context in mind, we will now examine those individuals within sections of the media that had the courage to resist and contributed to standing up to the Destructive Leadership of the Nixon Government.

6.3.3.1.1 Breaking the Law? — NYT Publishes the Pentagon Papers

Ellsberg gave the Pentagon Papers to seventeen newspapers, but most did not publish (Chokshi 2017). Ellsberg had given the papers to Neil Sheehan from the NYT. For three months, Sheehan worked together with Hedrick Smith, another journalist, foreign editor James Greenfield, and assistant foreign editor Gerald Gold on the Pentagon Papers (Chokshi 2017; Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). They decided to push to publish as it would not jeopardise national security and would be in the public interest (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). Max Frankel, Chief Washington correspondent,

said that they knew that suppressing the material would be a failure, as if they had baulked at printing it, they would have left disgraced (ibid.).

The NYT sought legal advice from outside law firm, Lord Day & Lord, which warned against its publication, and said they nearly informed the Justice Department for fear of being in violation of the Espionage Act (Chokshi 2017). However, James Goodale the NYT's in-house attorney took a different position (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). Goodale stated that it was a life and death risk for the institution, he emphasised that he felt that this had an implication for the institutional press in a free country (ibid. min 01:56:25). Arthur Ochs Sulzberger, then the publisher of NYT, reportedly oscillated between printing and not doing so, but eventually approved the printing. On the 13th of June 1971, the NYT published the first instalment of the Pentagon Papers.

In response, Nixon's Attorney General, John Mitchell, wrote a telegraph ordering them to stop publishing classified information (Chokshi 2017). He continued that the NYT was violating the law and irreparable damage to the defence interests of the country (ibid.).

6.3.3.1.2 Continuing to Publish Despite Threats from the President

On the 14th of June 1971, despite the aforementioned threat from the Attorney General, the NYT continued to publish another instalment of the Pentagon Papers the next day (Chokshi 2017; Felsenthal 1993). The Nixon administration then sued the paper and a federal judge granted a restraining order halting further publication, which the NYT complied with (ibid.).

Nixon's reaction is strong and swift, as the journalists estimated that the NYT only published about five percent of the material from the Pentagon Papers (Correll 2007, p.53). The White House transcripts of the Nixon administration extensively document his leadership's method of trying to control the press (Porter 1976).

6.3.3.1.3 Handing an Ultimatum to get the Pentagon Papers Published

Graham said that the Executive Editor Ben Bradlee was unhappy that the NYT got the Pentagon Papers published before them (Felsenthal 1993; Jones 1987). Bradlee wanted the WP to compete with the NYT, and to be the paper of record (Felsenthal 1993; Jones 1987). Observers say that the substance of the Pentagon Papers was of lesser importance to him (Felsenthal 1993; Jones 1987). Accounts show that Bradlee was also courageous in standing up to powerful individuals from both

the political and business communities, would back his reporters, and was not afraid to lose thousands of dollars in ad revenue (Felsenthal 1993; Kurtz 1991).

Bradlee got Bagdikian to take the cartons containing the Pentagon Papers to his house, because he did not want the rest of the staff know (Felsenthal 1993). Bradlee selected a small group of journalists and editors including George Wilson, Murrey Marder, Chalmers Roberts, Don Oberdorfer, Phil Geyelin, Meg Greenfield, and Howard Simons to work through the evidence in secrecy, while keeping some key staff informed at the WP (Felsenthal 1993, p.224; Kaplan 1991).

As was reported by several sources, Graham forged a strong coalition with Ben Bradlee (Bray 1980). However, Graham who had been a timid housewife until her husband committed suicide was unsure of publishing (Felsenthal 1993). In response, Graham recalled that Bradlee gave her an ultimatum, that if the WP did not run the story the next day, she could look for a new executive editor (ibid., p.226).

6.3.3.1.4 Breaking the Law? – The WP Publishes the Pentagon Papers

Graham knew that for the first time in her eight years at the helm, she was the one who would have to decide (Felsenthal 1993). Despite Bradlee's ultimatum, she was getting opposing advice from other trusted individuals who worried about the future of the business (ibid.).

Furthermore, the WP Company had floated only two days prior to this incident and its stock offering might have been significantly hurt with this uncertainty. According an account from Paul Ignatius *(former President of the WP),* this was a potentially catastrophic event that could have led to the financial disaster of the company (ibid.).

Additionally, The Post Company owned television stations, and if the company was charged with a felony, it could not hold any television licences, Fritz Beebe, long-time chairman of the WP Company reportedly gave this warning. According to accounts, this warning was also communicated to her unofficially by Nixon's Deputy Attorney General Richard Kleindienst (ibid.).

Accounts suggest that the coalition of staff around Graham emphasised the importance of going ahead despite the great risks as it would destroy the spirit of their company, while the businesspeople thought it would destroy the paper itself (Kaplan 1991). So, on the Friday the 18th of June 1971, with the NYT silenced by the federal court, Graham committed decisively, risked indictment, and gave the order to publish the Pentagon Papers (Chokshi 2017; Felsenthal 1993;

Jones 1987).

6.3.3.1.5 Changing Perspectives on the War with the Papers

Graham networked well with US Presidents and usually gave into their requests (Felsenthal 1993). She was close friends with both McNamara and Kissinger (ibid.). Previously, the WP had strongly backed the Johnson administration's policy on Vietnam, including criticising senators that had voted against the Gulf of Tonkin resolution (ibid.).

By publishing the Pentagon Papers, the WP also recriminated itself. This excerpt from that 17th of June 1971 WP editorial, demonstrates how the evidence in the Pentagon Papers changed their perspective:

> The story that unfolds is not new in its essence—the calculated misleading of the public, the purposeful manipulation of public opinion, the stunning discrepancies between public pronouncements and private plans—we had bits and pieces of all that before. But not in such incredibly damning form, not with such irrefutable documentation (*Vietnam: The Public's Need to Know...* 1971, p.1)

Nixon's administration reacted swiftly and through various channels. In the afternoon, when the WP published the Pentagon Papers, accounts show that Bradlee got a call from William Rehnquist, *the Assistant Attorney General of the Office of Legal Counsel* (Chokshi 2017). Rehnquist told Bradlee to stop publishing information from the documents (ibid.). Soon the Courts enjoined the WP with the NYT, and they had to cease publishing (Correll 2007; Felsenthal 1993).

6.3.3.1.6 Uniting Against the President to Publish the Papers

Ellsberg had given the Pentagon Papers to several outlets (Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007). While the NYT had it for a few months, just before they published he gave a copy of f the Papers to the WP, St. Louis Post-Dispatch, and The Boston Globe (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009).

The WP also published for just two days before the courts enjoined them with the NYT (ibid.). After which, The Boston Globe and the St. Louis Post-Dispatch published, and similarly, the courts ordered them to stop (ibid.). Then, no sooner was one newspaper was enjoined, that another started publishing (Correll 2007).

CBS nationwide television's Walter Cronkite interviewed Ellsberg at a secret location (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). After which, the Chicago Sun-Times, the eleven Knight newspapers and the Los Angeles Times also published (ibid.). Every night for the next two weeks, the Pentagon Papers

story was the lead item on the nightly news (ibid.). In an interview, Ellsberg said to stop them publishing, would have been like trying to herd bees (ibid. min 02:05:46). The Nixon administration had no choice but to take the media to court.

6.3.3.1.7 Fighting the Presidents in Courts

The transcripts of the White House tapes showed that Nixon administration was furious, and they regarded the WP as a big threat (Porter 1976). Reportedly, Kissinger was enraged and scolded his friend Graham about publishing (Felsenthal 1993). As the Nixon administration had done previously, they stated that the documents damaged national security and state secrets (Correll 2007; Felsenthal 1993).

The White House was dissatisfied with the FBI's progress, so they created the aforementioned group of White House Plumbers to stop the leaks (Ambrose 1992; Chokshi 2017; Correll 2007; Perlstein 2008; Summers & Swan 2000). As stated earlier, the Nixon administration tried both legal and illegal means to attack his opponents. After failing in the lower courts, the Nixon administration took the matter to the Supreme Court. On the 30th of June 1971, the WP and the NYT won a Supreme Court hearing to allow them to continue publishing the material (Ambrose 1992; Chokshi 2017; Felsenthal 1993).

6.3.3.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

As a consequence, of the *discursive actions* by the NYT and the WP, the power balance shifted. When several more media outlets resisted, this Toxic Triangle weakened. To summarise the outcome of this episode, the analysis will use Supreme Court Justice Hugo Black's statement:

> In my view, far from deserving condemnation for their courageous reporting, the New York Times, the Washington Post, and other newspapers should be commended for serving the purpose that the Founding Fathers saw so clearly. In revealing the workings of government that led to the Vietnam war, the newspapers nobly did precisely that which the Founders hoped and trusted they would do (*New York Times Co. v. United States* 1971, p.717)

A further outcome was that when the press unified, and the media reported it as the press' 'declaration of independence', it significantly changed the relationship between the media and government (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009, min 02:05:46). This was a historic ruling for freedom of the press, as it appeared to restrict the government's use of "prior restraint" to censor stories before publication (Chokshi 2017, p.1). Therefore, in this episode, Courageous Followers successfully used their *agency* to change *structure* and stand up to Destructive Leadership.

(1) Confronting Internally:

While the NYT, the WP and other media outlets and the judiciary existed within the *state* structure *(see Table 3.2 on p.76 above)* of the United States; these organisations command authority outside of the Executive *(i.e., Destructive Leadership)* because of the rules enshrined in the constitution *(i.e., rules of the state structure).* Thus, the Courageous Followers could harness those rules to gain *agency.* The media had *legitimate* and *capital resources,* which gave them *power against* the Destructive Leadership. This allowed them to continue publishing despite threats from the Destructive Leadership. Finally, they also used *power through* the *judicial* institutions to shift the power balance. Hence, one can observe that in effect, they did not *confront internally*; the whole episode had *boundary spanned* the dominion of the Destructive Leadership.

(2) 'Rubiconising':

Prior to the start of the episode, large sections of the press were still behaving like Conformer Followers. As Bradlee suggested, they were an extension of the White House public relationship team. To publish, it took courage from several followers in the NYT to *'rubiconise'.* These followers included the journalists, the editors, the in-house lawyer and the publisher who *'rubiconised'* to persuade *(i.e., perspectivising)* the public and by printing the material *(i.e., marshalling credible evidence),* that the US Government had classified.

Here the NYT employees gained courage by *legitimately* operating at the macro-level within the *state* structure's institution of the media. This allowed them to adhere to the rules of *constitution* and *patriotism* to change the *perspective* of the resource of *public sentiment.* Goodale, the in-house lawyer from the NYT, described this best when he said he focused on the greater good and gave the publisher his approval.

While Bradlee *'rubiconised'* by giving Graham an ultimatum, Graham *'rubiconised'* when she agreed to publish the Pentagon Papers, even after the injunction against the NYT. In doing so, she risked leading the WP into financial ruin. "Risking the store and publishing the Pentagon Papers is routinely cited as Katharine Graham's finest hour" (Felsenthal 1993, p.226). Several members of the Destructive Leadership threatened Graham and the WP, but she persisted. She *'rubiconised'* during the week that the company had floated and risked inflicting crippling consequences on its stock price and long-term impact on maintaining TV licences of the parent company.

This courageous discursive behaviour was not previously shown by Graham. Accounts state that she was timid when she became the publisher in 1963 at age 46, after her husband committed

suicide (Bray 1980; Felsenthal 1993; Kaplan 1991). She spent the first few years in the role in deference to the Johnson administration and supported his war effort and was fearful of him (Bray 1980; Felsenthal 1993; Kaplan 1991). These initial behaviours led this project, initially, to classify Graham as a Conformer Follower in Johnson's Toxic Triangle with respect to the Vietnam War. Over time however, the findings show that Graham's courageous *'rubiconising'* grew stronger. This is analogous to Gentile's (2010) concept regarding the development of *moral competence* that one can develop with practice. Similarly, this project argues that courage is not an abstract behaviour that people mysteriously summon when needed, but a skill that one can practice and develop.

The media also showed courage against the institutions of the *executive* and the *judiciary*. Graham also showed personal courage and integrity as she overlooked her close relationships with both McNamara and Kissinger (Felsenthal 1993). In publishing, Graham and her coalition subscribed to the *intellectual* system, with the rules of *professional codes of conduct*. Graham and her coalition also showed integrity and loyalty to the rule of the US Constitution within the political system.

(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

Integral to dealing with the Pentagon Papers is the discursive act of *marshalling credible evidence—the Pentagon Papers, were of the discursive genre of classified documentation*. Hence, the moment Bagdikian got off the plane with the cartons containing the Pentagon Papers, Bradlee instructed him to take them to his house and not the WP's offices. Unlike the NYT that spent months sifting through the documentation, the WP worked through the material in a matter of a few days. WP used just with a subset of reporters to prevent the Destructive Leadership from knowing that they were going to publish. At that stage the leadership had already enjoined the NYT through the courts.

When the WP *marshalled the credible evidence* and published the Pentagon Papers, their actions used several mechanisms of power. For instance, they *(like other media outlets)* used their *formal position* and *network positioning* to *increase uncertainty* and used the power mechanism of *mobilising bias* against the Destructive Leadership. The WP also used another mechanism of power when they *articulated an alternative discourse* to the hegemonic discourse regarding the war by *marshalling credible evidence*.

Similar to the NYT, they also *exploited the ambiguity* in the law *(i.e., rules within the state structures)* to print the papers and change the view of Conformer Followers in the public. According to literature, *exploiting ambiguity* in *structures* is a strategy where individuals can use their *agency* to change *structures* (Whittington 1992). Here, the analysis argues that Courageous Followers were seeking to change the structure of the US presidency and *exploited ambiguity* to shift the resource of *public sentiment* by *marshalling credible evidence* at a macro-level *(i.e., boundary spanning)*.

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

When Ellsberg gave Sheehan at the NYT the Pentagon Papers, Sheehan worked with a few journalists like Smith, Greenfield and Gold, to determine whether they were jeopardising the national interest before deciding to seek permission to publish (Chokshi 2017; Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). They then sought sign-off from their external legal firm, Goodale-their internal legal consel, and the publisher Sulzberger. Each of these individuals worked together and contributed to publishing the Pentagon Papers and potentially violating the Espionage Act. So, the findings show that they *built and maintained coalitions* within the NYT, as did the WP and other media organisations.

The WP however, had Graham, who was described as timid and inexperienced, who had inherited the paper only a few years earlier (Felsenthal 1993). To manage and ultimately print the Papers, Graham grew a strong team around her *(i.e., built and maintained coalitions)* that gave her courage to resist the Destructive Leadership.

When the press started a procession of publishing and risking breaking the law, they also *built and maintained a coalition* with each other. As the findings showed, no sooner was one newspaper was enjoined, another started publishing. As stated above, the newspapers' *discursive actions,* combined with television networks, was a 'declaration of independence' of the press which decisively shifted the balance power against the Destructive Administration. Thus, *building and maintaining coalitions* seems to be have been necessary to the followers' success.

(5) Perspectivising:

In publishing the Pentagon Papers, the press was *perspectivising* against the behaviour of the Destructive Leadership during the Vietnam War. The press *perspectivised by marshalling credible evidence* that was curated through the classified Pentagon study. This provided a factual account of the inner workings of successive US administrations, by documenting the atrocities that were being committed, and the continuing crimes against humanity. While the findings show that the public did not immediately digest the atrocities of the war and re-elected Nixon. Publishing this *perspective* of US involvement in Vietnam was a critical *discursive act* within the *chain of action* that led to the collapse of this Toxic Triangle.

In order to *perspectivise*, the journalists were drawing strength from the *intellectual* system with its rules being *professional codes* with *expertise* and *legitimacy* as basic resources. The media's Courageous Followers through their *discursive acts* use several mechanisms of power. They used their *formal*

position within society, and *information* as a resource to *increase uncertainty* and to *mobilise bias* against the administration. The findings show that they *perspectivised* and thus invoked the power mechanism of *articulating an alternative discourse* to what was prevalent.

(6) Boundary Spanning:

Bradlee wanted the WP to be the paper of record and the substance of the story was immaterial to him (ibid.). This is important as here Bradlee is operating within the *economic* system that has *competition* as one of its rules. Reportedly, he did not care about the substance of the Pentagon Papers. Thus, the findings show us how a Courageous Follower like Ellsberg can recruit individuals like Bradlee to challenge the Destructive Leadership, by *boundary spanning* through the use of alternative rules to motivate them. The rule of *competition* was clearly a factor for Bradlee.

Accounts suggest that by *boundary spanning* across the micro and macro levels, Graham *built and maintained coalitions* with strong, intelligent individuals that helped her resist the entreaties of powerful people. Further, in an interview with Edward Kosner,—*former Editor of Newsweek, which was owned by the WP Company*—he asserted that Graham's social contacts were critical to feed leads to reporters (Felsenthal 1993). This showed that she harnessed her *network positioning* along with *information* as sources of power. Over time, using her coalitions and network, she developed courageous competence. Thus, when the time came for the Pentagon Papers to be published, Graham had developed strong connections across *boundaries* to challenge Nixon.

The *discursive act* of publishing the papers also *boundary spanned* by taking the resistance beyond the dominion of the Destructive Leadership. The resistance *boundary spanned* to harness other *structures and resources* within the state, like the *judiciary* and *public sentiment*. By invoking the First Amendment *(i.e., a rule enshrined in the US Constitution)* the *judiciary* could use *power against* the Destructive Leadership. This demonstrates the importance of the separation of powers in the US Constitution, which acts as a check against Destructive Leadership.

(7) Intensifying:

After the NYT's discursive act of *perspectivising* at the macro level to publish the Pentagon Papers, the Destructive Leadership moved to stifle them. Then the WP took over and published, followed by the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, The Boston Globe, the Chicago Sun-Times and many other newspapers and television channels. When they repeatedly '*rubiconised',* this *intensified* their actions against the Destructive leadership.

When the courts enjoined the media, the media *intensified* and used their *capital* resources from the *economic* system to resist the Destructive Leadership all the way to the Supreme Court. Had the Courageous Followers not *intensified* their *discursive actions* and given up at any point along the way, they may not have successfully shifted the power balance. Thus, the Courageous Followers' *discursive actions* in this episode contributed to the disarticulation of the power of the Destructive Leadership and eventual collapse of this Toxic Triangle.

6.3.4 Episode 4: Exposing the President's Crimes

Introduction

This episode explores the role of the Washington Post's (WP) publisher, journalists, editors, and informants in standing up to the Nixon administration. These Courageous Followers exposed the crimes of President Nixon and his Colluder Followers during the Watergate scandal. On June 17, 1972, the police arrested five men inside the offices of the Democratic National Committee in the Watergate Complex (Bernstein & Woodward 1999; Epstein 1989; Felsenthal 1993).

Nixon was up for re-election, and at that stage he already had teams of Colluder Followers that included the White House Plumbers who were engaged in 'ratfucking' (Bernstein & Woodward 1999; DiEugenio 2015). In this context, 'ratfucking' was the process described by Bernstein & Woodward (1999) as interfering with the Democratic Party through tricks and sabotage to ensure that Nixon won the election (ibid.). Reports show that even after the Watergate arrests, subterfuge against the Democrats continued. Haldeman—*Nixon's Chief of Staff*—ordered people to infiltrate Democratic presidential rival McGovern's office to get their hands on his schedule before it was made public (Summers & Swan 2000).

This situation amplified the Toxic Triangle. It was not the first time that these Colluder Followers had behaved this way; reports show that they were also the same group that broke into Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office, to discredit him and label him as being mentally unstable (Bernstein & Woodward 1999; Correll 2007; Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). Reports show that Nixon's Toxic Triangle was large, as he used the FBI, the CIA, the Justice Department, and the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) as political firepower to obstruct justice (Ambrose 1992; Correll 2007; Small 2011; Summers & Swan 2000).

The contemporaneous reporting shows that the FBI, without a court order, had wiretapped

Ellsberg's telephone conversations and broke into his psychiatrist's office (Correll 2007). The transcripts of the White House tapes revealed that Pat Gray, the FBI Director, assisted the Nixon's Leadership team in obstructing justice (Perlstein 2008). Gray later had to resign because it was reported that he burned some evidence to protect the Nixon administration (Ambrose 1992). These illegal activities by the law enforcement institutions resulted in a mistrial against Ellsberg (Ambrose 1992; Correll 2007; Ellsberg, Gravel & West 2007). A more extensive list of Nixon's Colluder Followers that enabled this Toxic Triangle is in Section 6.2.2 Nixon as a Destructive Leader and his Colluder Followers (on p.172 above).

Accounts state that the fear had spread across the political landscape; even Nixon's Vice-President Agnew, who had been a staunch defender of the president, feared he would be killed if he created problems for Nixon (Summers & Swan 2000). Several people were reported to have received death threats including one or more of the Watergate burglars; this necessitated around-the-clock protection for them (ibid.). This atmosphere of fear would have meant that fewer followers would have been willing to challenge the Destructive Leadership, a key conducive environmental factor within the Toxic Triangle.

6.3.4.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

With the above context in mind, the archival data shows that when the Watergate burglary occurred, the press and certain followers were fearful. Large sections of the public were unconcerned with the destructive outcomes, and thus, the Toxic Triangle was operating in full force. Next, the findings will detail the key *discursive actions* of Courageous Followers in this episode.

6.3.4.1.1 Persistently Investigating the Watergate Burglary

On the morning of the 17th of June 1972, Joseph Califano Jr. *(General Counsel of the Democratic National Committee)* informed Howard Simons *(Managing Editor of the WP)* about the Watergate burglary (Epstein 1989). Simons' thirst for collecting evidence was pivotal, as without it the story would not have made it past the initial stages (Leamer 1977).

In addition to Simons, WP journalists and editors like Woodward, Bernstein, Bradlee, Rosenfeld and Sussman worked relentlessly to keep the story alive (Graham 1997). Accounts state that Simons was extremely persistent and instrumental in the Watergate scandal (Epstein 1989). Woodward and Bernstein said that Simons kept the reporters focused and used to work the newsroom floor inspiring, directing and insisting that they did not abandon their inquiry,

irrespective of the level of denials or denunciation from the Nixon administration (ibid.). Nixon's press secretary, Ron Ziegler, dismissed the incident as "a third-rate burglary attempt," adding, "Certain elements may try to stretch this beyond what it is" (Graham 1997, p.1).

6.3.4.1.2 Whistleblowing Informs the Media of a Cover-up

A key individual in bringing to light the illegal activities surrounding Watergate was a high-ranking government informant for the WP (DiEugenio 2015; Epstein 1989; Small 2011). Accounts stated that this man would speak only on "deep background" which meant the WP could quote him, even anonymously, but he would point Woodward toward where to find evidence (Bernstein & Woodward 1999; Summers & Swan 2000). In 2005, sources reveal that this person was Mark Felt, Associate Director of the FBI (DiEugenio 2015; Perlstein 2008; Small 2011). This meant that Felt was second in command of the FBI.

During that time, Felt reportedly warned Woodward that everyone's life was in danger (Summers & Swan 2000). He worked with the journalists to expose the scale of Nixon's network (ibid.). As a result, Woodward and Bernstein, along with their editors, cautiously pressed on with their work despite the potential of harm from the Nixon Administration (Bernstein & Woodward 1999; Felsenthal 1993). The Nixon tapes later revealed Nixon saying: "The main thing is the Post is going to have damnable, damnable problems out of this one" (Bray 1980, p.133, Graham 1997, p1).

6.3.4.1.3 Taking Risks to Investigate and Get Journalistic Justice

The staff at WP had to take on a lot of risks in their investigation, including if they could trust Felt, the pressure to reveal his identity, and credibility of reporting without naming a source (DiEugenio 2015). From all accounts, working with Felt on the Watergate scandal was not straightforward for the WP as no other newspaper was investigating it (Leamer 1977). To emphasise that these were uncertain times, Graham is reported to have said:

> Where is the New York Times...usually if you have a great scoop everyone else is over it like a wet blanket...here we were alone with this...and nobody came near it (ibid. p.39)

Despite those reservations, Graham encouraged and financed the investigation (Felsenthal 1993). The Nixon responded by portraying Graham as as a "spiteful, irrational, rejected woman" (ibid. p.236). Graham said during that time, the pressures on the WP "to cease and desist were intense and uncomfortable" (Graham 1997, p.1). Readers were accusing the WP of bad journalism, and

friends including Kissinger directly pressured Graham (ibid.).

Bradlee had become obsessed with unravelling the scandal to outdo the WP's competitors, he demanded story after story on Watergate (Leamer 1977). Bradlee sent Woodward and Bernstein to contact several grand jurors in the Watergate case to get information (ibid.). Leamer (1977) noted that Bradlee distinguished between legal and journalistic justice as the system was corrupt.

6.3.4.1.4 Absorbing Nixon's Threats and Shielding Staff

In October 1972, Bernstein and Woodward found a secret fund administered by the *Committee to Re-elect the President* (CRP) that was controlled by five people, including former Attorney General John Mitchell. (Graham 1997). When Bernstein called Mitchell about the story, accounts say that he violently reacted to the story saying, "All that crap... Graham's gonna get her tit caught in a big fat wringer if that's published... That's the most sickening thing I ever heard"(Graham 1997, p.1).

After Nixon's reelection and six months into the Watergate scandal, the attacks from the Nixon's administration increased; they froze out the WP from being able to cover the White House with no one returning calls or being allowed into briefings (ibid.). The Nixon administration attempted to turn Watergate reporting into misconduct of the press *(e.g., fake news)* (Bernstein & Woodward 1999; Remnick 1997).

Graham wrote that these challenges were potentially devastating, the share price sharply dropped by nearly 60%, and the WP Company was curiously asked to defend the approval of TV licences in Florida (Graham 1997; Bray 1980). Graham's friend with administration connections warned her about her personal safety and allegedly told her not to be alone (Graham 1997). Graham absorbed all those concerns, as several reporters said she shielded her team from those worries and asked them to focus on getting the facts right (Felsenthal 1993). Graham worried about the survival of the WP, she said "I'd lived with White House anger before, but I had never seen anything remotely like the kind of fury and heat I was feeling targeted at us now" (Graham 1997, p.1).

6.3.4.1.5 Convicting Individuals of Burglary and Exposing Perjury

During the Watergate trial, the other burglars and Howard Hunt, a former CIA agent who managed the break-in, pleaded guilty to six of the charges against them (Felsenthal 1993). On 30th January 1973, the court convicted Gordon Liddy, *(former FBI agent)* who worked with Hunt, James

McCord, *(former CIA security chief)* and others (Graham 1997). However, some convicted asserted that no one higher up was involved, and that they had received no money (ibid.).

After which, McCord wrote a letter to Judge John Sirica charging that perjury was committed at the Watergate trial, and that the defendants were pressured to plead guilty and keep quiet, that higher-ups were indeed involved, and his life had been threatened (ibid.). McCord implicated John Mitchell and Nixon's counsel, John Dean (Felsenthal 1993). On 30th April, Nixon fired Dean, who blew the case open when he implicated Haldeman and Ehrlichman (ibid.).

Nixon, until that stage was not directly connected to any crimes, he blamed those he had delegated responsibility to, thanked the system with a courageous judge, and a vigorous free press (ibid.). The next day, Ziegler publicly apologised to the WP, and the next week, the Pulitzer Prize board told the WP that they had won a Pulitzer Prize for Watergate reporting (ibid.).

6.3.4.1.6 Demanding the Nixon Tapes

Despite senior administration resignations, the Watergate investigations continued and expanded (Felsenthal 1993). In July 1973, a significant event occurred, Alexander Butterfield *(a White House aide)*, revealed to the Senate investigating committee, that there was a recording system in the White House which captured the president's conversations (Ambrose 1992). There was a lot of obfuscation around the validity of Butterfield's revelation as this implicated several presidents (ibid.). The matter was resolved when sworn affidavits from Army Signal Corps technicians, who installed the systems, gave credence to the existence of the tapes (ibid.).

Senator Sam Ervin *(chairman of the Senate Watergate Committee),* Archibald Cox *(Special Prosecutor on Watergate)*, and Judge Sirica persistently demanded access to the tapes despite threats against their lives (Summers & Swan 2000). On October 20, 1973, Nixon reacted with the infamous *Saturday Night Massacre* when he ordered the firing of Cox, and Elliot Richardson *(Attorney General)* with his deputy William Ruckelshaus resigned in protest (ibid.). The media was united in its condemnation of the pressured Nixon to turn over the tapes (Ambrose 1992).

6.3.4.1.7 Ordering Nixon to Provide the Evidence

In February 1974, the House of Representatives nearly unanimously authorised its judiciary committee to subpoena anything related to the impeachment investigation (Ambrose 1992; Small 2011). However, Nixon selectively released the transcripts and then tapes, some containing exculpatory statements which appeared to provide him with a strong defence (Ambrose 1992;

Small 2011). A few months later, the House Judiciary Committee began formal impeachment hearings (Ambrose 1992).

On July 23 1974, the Supreme Court unanimously ruled against the President, so Nixon had to surrender the tapes (Small 2011). Shortly after the White House released an incriminating tape, nearly all the nation's newspapers called for Nixon's resignation or impeachment (ibid.). Numerous Republican politicians from his own party started to support impeachment (Summers & Swan 2000). On August 9, 1974, Nixon resigned from office (Nixon 2013). Graham later wrote, "Without the tapes, the true story would never have emerged" (Graham 1997, p.1).

6.3.4.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

The outcome of this episode is that the Courageous Followers' *discursive actions* helped shift the resource of *public sentiment* which contributed to the resignation of Nixon, the conviction of his associates, and the collapsed this Toxic Triangle. So significant was this shift that after Watergate, it is reported that Nixon paid Graham the ultimate compliment when he said he would have more power as president of the WP than the United States (Felsenthal 1993). Post this episode, sources state that it was widely regarded that she was the most powerful woman in America and had become a symbol of the press (ibid.). Retrospectively, most people label her as a leader but forget that she was a Courageous Follower first that stood up to a Destructive US President.

(1) Confronting Internally:

The US President has sweeping powers over most people and institutions in the country. Thus, most of the Courageous Followers' *discursive action*s in this episode occurred within the dominion of the Destructive Leadership, and even though they played out in public, it is considered as *confronting internally*. The Destructive Leadership was brutal towards anyone who tried to *confront* it, as revealed by the litany of threats *(physical, legal, verbal etc.)* they made to people. For instance, the findings showed that when Bernstein called Mitchell about the CRP funding the Watergate burglary, Mitchell responded in a vulgar and threatening fashion saying that Graham would get her tit caught in a wringer if the WP published the story. It is only when the Supreme Court and Congress (as a whole), which are institutions of equivalent power to the President that the balance shifted. So largely this was not successful except with extreme persistence *(i.e., intensification)*.

(2) 'Rubiconising':

To shift the power balance requires *discursive actions* from many followers, a key Courageous

Follower was a government informant for the WP. The informant Mark Felt *'rubiconised'* by supplying information to the WP, because his boss Gray was obstructing justice. Here, the findings show that Gray, the director of the FBI, was being loyal to the President instead of the country, laws and constitution.

To repeatedly *(i.e., intensification)* publish the controversial Watergate stories, Graham really showed courage and committed decisively *(i.e., 'rubiconising')* despite her serious doubts and external threats. Therefore, the project argues that Graham was grappling with the tension of different the *political, intellectual and economic* systems *(see Table 3.2 on p.76 above),* and the rules that governed them by risking *capital ownership* to adhere to the rules of *professional codes* of journalism and the US Constitution.

Bradlee *'rubiconised'* and asked Woodward and Bernstein to break the law and interview members of the Grand Jury, because Felt said that some in the law enforcement agencies were protecting the president. The analysis contends that Bradlee felt the state's system *judicial and law enforcement institutions* were not following the *rule of law*, and so had to be overridden by the rule of the journalistic *professional code.*

During the Saturday Night Massacre, Richardson and Ruckelshaus *'rubiconised'* by resigning in protest to Nixon's order to fire Cox. This decidedly shifted *(i.e., perspectivising)* politicians and the public's view on Nixon and shortly after impeachment hearings commenced.

(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

A critical factor in shifting the power balance in this episode was *marshalling credible evidence.* There were several instances of it, if WP's Simons, hadn't persisted in *marshalling of credible evidence* the story would not even have made it past the initial stages. Woodward and Bernstein's *marshalling credible evidence* uncovered the CRP's connection to the Watergate burglary, which slowly contributed to building interest in the story. In doing so, they slowly *articulated an alternative* discourse against the Destructive Leadership.

The seismic shift occurred when Butterfield revealed the existence of White House tapes *(i.e., credible evidence).* Following the revelation, Ervin, Cox, and Sirica were relentless when in their pursuit of that evidence. Nixon hung on to the tapes and power until the Supreme Court forced him to release the tapes which provided the decisive evidence. Nixon himself attested to the power of *credible evidence* when he said that "As a matter of fact, if the tapes had been destroyed, I believe it is likely I would not have had to go through the agony of the resignation" (Ambrose 1992, p.407).

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

As discussed in the previous episode, Graham's *discursive actions* of resistance also included *building and maintaining coalitions* which was critical to their success. Graham was exceptional at surrounding herself with exceptional individuals (Felsenthal 1993). She appointed Ben Bradlee as Executive Editor, who transformed the paper from a hack paper to a great American newspaper, while Richard Simmons and Warren Buffett were her pillars in investment and business decisions (ibid.). This allowed her to achieve both profitability and editorial quality. Accounts state that Graham used those coalitions for support during Watergate and beyond.

The findings show that Graham, with the help of those coalitions, let the rules of *patriotism, ethics, profit-maximisation and professional codes* guide her decision to resist the Destructive Leadership. As a result, the project argues that despite being scared, Graham was *'rubiconising'* with courage, and risked her entire business twice on the Pentagon Papers and Watergate. She persisted (i.e., *intensified)* and didn't give in to intimidation by the US Government's establishment in the form of the Nixon's or his Colluders Followers.

As the Watergate story unfolded, staff at the WP united and strongly *built and maintained coalitions* by working more cohesively than ever before (Leamer 1977). They had to *maintain a strong coalition* to keep *intensifying* in their efforts to *marshal credible evidence*. Often their interviews and leads did not materialise into much, or the WP was thwarted by the culture of fear that enveloped Washington (Bernstein & Woodward 1999). In this way, Conformer Followers let the fear constrain their *agency*. Further, the members of the public also questioned their journalism, which was compounded by their inability to reveal Felt as their informant.

(5) Perspectivising:

Perspectivising was a significant challenge as the public had reelected Nixon in a landslide in November 1972. However, in January 1973, the *perspective* on the Nixon administration started to shift, when the courts convicted several of Nixon's associates, who in turn started to publicly testify that Nixon's inner circle was involved. Here the institutions of the courts use *power through* the judiciary against the Destructive Leadership. In addition, this verdict *increased uncertainty,* which is a power mechanism that contributed to shifting the power balance.

When the existence of the tapes came to light, the leadership obfuscated its existence, however, the sworn affidavits from Army Signal Corps technicians changed everyone's *perspective* and the focus shifted to acquiring the evidence. Nixon gave speeches and selectively released transcripts

of the tapes as a form of not shifting the *perspective* on his actions. However, polls showed that less than 30 percent of American's believed Nixon (Ambrose 1992). Thus, the *discursive actions* of the WP, the Special Prosecutor Cox, Senator Ervin, Judge Sirica and the Supreme Court justices had *perspectivised* decisively, to shift the resource of *public sentiment.*

(6) Boundary Spanning:

Felt informing the WP, and the WP printing articles on Watergate were *discursive acts* of *boundary spanning.* Accounts state that Felt took action because Nixon's administration and his Colluder Followers were assaulting government institutions, like the FBI's integrity and he was frustrated that the investigation was running out of steam; so he thought using the media would help give it strength (Small 2011). Thus the findings show, Felt *marshalled credible evidence, perspectivised* and *built and maintained coalitions* with the media at the macro level outside of the government structures. In this way, Felt was using *power through* the institution of the media against the Destructive Leadership. This contributed to protecting institutions of the *state* structure, especially the law enforcement institutions *(e.g., the FBI and the Justice Department).* From the findings this project argues that Felt gained courage by subscribing to the rules of the *constitution, egalitarianism and patriotism* to change the resource of public sentiment within the *political* system. Felt's *discursive acts* of resistance took the form of secret meetings, coded messages and signs. Due to his position, Felt had access to the inner circle of the Nixon administration. This gave him both power via *network positioning* and resource control of *information.* He provided the WP journalists with *credible* information, so they trusted him and used his leads to investigate further.

Boundary spanning also occurred when the structures of the judiciary upheld the constitution. This also allowed the information to span the political divide and change public sentiment, which contributed to Republican politicians crossing the aisle. This was significant, as reportedly Nixon only resigned when he was told that over two-thirds of the senate were willing to vote to remove him from office. This project contends that if *boundary spanning* had not occurred in any of its different forms, Nixon would have stayed on as president. Separation of powers between different branches of government allows for *boundary spanning,* which provides *checks and balances* on leadership. *Checks and balances* along with *transparency* are critical to mitigating Destructive Leadership (Padilla 2013).

(7) Intensifying:

Despite all the treats from the Nixon administration, Graham persisted (i.e., *intensified)* and financed

the Watergate investigation (ibid.). The archival accounts assert that Graham showed courage, as from her perspective the Watergate investigation could have led to the financial ruin of the WP and a jail sentence, as she refused a subpoena for her reporters' notes (Remnick 1997). The WP's staff *intensification* of their *discursive actions* was instrumental in the Watergate scandal (ibid.). The findings show that the *intellectual* system which adheres to the *norms* of *professional codes,* drove the Courageous Followers' in the media. In addition to the *professional codes,* the Courageous Followers *intensified* by harnessing the power and resources of *authority, legitimacy* and *expertise* enshrined in the US Constitution's First Amendment *(i.e., rules).*

Accounts suggested that while the NYT and other media outlets contributed to *perspectivising* by *marshalling credible evidence* of the Watergate scandal, the WP was described as a persistent terrier with Watergate in its jaws (Bray 1980). So persistent (i.e., *intensifying)* were the WP in trying to persuade (i.e., *perspectivising)* the public that they ran dozens of stories during the Watergate scandal (*The Watergate Story* 2019). Inside the WP, Woodward and Bernstein were admired for their persistent (i.e., *intensifying)* and successful digging up of evidence (i.e., *marshalling credible evidence)* (ibid.).

Similarly, despite obstruction and threats against their lives from the Destructive Leadership, Special Prosecutor Cox, Senator Ervin and Judge Sirica *intensified* in their demands for access to the tapes despite. This led to the matter reaching the Supreme Court, who unanimously ruled against the Destructive Leadership.

6.4 Conclusion

This case showed that the Courageous Followers used their *agency,* influenced Conformer Followers and *built and maintained coalitions* through *intense boundary spanning* and other discursive actions (Table 6.1 below). This created several changes to *structure* by changing several *rules* (Ambrose 1992, p.479)*:* (1) The *War Powers Act of 1973,* passed over Nixon's veto, which restricts the US President from going to war first and explaining later; (2) Congress passed the *Presidential Records and Materials Preservation Act of 1974* to preserve Nixon's papers and tapes in the National Archive; (3) The passage of the *Privacy Act of 1974,* extended the *Freedom of Information Act,* thereby permitting individuals to see personal information in their federal agency records and amend that information; (4) Congress passed some campaign reform bills to improve transparency and reduce corruption; (5) Congress passed the *Ethics in Government Act of 1978,* largely attributed to Watergate, establishing a legal basis for the office of special prosecutor and more transparent financial

disclosures. So, as seen towards the end of the case and after, the Conformer members of Congress and the Senate had finally also moved away from supporting the Destructive Leadership and created new structures to protect against it, indicating that the power balance had decisively shifted.

A final set of outcome, was a weakened presidency, and a changed *public sentiment (i.e., a resource in the political system)* towards trust in their government. As a consequence of the Destructive Leadership described in this case, Congress acquired more power than it had had in the first three decades after World War II (ibid.). The press corps was more emboldened to pursue investigative reporting (ibid.). Some lasting legacies of this case are that it increased the public's distrust toward politics and permanently weakened the office of the presidency (ibid.). Therefore, the *agency* of Courageous Followers through their *discursive actions* fundamentally changed *structures* including culture. Some key events from the four episodes are presented in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Discursive Actions to Resist Against US Presidents

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System *(i.e., Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual)*
(1) Confronting Internally: is directly to confront the Destructive Leadership within the latter's dominion of control *(e.g., country, state, organisation, group)*	• Expert power • Giving upward feedback • Articulating an alternative discourse	• Meetings • Information • Formal Conversations • Informal Conversations • Memos • Publications	On the 1st of November 1967, McNamara wrote a private memo to Johnson telling him that they had to change course and the policy was completely wrong (Morris, Williams & Ahlberg 2003). While privately McNamara resisted, publicly he stayed loyal to Johnson (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009)	Ineffective	Relied largely on the structures of the *political* system within the confines of the Destructive Leadership
(2) 'Rubiconising': is acting decisively on a plan or values to cross a point of no return.	• Rule manipulation • Increasing uncertainty • Resource control • Network positioning • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• Meetings • Phone calls • Gathering • Speeches • Extreme plans • Radical actions • Enforce deadlines	In 1971, when the Pentagon Papers story was ready to be published, Graham 'rubiconised' several times when faced with ambiguity by potentially violating the law and destroying the viability of her business	Partially Effective	Graham was drawing on the *intellectual* system by adhering to the *professional codes* of journalism. Further, she as the WP fought Nixon all the way to the Supreme court, they heavily relied on the rules in the US Constitution

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System *(i.e., Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual)*
(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence: is the collation and presentation of credible evidence with a view to influence other actors	• Expert power • Legitimate power • Information control • Increasing Uncertainty	• Interviews • Meetings • Classified documentation • Financial statements • Secret reports • Statements • Plans	Ellsberg overcame his deep personal beliefs about the US being on the right side of the war and realised that he was going to have to change *public sentiment*. So, he leaked the Pentagon Papers—which were based on actual US classified documents— to the media and various politicians to help change the course of the war	Partially Effective	Courageous Followers used the *communal* system's rules of *solidarity, peace and egalitarianism* while subscribing to the *intellectual* system's rules of *personal codes* structures to counter the political system's state structures using the resources of *networks* and *public sentiment*
(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions: is to grow support by influencing and recruiting other actors to align with one's agenda and then to maintain continually the coalition	• Expert power • Formal or legitimate position • Network positioning • Information control • Increasing Uncertainty • Articulating ideologies • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• Phone calls • Meetings • Coded messages • Public Gatherings • Posters • Advertising • *Symbolism*	At the macro level the NYT and the WP along with several other media organisations forged a coalition together and won the right publish the Pentagon Papers. This was necessary to shift the power balance against the Destructive Leadership of the Nixon Government	Effective	Courageous Followers in the media harnessed the institutions of the *State* in the form of the *judiciary,* and *power through* their own organisations. This invoked the rules of *egalitarianism, patriotism, and the US Constitution.* They also used their *capital and economic resources* to against the Destructive Leadership

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System *(i.e., Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual)*
(5) Perspectivising: is framing an alternative argument, this was used to raise awareness to individuals or groups that can shift the power balance and is more likely to be effective at a macro-level outside of the dominion of the Destructive Leadership	• Increasing uncertainty • Network positioning • Over identification • Articulating an alternative discourse • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• Press articles • Meetings • Interviews • Broadcasted messages • Factual statements • Emotive statements • Advertising • Speeches • *Symbolism*	Whistleblower Felt thought that the Nixon administration had its tentacles everywhere and was frustrated with the loss of momentum. So, Felt worked with the WP journalists to help *perspectivise* about the President's crimes to the public and put pressure on the government	Partially Effective	This *perspectivising* questioned the integrity of structures and the institutions in the *political* system's *state* structure. The Courageous Followers used the *legitimate power* of the institution of the media to promote the rules of *patriotism, egalitarianism, ethics, and the constitution* to shift the resource of *public sentiment*
(6) Boundary Spanning: is the act of going from the micro to the macro-social level and vice versa. Boundary spanning is also includes expanding to a level equal or greater than the Destructive Leader's dominion of control (e.g., country, state, organisation, group)	• Increasing uncertainty • Network positioning • Over identification • Articulating an alternative discourse • Power through organisations • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• All of the above	Felt informing the WP, and the WP printing articles on Watergate were discursive acts of *boundary spanning* which magnified the impact of other *discursive actions* like *marshalling credible evidence, perspectivising and building and maintaining coalitions.* *Boundary spanning* also occurred when the structures of the judiciary upheld the constitution. This also allowed the information to span the political divide and change public sentiment. Which contributed to Republican politicians crossing the aisle	Effective	Use of the *Communal* system's rules of *egalitarianism* to sway the resource of *public sentiment*. The Courageous Followers were also subscribing to the rules of the *constitution, egalitarianism, and patriotism* within the *political system*

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System (*i.e.,* *Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual*)
(7) Intensifying: is making multiple persistent attempts and using varying avenues to influence the status quo even when faced with repeated setbacks	• Expert power • Network position • Over identification • Articulating an alternative discourse • Increasing uncertainty • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• All of the above	It was noted that Woodward and Bernstein were extremely persistent and *intensified* their *marshalling of credible evidence.* They probed further when more seasoned reporters would have given up. Bradlee, Simons and other senior editors and journalists at the WP also *intensified* and the WP was referred to as a persistent terrier with Watergate in its mouth. Graham too held strong and *intensified* in the face of financial ruin and threats from the Nixon administration	Effective	All of the above and the *economic* systems and the rules that governed of *competition* motivated them to keep persisting against other news organisations

Chapter 7 – Analysis & Findings – Case Study 3: Business

7.1 Overview

This case is the final case in this project. This case reviews the leadership that unfolded in the enterprises established by the entrepreneur John De Lorean within the automotive industry. The project acknowledges that unlike the first two cases, here, archival material on the Courageous Followers was not as easily available, as the events surrounding this case were of less historical significance. Most available material focused on De Lorean as a leader.

The project analysed this case using multiple sources, including the historiometric scholar's academically validated biography on John De Lorean by Levin (1983). The analysis examined two documentaries on De Lorean, one by the BBC (2004) - *Car Crash: The De Lorean Story*. The other documentary was by award-winning filmmakers Pennebaker and Hegedus (1981). This latter source was created contemporaneously as the case unfolded, so it did not provide ex post facto perspective of the phenomena. To triangulate, the project also analysed over 40 archival newspaper articles from a variety of publishers that chronicled the case. Appendix C: Bibliography Business Case on p.318 below contains a list of all these archival sources.

To provide some background, this case unfolded from the 1960s till the 1980s. It covered John De Lorean's web of business and personal dealings across the United States and Europe to his eventual downfall and arrest in 1982. The data shows that De Lorean created and managed a web of shell companies with the help of some Colluder Followers. His main Colluders were his lawyer Thomas Kimmerly and a business associate Roy Nesseth; their questionable actions were recorded in court documents (Gerth 1982; Levin 1983). Despite this dubious record, most sources indicate that backers like the British government, the media or car dealers appeared to be more inclined to accept De Lorean's version of events than investigate further.

Like previous cases, this case is presented in two phases. Phase 1 surfaces the Toxic Triangle across all episodes of the case. The analysis anchors each case to the theoretical constructs. Phase 2 explores the *actors' discursive actions and the power balance* across four episodes with several events that unfolded during each episode.

7.2 Phase 1: Surfacing the Toxic Triangle: Aligning its Vertices to This Case

This subsection will surface the vertices of the Toxic Triangle within the overall case and align them to the theoretical constructs of the Toxic Triangle framework. The first part of the alignment process was to classify De Lorean as a Destructive Leader — See Figure 7.1 below. As discussed below, De Lorean appears to exhibit several of these behaviours. First, this section will examine the personalised use of power. Ethics and morality distinguish between constructive and destructive leaders (Padilla 2013, p.204). The archival data shows several instances of De Lorean's poor ethics and integrity. For instance, court records show that despite embezzling funds from one of his ventures, when the company headed towards bankruptcy, De Lorean blamed his brother Jack De Lorean (Levin 1983). The court records of several lawsuits against him show that by the mid-1970s, virtually every major venture that John De Lorean had undertaken, was battered with broken contracts (ibid.).

Instability in Northern Ireland, weak board of directors; cultural influences neo-libralisim & youth; weak checks from the government & media

Environment

Key Colluders: Thomas Kimmerly, Roy Nesseth, Car Dealers, Cristina Ferrare, Investors
Key Conformers: Irish Workers, Car Dealers, Governments Officials, Media, Bank Managers

Susceptible Followers

Destructive Leader

John De Lorean charismatic, narsissictic with an agenda of hate driven by greed

Figure 7.1: Surfacing the Automotive Toxic Triangle

Second, the outcomes of action define Destructive Leadership, and not necessarily intent (Einarsen, Aasland & Skogstad 2007). A lack of strategic skills and greed by Destructive Leaders tend to produce negative outcomes whether or not intended. A Detroit financier who tried to put together several deals for De Lorean described him as being a particularly poor entrepreneur who didn't know how to run a business (Levin 1983). He said that "Anything John touches he ruins. He just doesn't fund a thing. All he does is take money out" (ibid. p.85). Third, Destructive Leaders

are very often highly charismatic, a key attribute of a Destructive Leader that allows them to influence others and to foster a delusion (Lipman-Blumen 2005a; 2008; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). Allegedly, Mike Brasch who was head of an advertising agency that worked and partnered with De Lorean on some projects thought De Lorean's charismatic qualities undeniable:

> First of all, he could galvanize a crowd. He had that sort of FDR (Franklin D. Roosevelt former US President) charisma that reached almost everyone… he had the reputation of giving the best presentation of any executive… He could turn on the personality and the charm like a light switch, and when he talked to you, it was as though all of his attention was focused on you… (Levin 1983, p.84)

Fourth, narcissism is another key attribute of a Destructive Leader (Padilla 2013). Allegedly, De Lorean discovered that people "bought the wrapping—not the contents" and applied that same logic to both the cars, teams he built, and himself (Levin 1983, p.3). By the end of the 1960s, accounts state that De Lorean had gone through extensive facial cosmetic surgery that shocked his close friends (Daly 1982).

Fifth, negative life themes are an important element common to most Destructive Leaders. Leaders who inflict harm tend to have negative life stories and patterns (Padilla 2013). Sources report that De Lorean and his father shared little affection with the latter being physically violent with a serious drinking problem that made him vent his external frustrations (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). His peers reported that as a first generation American, De Lorean found it hard to fit in and his adolescence was filled with fights and minor lawlessness (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). Padilla (2013) observed that Stalin, Hitler, Mussolini, and Castro were also some leaders that had negative life themes with distressful childhoods. In addition to all the above examples of attributes and behaviours of Destructive Leaders, several others were observed in John De Lorean, and therefore he was classified as the Destructive Leader in this case study.

The second vertex of the Toxic Triangle includes Susceptible Followers *(i.e., Colluder and Conformer Followers)*—see Figure 7.1 above. This case identified several key Colluder Followers. Some Colluder Followers identified in the case include De Lorean's personal lawyer, Thomas Kimmerly and his long-time associate Roy Nesseth. Both are reported to have misled, committed fraud, threatened and intimidated people on numerous occasions (Curtis 1982; Lindsey 1982). An instance of Kimmerly's collusive behaviour is demonstrated in an episode involving a Cadillac car dealership. Here, De Lorean acquired the dealership and with Kimmerly's help they embezzled funds, concealed De Lorean's involvement, and destroyed the original proprietor's livelihood (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). Court documents show that Kimmerly told the bank president that he concealed De Lorean's name because they had their own side deal and did not want De Lorean's name to

appear (Levin 1983). Kimmerly alledged, Delorean had some enemies in GM that would prevent the deal from taking place (ibid.). Similar collusive behaviour was apparent in the actions of Nesseth. Accounts state that De Lorean and Nesseth adapted the nature of their official relationship to suit their immediate legal needs (ibid.). At times Nesseth acted like a legal shield for De Lorean through taking sole responsibility for failed ventures by accepting the blame for mismanagement or insubordination (ibid.).

The other group of Susceptible Followers, Conformer Followers. In this case, Followers who conformed directly or indirectly with De Lorean's agenda included several banks, car dealers, government organisations and the media. This project argues that most of those groups conformed out of self-interest for the purpose of profit-making and did not look beyond these cultural influences. The role of the UK government and politicians was somewhat different. They tended to conform out of fear and vulnerability. This was partly created out of the civil unrest in Northern Ireland, which is explained shortly.

Finally, the Conducive Environment the final vertex of the Toxic Triangle *(see Figure 7.1 above)* which was exploited by De Lorean in this case. Recollect that Conducive Environmental conditions can include a culture (societal attitudes, experiences, perceptions, and beliefs), a lack of checks and balances, economic and social conditions, environmental complexity, instability and perceptions of threat (Padilla 2013, p.152).

Regarding the culture conditions in the De Lorean case, these matched with the growing the neo-liberal order of capitalism as described by Fairclough (2001). This led to greed and excessive leeway given to entrepreneurs. During that time, Levin asserted that no city embodied the opportunities of capitalism like Detroit (Levin 1983). Another factor was media spin used to persuade people's perceptions (Moloney 2001), which was prevalent in the public relations of De Lorean's businesses. Contemporary accounts also suggest that the Detroit press corps were enamoured with De Lorean's persona and would have written off most other less charismatic individuals with a similar business disasters (Levin 1983). These factors were significant cultural influences.

Checks and balances are another critical factor. To avoid scrutiny, De Lorean used to sideline people who opposed him and enlisted those that supported him. On one occasion, when De Lorean found that his Vice-President C.R. Brown opposed his plan, he reconstituted the board, leaving Brown out (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). After which records show that the reconstituted Board included his wife Cristina Ferrare and Kimmerly (Colluder Follower). The U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) files show that when Ferrare joined the board, she was described as

self-employed since 1965 (Levin 1983). In 1965, Ferrare was in fact only fifteen years old (Miller 2019), which was not mentioned in the SEC filings (Levin 1983). There is thus reason to believe that De Lorean actively sought Colluder Followers as Board members to reduce internal checks and balances.

Instability and perceived threats are key environmental elements that Destructive Leaders magnify (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). They offer followers the stability for which they desperately crave (Lipman-Blumen 2005a). According to many sources, De Lorean exploited the instability and the violence in Northern Ireland in the 1970s and 1980s and obtained substantial funding from the British Government (Borders 1982; *De Lorean Expected To Seek More Aid From Britain* 1982; Griffiths 1982a; Riddell 1983). Since the 1950s, the British Government used economic development to mitigate the sectarian problems in Northern Ireland (BBC 2004). In the 1970s, Northern Ireland had the highest unemployment in Western Europe (ibid.).

The findings show that De Lorean saw this instability as an opportunity. The British Government provided grants and loans of nearly $100 million — worth circa AU$552 million in 2019 (Coin News 2019; XE 2019) to open a factory to manufacture a car in the troubled area of Northern Ireland (Levin 1983). He continued to exploit the tensions in Northern Ireland by requesting more funding, while threatening to close the manufacturing plant in the troubled province, if additional funds were not forthcoming. (ibid.). In 2004 money, the total cost to the British taxpayers was estimated to be close to US$300 million (BBC 2004).

These environmental factors provided De Lorean's operation with both capital and minimal oversight (BBC 2004; Levin 1983). A lack of robust checks and balances permit Destructive Leaders to get away with destructive actions (Padilla 2013). In summary, from the above analysis and as shown in Figure 7.1 above, this case aligns with the theoretical constructs of the Toxic Triangle. Now the study is positioned to explore the *discursive actions* of Courageous Followers in their attempts to collapse this Toxic Triangle.

7.3 Phase 2: Actors' Discursive Actions and the Power Balance

With the Toxic Triangle in operation, the behaviour of Courageous Followers who challenged the Destructive Leadership will now be examined to shed better light on these process, four key episodes from the case have been identified for analysis. As before, each episode focuses on uncovering what *discursive actions* and subsequent sequences of *discursive reactions* which contributed

to collapse the Toxic Triangle in this case. These *discursive actions* could include discursive forms like memos, meetings, speeches, policies, plans, and actions (Levina & Orlikowski 2009). The forms were identified and correlated to the *discursive actions* as show above in Table 5.1, Table 6.1 and Table 7.1 (below).

While accounts show that the press continued to be enamoured by De Lorean, concurrent court documents in lawsuits across the US told another story (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). These legal battles pertained to various business ventures such as miniature racetracks, a revolutionary engine-coolant system, a Cadillac care dealership, a cattle ranch, mass distribution of radios and film projectors (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). Figure 7.2 below illustrates the four episodes of this case.
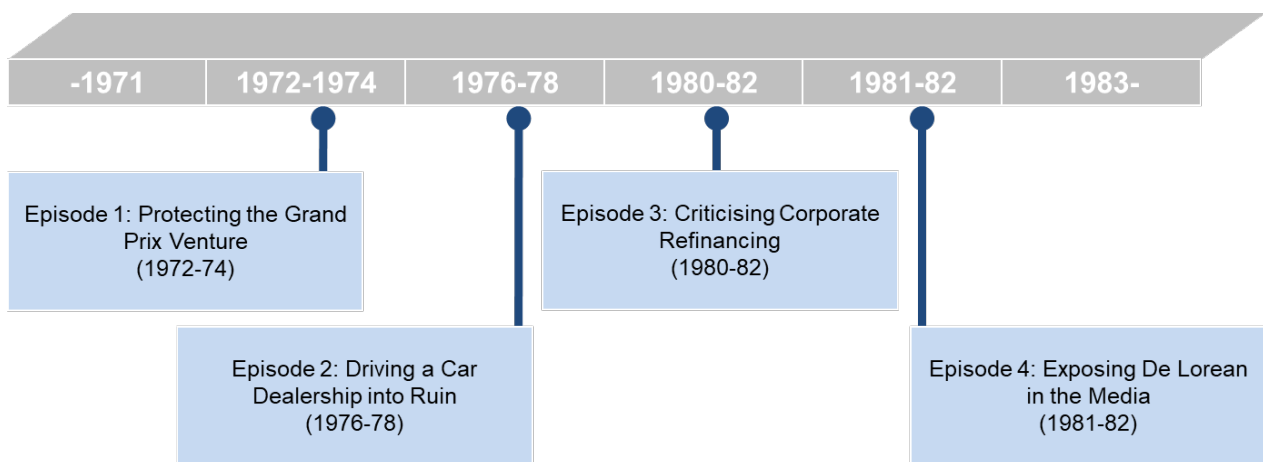
Figure 7.2: Episodes in the Case on Courageous Followership in Business

1. **Protecting the Grand Prix Venture:** De Lorean raises venture capital to fund his younger brother Jack De Lorean's miniature racetracks Grand Prix venture. This episode examines the *discursive actions* of the younger De Lorean and other investors, who attempt to prevent the elder Lorean from embezzling money.

2. **Saving a Car Dealership from Ruin:** De Lorean, in a hostile small business takeover, bought a small Cadillac Dealership. Using his two associates Kimmerly and Nesseth, he ran the business into the ground. This episode discusses the attempted resistance of Gerry Dahlinger, the original owner of the business.

3. **Criticising Corporate Refinancing:** The British Government had invested nearly $100 million into the De Lorean Motor Company (DMC), but the funding was drying up. So De Lorean and Kimmerly tried to create a small $600,000 bail-out plan by giving away nearly all of DMC's assets to another De Lorean entity. This episode

covers the attempted resistance of company Vice-President C.R. Brown and other staff to save the company.

4. **Exposing De Lorean in the Media:** Suspicions of wrongdoing appear to have arisen when De Lorean wanted to float one of his shell companies and defraud the British Government. His personal secretary Marian Gibson with another Vice-President Bill Haddad provided volumes of documentation to a British minister of parliament (MP Nicholas Winterton) and media outlets which contributed to De Lorean's downfall.

7.3.1 Episode 1: Protecting the Grand Prix Venture

Introduction

As an introduction, this episode involves a Grand Prix venture that De Lorean founded with his younger brother Jack De Lorean. While still working for GM, in 1972 De Lorean went into a new venture called the Grand Prix of America with several investors. His brother was appointed the CEO and investors recounted that the concept for this venture was the younger brother's idea (Levin 1983; Phinizy 1975).

The business involved franchise racetracks for miniature racing, designed to be a cross between a theme park and competitive sport (Phinizy 1975; Levin 1983). While official documents showed that John De Lorean was just a board member, in actuality he was the chairman of the board (Levin 1983). The brothers harnessed the elder De Lorean's network, corralled several backers for the venture including engineers, real estate developers, engineers, sportsmen and others to invest $1.3 million (ibid.). By 1973 the venture had already run out of money due to some questionably large overheads. Court documents showed that the elder De Lorean was siphoning off funds for personal use (Levin 1983; Ludvigsen 2007).

7.3.1.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

As the situation developed further, accounts reveal that the company's financial situation became worse and recriminations increased with the De Lorean brothers at the centre of it (Levin 1983; Ludvigsen 2007). This episode covers the *discursive actions* of the younger De Lorean, Jack and other investors, who attempted to prevent the outcome of the business going bankrupt.

7.3.1.1.1 Recriminating at an Investor Meeting

Despite the younger brother Jack De Lorean's bold plans, by 1973, the venture's funds dried up and several investors questioned the large overheads (Levin 1983). After which, a significant discursive act of resistance occurred by the younger brother, when he launched what was to be a failed attempt to expose the elder De Lorean's activities. This occurred in an investor meeting when the younger De Lorean is said to have 'erupted' as he tried to blow the whistle on his brother. Thomas Payne, an investor, at that meeting said, "He told us that his brother was dipping his hand in the till—that John couldn't be trusted" (ibid. p.59).

The immediate response was that the investors dismissed the younger De Lorean (ibid.). The younger brother was a war veteran, and it is reported that they thought he had mental health issues and was being disloyal to his brother (ibid.). One investor Jim Ninowski was reportedly appalled at Jack's behaviour and said "I grew up believing that you stick by your brother no matter what. You don't tell on him behind his back" (ibid. p.59).

7.3.1.1.2 Arguing with His Brother

After the aforementioned investor meeting, the De Lorean brothers appear to have had a falling out engaging in a series of recriminations and counter recriminations. By 1974, Payne recalls that the De Lorean brothers were at each other's throats (ibid.). Some sought to portray the situation as a simple case of sibling rivalry with the younger brother being envious of the elder brother's success rather than due to any misappropriation by the well-renowned elder De Lorean (ibid.).

Unable to make payments and headed for bankruptcy, the elder De Lorean blamed his brother (ibid.). Then, according to some investors, the elder De Lorean with the consent of the Board brought in Roy Nesseth (ibid.). The board replaced the younger De Lorean from the board and company president (ibid.).

7.3.1.1.3 Requesting Transparency on Investments

With the younger brother now off the scene, efforts to hold De Lorean to account fell to the key investor, Thomas Payne. On a subsequent occasion, Payne tried to get a better idea on how a $65,000 investment on a new racing track property was faring (ibid.). Nesseth informed him that De Lorean had used the investor's money to pay for the new racing track, but bought in another entity to avoid any creditors from having access to the property and would transfer it over in a few months (ibid.). After a few months, when Payne requested De Lorean to transfer the lien, the latter

said that the investors would have to give them $100,000 to do so (ibid.).

Finding this totally unacceptable, Payne wrote a letter to De Lorean telling him it was extortion (ibid.). In the letter Payne requested De Lorean to explain why he had not removed liens on a property that the investors had bought (ibid.). De Lorean directed Payne to speak to Kimmerly, to resolve things amicably (ibid.). After a lengthy discussion Kimmerly told Payne that Nesseth would resolve it, however, Payne recalls Nesseth saying:

> I'll testify that you guys [the investors] gave me the money to buy the property, and I kept it. I'll say that John had to come up with the whole $65,000 for the down payment himself. You don't have any proof that you paid for it. All your checks were to me and John. There's nothing you can do about that (ibid. p.61)

7.3.1.1.4 Berating De Lorean and Nesseth

Under Nesseth's management, the expenses for the venture seemed profligate to the investors (ibid.). Ninowski, concerned about his investment, thought he would inform De Lorean about Nesseth's mismanagement. Despite repeated phone calls to De Lorean from him and other investors, De Lorean never responded (ibid.). Ninowski persisted, he drove to De Lorean's office and walked straight in to see De Lorean (ibid.). Ninowski recalls the following regarding that incident:

> I let him know what I thought of him. At one point I said that Roy Nesseth was raping him and the company. I told him that if he continued to associate with Roy and ignored what he was doing, then John De Lorean was as bad as Roy Nesseth. All he said was "Thanks, I'll look into it" (ibid. p.61)

7.3.1.1.5 Taking De Lorean to Court

In 1976, the investors sued De Lorean, which only reached trial in 1982 (ibid.). De Lorean offered $40,000 to remove the lien, but Payne told the judge, "We owed him absolutely nothing for those deeds and [nothing] was the most we were going to pay" (ibid. p.62).

At the trial, De Lorean blamed his younger brother for the company's issues and claimed not to remember most details concerning Grand Prix (ibid.). However, he maintained that he was owed money to release the lien, because of prior expenses (ibid.). However, the Payne's lawyer provided the judge with evidence that those expenses came after De Lorean secured the lien, not before. After this De Lorean was required to release the lien along with any stock he had left in the company (ibid.).

7.3.1.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

In general, the various discursive actions pursued by stakeholder in this case to resist De Lorean's Destructive Leadership proved to be unsuccessful as the business went bankrupt. This lack of success was especially early in the episode when the power balance was significantly in favour of the Destructive Leader. Further, most of the investors regarded the elder De Lorean more highly than his lesser known brother. When the younger De Lorean attempted to stand up to his brother, the investors ostracised him for being disloyal. Lipman-Blumen (2005b) has noted that people who stand up openly to a leader are often easily quelled and typically face the brunt of the consequences. In such actions, such followers often endure significant long-term losses. In this episode, while some investors hoped to recoup their losses, everyone involved in the venture claimed that Jack De Lorean was the most damaged by this venture's failure (Levin 1983). This episode was an example of a failed attempt to stand up to a Destructive Leader. These failures can be understood in terms of the project's analytical categories.

(1) Confronting Internally:

When analysing the events of this episode, the younger De Lorean attempted to resist his elder brother's fraudulent behaviour. He did so by trying to blow the whistled at an investor meeting, and also by *confronting internally* when arguing with his brother. Outcomes show that his *discursive actions* against his brother gained no traction. Instead, he got fired from the board and replaced with the elder brother's Colluder Follower, Roy Nesseth.

Similarly, *confronting internally* did not work for the investors like Payne and Ninowski. Neither Payne's letter and dealings with Nesseth, nor Ninowski directly berating De Lorean had any appreciable on the power balance. This showed us that that the power balance did not alter when Courageous Followers engaged in *discursive actions* like *confronting internally* without significant power bases.

(2) 'Rubiconising':

Jack De Lorean's actions amounted to a form of *'rubiconisation'* through his internal attempt to blow the whistle on his brother. This, however, did not work as the other investors *(i.e., Conformer Followers), who* were not actively involved in the business, had greater trust in the elder De Lorean. Further, the investors said that Jack De Lorean 'erupted', which can be interpreted as meaning that his reaction was a spontaneous and emotional one upon being questioned by other investors. This contrasts with *'rubiconising'* acts that are embarked upon in some premediated and strategic way.

The elder brother was not present at the meeting to defend himself, which did not go down well with the investors. Hence, the younger De Lorean seemed to have violated the rule of *loyalty* within the *domestic* system's *familial* structure *(see Table 3.2 on p.76 above and Table 8.1 on p.262 below)*, This was evident in the response of Ninowski who stated that he should have always been loyal to his brother.

(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

Investor Payne's actions initially were to *confront internally*. Later, he sought to rely on the marshalling of *credible evidence* with Kimmerly to remove the lien. However, Nesseth asserted that he was willing to perjure himself by saying that it was all De Lorean's money. This suggests that against a Destructive Leader, the *marshalling of credible evidence* by itself, is unlikely to be successful to shift the power balance.

However, when the investors *spanned boundaries* and were in court, they *marshalled credible evidence* by presenting the expense accounts that demonstrated that De Lorean's expenses were not related to the purchase of the property. This led to De Lorean being required to remove the lien. The investors however did not recoup their money, though didn't have to pay De Lorean $100,000 for money that he owed them.

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions

In his attempts to resist his older brothers managing of the business, Jack De Lorean acted largely alone. In the investor meeting, he for example, he did not present a strong case to substantiate his claims; instead, as was reported he simply 'erupted'. The lack of support from others was due in part to the fact that most investors joined the venture through his elder brother. Further, people questioned his mental health and his management capabilities (Levin 1983). Therefore, the younger brother lacked any power bases to shift the investor's sentiment in his favour. Conversely, the elder De Lorean had both *network and expert* power in this episode. Thus, Jack De Lorean evident lack of success can be understood in terms of his inability to *build and maintain coalitions* within the business to resist his brother.

(5) Perspectivising:

Ninowski's tried to *perspectivise* by berating De Lorean in his office and telling him that Nesseth was destroying the business. However, in this scenario it can be again argued, that De Lorean, being a Destructive Leader, was not to be trusted. This was also another form of *confronting internally*.

Jack De Lorean was *perspectivising* by saying that his elder brother had his hand in the till. However, it appears he had not *built and maintained coalitions or effectively marshalled credible evidence, thus* his *perspectivising* did not gain traction.

(6) Boundary Spanning:

As can be seen from the above, the various followers in this episode tried varying *discursive actions* to resist the Destructive Leader. However, they did not make progress, in fact, when Jack De Lorean kept *confronting internally,* the elder De Lorean, under the guise of better management, brought in Colluder Follower Nesseth which strengthened the Toxic Triangle. Nesseth contributed to the company going bankrupt, and the investors had to take De Lorean to court.

Going to court, was a *discursive act of boundary spanning,* as here the investors' resistance was finally outside of the Destructive Leadership's dominion and by using the *state* structure's *judicial* institutions, they could finally counter the *capitalistic* structure.

(7) Intensifying:

The younger De Lorean persisted *(i.e., intensified)* by *confronting internally,* but with none of the power bases he failed. However, as stated above this further shifted the power balance towards the Destructive Leadership, leading to him being sidelined, and ultimately to catastrophic consequences for most investors. The investors did seek to *build and maintain coalitions among each other,* and engaged in *intensifying* by continually requesting more transparency, berating De Lorean over the phone, in writing and in person. However, until the investors *boundary spanned* and went to court, the power balance did not shift. However, by then they had all lost a significant amount of time and their investment.

7.3.2 Episode 2: Driving a Car Dealership into Ruin

Introduction

This episode surrounds De Lorean's business acquisition of a car dealership. In 1976, De Lorean visited Wichita in Kansas and discovered a General Motors (GM) Cadillac dealership franchise which was regarded as a goldmine in the auto industry (Daly 1982). This dealership was a standout, with many others suffering in this period during the recession brought on by the 1970s oil embargo (BBC 2004; Daly 1982). De Lorean was intent on acquiring the Wichita franchise. To do this, he

located the bank financing the franchise and met Kenneth Johnson, who was the chairman of the board of the Kansas State Bank and Trust company. Accounts suggest that Johnson had an affinity for freewheeling entrepreneurs and was taken in by De Lorean's charisma (Levin 1983).

The owner of the car dealership was Gerald Dahlinger. Upon meeting De Lorean Dahlinger said he was "The best charmer I've ever run across. He's good. He's really good" (Daly 1982, p.34). Dahlinger was described as a respectable young businessman with roots in the community in Wichita (Levin 1983). He started with a GM Buick dealership on the outskirts of town, and then he bought a GM Pontiac store (ibid.). He quickly impressed GM by turning around some of those failing businesses (ibid.). Due to Dahlinger's business record, GM did something that they had rarely done and allowed him to have a dual Pontiac-Cadillac dealership (ibid.).

Despite the oil embargo, Dahlinger had tripled his sales volume in a three-year period but sold his Buick dealership to cut his losses (ibid.). In an interview with Levin, Dahlinger said he had sunk everything he owned into the Pontiac-Cadillac dealership, and that Johnson assured him they would tough it out (ibid.). Instead, accounts show that Johnson jumped at De Lorean's inquiry and introduced Dahlinger to De Lorean's men *(Nesseth and Kimmerly)* and sold the dealership from under him (Daly 1982; Levin 1983).

7.3.2.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

This subsection examines the attempted *discursive actions* by Dahlinger in an attempt to save his car dealership from De Lorean and his Colluder Followers Nesseth and Kimmerly.

7.3.2.1.1 Protesting Against the Sale

After Johnson introduced Dahlinger to Nesseth and Kimmerly, court documents show that bank president, J Lentell managed the dealership's account (Levin 1983). Later in court, Lentell recounted that Nesseth emphasised "Mr. De Lorean's tenure with General Motors and that... they could get probably an unlimited amount of Cadillacs... to make it [the dealership] go" (ibid. pp.75-76). Dahlinger recalls watching in shock as Lentell and Nesseth bartered his dealership and protested (ibid.). His response was to protest to the bank (ibid.).

In response to Dahlinger's protests, he recalls the bank saying, "Do it by 5 P.M. or we'll put a lock on your door" (Daly 1982, p.34). Dahlinger continued that what the bank's statement meant was the bank called in his loan and gave him four hours to pay it off (Levin 1983). As a result, De Lorean's men soon took control of the dealership.

7.3.2.1.2 Informing Pontiac's Zone Manager

The bank left Dahlinger with no option, so he agreed to sell his business for only $80,000 and to be paid in instalments of $4,000 per month by De Lorean (Daly 1982). As part of the deal, it was agreed that Dahlinger would continue to work in the business, and it would remain in his name till the last instalment was paid (Daly 1982, Levin 1983). Nesseth and Kimmerly kept De Lorean's name off the official records, which the bank accepted (Daly 1982, Levin 1983). Then bank's president, Lentell, testified that when he queried that issue with Kimmerly, he responded "by saying that 'I handle it this way because Mr. De Lorean and I have our own side deal'" (Levin 1983, p.76).

Dahlinger said that obscuring De Lorean's name from the agreement made little sense to him (Daly 1982). So, within days he requested Pontiac's zone manager to meet with him (Levin 1983). Dahlinger informed the zone manager about the agreement, however, Dahlinger requested Pontiac not to act on it as he did not want to lose his $80,000 (ibid.). Nesseth had promised that he would be given a chance to buy back the dealership (ibid.).

7.3.2.1.3 Collecting Evidence and Giving it to the Bank

Subsequent events did not go well for Dahlinger. Accounts suggest that soon after the agreement, Nesseth had taken over Dahlinger's office and siphoned money out of the business (Levin 1983). Nesseth expensed his American Express card at circa $2,000 per month, as well as drawing a $5,000 wage (Daly 1982). Kimmerly was periodically charging the business for unknown legal fees, and De Lorean himself was on an annual retainer of $150,000 (Levin 1983). Other cheques were being written to unrelated businesses (ibid.). De Lorean and his men did all of this with minimal record-keeping (ibid.). Nesseth did not permit Dahlinger to get involved in the operations, yet maintained the façade to the community that Dahlinger was still in charge (Daly 1982; Levin 1983).

In an attempt to change the situation, Dahlinger said that he spent several nights carefully photocopying the papers in his former office as evidence of this mismanagement (Levin 1983). However, despite the evidence, when Dahlinger informed the bank chairman Johnson of these misappropriations, his efforts were disregarded (ibid.). Dahlinger was concerned that he was still the figurehead president and thus potentially liable for the actions of the business (ibid.).

7.3.2.1.4 Repeatedly Reporting to the Bank

Dahlinger's continued efforts to petition the bank went unrewarded. He asserted that on three

separate occasions he reported what he had seen to the Kansas State Bank (Daly 1982). However, he said that the bank told him, "You're out of the picture, forget it." (ibid. p.34). Dahlinger referred to De Lorean as a master at straddling the limits of the law and that he would have preferred to have dealt with the Mafia (ibid.).

Dahlinger persisted and wrote letters to the bank, but even they did not work (ibid.). He stated that when he told Johnson what he had found, Johnson on one occasion said "Bullshit... butt out" (Levin 1983, p.77). Dahlinger described the situation by saying, "I was walking the tightrope, trying to get my money, but not letting them get away with too much" (ibid. p.77).

7.3.2.1.5 Quitting and Suing De Lorean

Dahlinger wanted to keep earning his salary, however, after several months Dahlinger decided that he could not continue in the business (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). He recalls telling himself, "I just said. to hell with my 80 grand. It just wasn't worth it to me." (Daly 1982, pp.34-35). When Dahlinger left, he informed GM, after which, GM moved in to repossess the franchise (Levin 1983). Reflecting on events later, Dahlinger said, "I'm just sorry I stuck around as long as I did" (Levin 1983, p.77).

Dahlinger sued De Lorean, but over half a decade later the case was still unresolved (Curtis 1982). The dealerships debts rose to $800,000 with inexplicable cheques being written (Daly 1982, Levin 1983). Eventually, the bank also sued De Lorean and was awarded $350,000 (Daly 1982). Lentell the bank president stated about De Lorean, Nesseth and Kimmerly, "They just plain siphoned off the money" (Daly 1982, p.35). Dahlinger, a once respected and successful local businessman, was left broke and embittered (Levin 1983).

7.3.2.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

Like the previous episode, this one can be characterised as a failed attempt at resistance. The reason for this failure, however, is observed to be different. The outcomes from this failed episode were both organisational and personal. Organisationally the bank's neglect led to soaring debts and a collapse of the dealership with catastrophic losses for the bank - *the bankers acted like Conformer Followers*. The archival material shows that the debt for the dealership had soared from $200,000 to $800,000, and the bankers could only recover less than half of the debt (Levin 1983).

At an individual level, six years on from the incident, when Dahlinger said he was still broke as he could not recover from his losses (ibid.). Dahlinger also said that he had to leave his home state as

his reputation was ruined (ibid.). Dahlinger said "I had to sell my house, my car, the whole thing" (ibid. p.78). A few months after the incident Dahlinger heard that De Lorean was promoting the development of a so-called 'ethical car' and hence, Dahlinger tried to convince his friends not to invest in it, but to no avail (Daly 1982). Dahlinger described De Lorean by saying thus: "He had the quality that made blind followers of these people. How does he put them in a trance? What is it that he does? I'd wish I had it, but then I'd be dangerous." (ibid. p.35). Lipman-Blumen (2005a; 2005b; 2008) has noted that dangerously Destructive Leaders often present an alluring charismatic illusion to all they come across. This illusion was certainly true of De Lorean.

(1) Confronting Internally:

Dahlinger on a few occasions questioned Nesseth's profligate spending, however, Nesseth sidelined him from the business. As the destructive behaviour continued, Dahlinger helplessly had to conform out of fear and vulnerability as he did not have the capital to challenge the Destructive Leadership, and this episode for the most part only played on in the *economic* system. This episode demonstrated that *confronting internally* does not work if the resister as no appreciable power base to rely on.

(2) 'Rubiconising':

Dahlinger quitting the car dealership was a 'rubiconising' act. However, Dahlinger did this after the Destructive Leadership had done irreparable damage to the firm and his situation. This damage left Dahlinger without a livelihood, and the bank lost several hundred thousands of dollars.

(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

When Dahlinger spent several nights carefully photocopying proof on the De Lorean's fraudulent activities, he was *marshalling credible evidence*. By doing so, and giving it to the bank, Dahlinger was attempting to collapse this Toxic Triangle using evidence.

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

Dahlinger was conflicted as he wanted to continue to draw a salary and potentially restore ownership back to himself. His internal conflict meant that while he repeatedly attempted to a build a coalition with the bank's chairman and president, however, he did not harness his reputation with GM to *build a coalition* with them. Even when he initially spoke to the Pontiac zone manager, he told the zone manager not to act as he was afraid that he would lose his $80,000. However, after he decided to quit he reached out to GM and that changed the power balance.

(5) Perspectivising:

De Lorean initially reached out to Johnson, chairman of the board of the Kansas State Bank and Trust Company, using his charisma De Lorean got Johnson to believe an illusion. Johnson demonstrated Conformer Follower behaviours by not doing proper due diligence and readily accepting to do a deal with De Lorean. Despite Dahlinger repeatedly using evidence to change Johnson's *perspective* about De Lorean, he could not do so. This could largely be because Dahlinger, De Lorean and Johnson were all operating out of the *economic* system within the *capitalist structure* driven by the rule of *profit-maximisation (see Table 3.2 on p.76 above).* So, there was no structural diversity involved in changing the power balance.

(6) Boundary Spanning:

Boundary spanning was attempted when Dahlinger repeatedly tried to reach out to the bank. However, as stated above in such actions, Dahlinger was trying to create change by drawing on the same system *(i.e., economic)* as the Destructive Leader. Potentially, from Johnson's perspective De Lorean being a famous entrepreneur, had more *network* and *expert power* than Dahlinger and was economically a more viable resource.

Boundary spanning also occurred when Dahlinger broadened his network to include the Pontiac zone manager. However, he told the zone manager not to act, as he was fearful that the business still had his name and he could lose his $80,000. When Dahlinger quit the dealership and reached out to the zone manager, GM acted and took away the franchise from De Lorean. Thus, instead of the bank, Dahlinger could have relied on GM as he was in better to leverage his own positive track record with them. In addition, De Lorean did not have a good track record with GM—*at the time Dahlinger was probably unaware of De Lorean being fired from GM.* This also would have allowed him to draw on the *capitalistic* structure within the *economic* system and use GM's *profit maximisation* to his advantage.

When Dahlinger and the bank went to the courts, their *boundary spanning* can be understood as crossing beyond the *economic* structure into the *state* structure. Here they could rely on *power through the judicial* institutions against the Destructive Leadership. However, this turned out to be too late, with Dahlinger's business, livelihood and reputation already destroyed. The bank despite winning the court case recouped less than half of the $800,000 debt. This is an example of the cost to Conformer Followers of taking too long to standing up to Destructive Leaders by focusing on their proximate self-interest.

(5) Perspectivising:

(7) Intensifying:

Dahlinger repeatedly approaching and writing to the bank was a form of *intensifying*. However, despite *intensifying* of the *marshalling credible evidence,* he did not achieve the outcome. As discussed above, this could have been because the bank saw Dahlinger as being disgruntled at losing his dealership and saw De Lorean as being more favourable under the rule of *profit-maximisation.* Thus, the findings suggest that changing the power balance is better achieved through expeditious, *boundary spanning* to a variety of strategically selected suitable actors and not just *intensifying* to the same actors within the same structure.

7.3.3 Episode 3: Criticising Company Finances

Introduction

This episode, escalated during the period from 1980 to 1982, occurred after De Lorean's Destructive Leadership in the Grand Prix and the car dealership ventures among others. This episode will capture the resistance of C.R. Brown. Brown was the De Lorean Motor Company's vice-president for sales and marketing. Accounts suggest that De Lorean was ill-prepared for the hard work that was required to raise funds and enlist investors, so he recruited Brown, who had a strong reputation as a former head of operations of Mazda in North America (Levin 1983).

Brown was initially drawn to De Lorean's vision of building a new car company from the ground up. He said, "It was like being involved in something brand new. It felt like history" (Daly 1982, p.35). Subsequently, he worked hard and recruited many people *(e.g., dealers, staff and investors)* to the venture. Between 1976 and 1978, Brown helped raise over a $100,000 from nearly 150 different investors, a combined investment pool of nearly $12.5 million (Daly 1982; *DeLorean Arrest Jars Britons* 1982).

In 1978, the British Government invested in the De Lorean company and by 1981 the British Government had invested nearly US$150 million—equivalent to approximately AU$675 million (Coin News 2019; XE 2019)—in the form of grants, loans and bank guarantees (Levin 1983). The size of the investments coming from so many different sources suggests a lack of due diligence on the part of financial institutions and government. There was also limited media coverage and scrutiny of the burgeoning De Lorean funds. Thus, in this episode, the investors and the media are seen as Conformer Followers.

7.3.3.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

At the start of this episode, Brown is classified as a Conformer Follower since he bought into De Lorean's illusory vision and supported him in raising capital. However, the findings showed that upon being witness to several of De Lorean's financial indiscretions and embellishments; Brown saw a need to stand up to De Lorean (Daly 1982; Levin 1983; Lindsey 1982). Brown stated that he resisted because he did not want to fail the company's many investors and also wanted to ensure that all that was done was in the best interests of the company (Daly 1982; Levin 1983; Lindsey 1982). Below are some of his discursive acts of resistance.

7.3.3.1.1 Refusing to Sign Restructure Resolution

The first of these related to early financial difficulties experienced by the company. De Lorean was drawing nearly $300,000 annual salary, Nesseth's $180,000 and Kimmerly was on $110,000; plus, they had expense accounts and Kimmerly's firm was getting paid $1 million a year (Daly 1982, Lindsey 1982). In addition, De Lorean siphoned off millions into a company called G.P.D. Services operating out of Switzerland and registered in Panama (Daly 1982). By 1980, the De Lorean Motor Company, despite significant start-up capital, struggled with financial liquidity (Levin 1983). So as a temporary measure De Lorean and Kimmerly came up with a $600,000 bail-out plan to borrow money from another one of De Lorean's companies with virtually all the assets of the car company as collateral (ibid.).

A significant act of resistance occurred when the resolution to transfer ownership of the company had come to Brown to sign. He noticed that the resolution had been already signed by a few on the board including De Lorean (ibid.). Brown said the way the company was spending, he "figured that $600,000 wouldn't last thirty days" (ibid. p.139). Brown refused to sign the resolution and called Kimmerly to issue an option letter instead (ibid.). Kimmerly dismissed Brown's advice and said he had already filed the resolution when in fact he had not (ibid.).

7.3.3.1.2 Informing the Board about the Resolution

Brown suspected that most of the Board had not read the details of the resolution and so contacted some of them (ibid.). Brown reportedly called Gene Cafiero (Company President) and told him they had "fiduciary responsibility as board members to protect the minority stockholders" (ibid. p.139). He informed Bushkin the lawyer for one investor as he felt he was independent and influential on the board (ibid.). Brown is said to have convinced them that this would effectively

transfer ownership of a multi-million-dollar car company to De Lorean's other venture for a mere $600,000 (ibid.). After this it appears that Bushkin then forcefully challenged Kimmerly (ibid.).

In the aftermath, Brown's actions angered De Lorean, and he reportedly called Brown in a fit of rage and tried to coerce him into signing the resolution (ibid.). De Lorean responded further by removing Brown from the board of directors with no notice and replaced him with his wife Cristina Ferrare and other supporters (ibid.). Brown reportedly confronted De Lorean and told the latter that he could not bear to have anyone disagreeing with him (ibid.). The reconstitution of the Board made the British Government's Northern Ireland Development Association (NIDA) unhappy and they increased their scrutiny on De Lorean's operation.

7.3.3.1.3 Using the Bank Against De Lorean

Despite Brown's differences with De Lorean, he did not leave the company and remained deeply committed to the vision of the company and the investors (Levin 1983). To help with the company's liquidity, Brown used his network and secured a $31.2 million loan from Bank of America for the company's cash flow problems and continued to make suggestions (Gerth 1982; Griffiths 1982a; Levin 1983). After that, even De Lorean deferred to Brown on a decision that could have increased the company's liability by $115 million (Levin 1983).

Brown explained however, that a lot of his actions to save the organisation were in vain as De Lorean, Nesseth and Kimmerly continued their profligate and corrupt ways. This included incurring debts of around $180 million from over 350 creditors (DeMott, Stoler & Angelo 1982). Brown was especially critical of Nesseth suggesting he in particular cost the company its future (Lindsey 1982). He said, "If we had kept Nesseth out, we would have survived" (ibid. p.4). Brown said that after requesting Bank of America for one extension of the loan, he advised them not to give De Lorean any more extensions (Levin 1983). This was much to De Lorean and Nesseth's displeasure, with the latter calling and threatening Brown (Lindsey 1982).

7.3.3.1.4 Uniting to Disobey De Lorean's Orders

As the financial issues came to a head, Brown reached out to a range of stakeholders in the firm. He forged coalitions not just with the bank, Board members, investors and dealers, but also with other members of staff like regional director Bill Morgan. Morgan and Brown suspected that the Bank of America was ready to place a lien on the 2000 cars left in their care as they were collateral for the loan (Lindsey 1982, Levin 1983). However, it was described that De Lorean in anticipation

of the lien, called Morgan and asked him to make 450 cars disappear (Lindsey 1982, Levin 1983). Morgan, to avoid stealing the cars, declined citing space considerations (Levin 1983).

Accounts state that the evening before the default Nesseth called Morgan and demanded fourteen cars (ibid.). Morgan consulted with Brown, who advised Morgan that the cars belonged to the bank and should not be handed over to Nesseth (ibid.). That night, court documents revealed that Nesseth sent men to steal some of those cars, and Morgan got an urgent call from the security guard stating that five armed men were demanding De Lorean's cars (ibid.). Morgan asked the guards to stand firm and decline. Morgan told Levin that almost immediately he got a call from Nesseth, who fired him.

7.3.3.1.5 Criticising in a Public Report

Accounting firm Coopers and Lybrand did a report on the De Lorean Motor Company (Griffiths 1982b). In material provided to that report, Brown was critical of De Lorean's management and the structure of the company (Levin 1983). After this, De Lorean asked Brown to resign and said that he should not be on his payroll if he criticises him (ibid.). Brown claimed to have retorted that it was not De Lorean's money, but the investors and dealers; he complied with De Lorean's resignation request (ibid.).

Brown's loss had an immediate and devastating effect by permanently alienating Alan Blair, an investor who could have saved the company (ibid.). Blair told Levin that he had extremely high regard for Brown but did not think highly of Nesseth (ibid). In addition, the report *(along with the events in the next episode)* also contributed to the British Government putting the company into receivership (Griffiths 1982c).

7.3.3.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

Brown's *discursive actions* contributed to the increased scrutiny on De Lorean and his Colluder Followers. While this episode can be classified as successful in terms of some positive outcomes that Brown achieved through his resistance, the Destructive Leadership nevertheless, drove the company into the ground and defrauded many investors. Brown's initial counter-discursive actions stimulated sufficient mediated chain actions, with the achievement of some alignment among a variety of Conformer Followers. This saw some shift in the power balance away from De Lorean and his Colluders Followers.

(1) Confronting Internally:

Brown was well-respected and could rely on different bases of power from *network power* through the dealers, the staff, and the bank. He also had *expert power* having both financial acumen and industry experience having built Mazda's North American operations. Despite all these factors, here too *confronting internally* with the Destructive Leader was not effective. When he challenged De Lorean by refusing to the sign the resolution to refinance the company, he was removed from the Board, and eventually after further confrontations, De Lorean asked for his resignation. It is worth noting that firing Brown seemed not to be an option for De Lorean. This can be explained in part by Brown's unique expertise and relationships with staff and investors *(i.e., he had expert and network power)*.

(2) 'Rubiconising':

Brown refusal to sign the resolution to transfer ownership of the entire company for $600,000 can be viewed as a *'rubiconising'* act. Here he challenged both the Destructive Leader and his Colluder Followers to retract the resolution, and despite coercion from them he refused to sign it. Brown was an Evangelical Christian, and it is known that having an ethical approach to the investors was important to him (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). In this way, his actions can be seen to fit with the *communal* system's *religious* structure which in this case conflicted with the *capitalist* structure *(see Table 3.2 on p.76 above)*. Here Brown's *morals* and *ethics* clashed with De Lorean subscribing to the rule of personal *profit-maximisation*.

When Morgan refused to let Nesseth steal the cars that Bank of America needed to repossess, his actions were also crossed some line within the company (*'rubiconising) '* and he like Brown was also forced out. Brown told Morgan that he would risk being on the wrong side of the law if he complied with stealing the cars. In this way, the *state's laws (i.e., rules)* were used to drive *agency* for *power against* the Destructive Leadership.

(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

By using the wording in the resolution and supplying current monthly overheads to select Board members that showed that the $600,000 bail-out plan would not work and risk the collateral in the company, Brown was *marshalling credible evidence*.

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

While refusing to sign the resolution, Brown harnessed the Board members that he had *built and maintained coalitions* with, that allowed him to be strategic in his selection of which Board member

to inform about the resolution like Bushkin, who then reprimanded the Destructive Leadership. He also had *built and maintained coalitions* with the hundreds of dealers that would sell the De Lorean cars. This gave him *network power* and allowed him to have power bases to stand up to De Lorean. Further, it is argued that De Lorean did not dismiss Brown because of his unique knowledge and networks with the dealers. Brown was indispensable with regard to calming the dealers who had invested in the De Lorean car (Levin 1983). These elements gave Brown *expert power*, his position gave him *legitimate power*, and the strength of his network meant he had *network power*. Thus, these factors also meant he could *reduce or increase uncertainty*, which is a mechanism of power.

Brown was reported to have created a built a strong team around him (Levin 1983). This can be seen in Morgan reaching out to Brown to ask him for advice and defy De Lorean's orders to steal cars and forced Nesseth to use armed men. This *discursive action* action saw some shift in the power balance. The incident had significant consequences for De Lorean because immediately following this, the court approved Bank of America's suit to stop sales of all De Lorean cars in the United States. In doing so, the court referenced the 'armed men' incident with Morgan, which can be viewed as a significant blow in disarticulating Toxic Triangle of this case.

(5) Perspectivising:

By informing Board members, Brown *perspectivised* by convincing them that this would effectively transfer ownership of a multi-million-dollar car company to De Lorean's other venture for a mere $600,000 (ibid.). After which accounts state that Bushkin then forcefully challenged Kimmerly (ibid.). In doing so, Brown also used the power mechanism of *articulating an alternative discourse* by making factual statements about the consequences of the resolution.

Further, Brown also effectively gained *agency* by *perspectivising using structural* diversity. For instance, Brown appealed to Cafiero's (Company President) fiduciary responsibilities. This was also a form of *legitimate coercion* that could be backed up by using *power through* the *judicial* institutions that could impact those Board members. Brown questioned decisions and made critical statements to persuade *(i.e. perspectivising)* other actors to questions the Destructive Leadership. Here the power balance was shifted by articulating an alternative way of thinking. When articulating alternatives, norms can be challenged through collective action, reframing and the exercising of one's agency (Fleming & Spicer 2014). Thus, it could be said that this is part of what is required of Courageous Followers in standing up to Destructive Leadership.

(6) Boundary Spanning:

After De Lorean removed Brown from the Board, the power balanced *spanned boundaries*. The reconstitution of the Board attracted the attention of the British Government's Northern Ireland Development Association (NIDA). NIDA were reported to be furious at the reconstitution of the board and increased the scrutiny on De Lorean (Levin 1983). Brown also engaged in *boundary spanning* when he criticised De Lorean and the company structure in the Coopers and Lybrand report, which the British Government referenced when they put the company into receivership.

Brown also *boundary spanned* using *structural internal ambiguity* of conflicting rules. *Internal ambiguity and structural diversity* are important, as it allows followers to exercise their agency through the exploitation of tensions between divergent structures and their rules (Whittington 1992). Brown harnessed *internal ambiguity* by exploiting the tension between the norms of listening to the recommendation signed by the Destructive Leader and his lawyer Kimmerly, versus their fiduciary responsibilities as being members of the Board.

(7) Intensifying:

In the face of many obstacles, Brown persisted *(i.e., intensified)* even when Kimmerly told him he had lodged the resolution by calling other members of the Board. He *intensified* by *perspectivising* and *building and maintaining coalitions* with other stakeholders and successfully prevented that resolution's destructive outcome.

Brown was an Evangelical Christian and turned the business' goal into a religious mission (Levin 1983). Brown, guided by *religious* structures, inspired others through the *economic* and *state* systems to adhere to the rules of *ethics and laws while profit-making*. Despite challenges with the Destructive Leadership, Brown *intensified* his activities to further the mission of the company as opposed to following the Destructive Leader. This was at great personal cost to himself (his life was threatened, and he lost his job. For instance, despite being removed from the Board, he secured additional funding from the Bank of America. This loyalty to the mission is a key behaviour and discipline of Courageous Followers (Chaleff 2009). Courage, risk-taking, integrity, a sense of duty and service are also key elements of followers that resist Destructive Leaders (Lipman-Blumen 2005a).

7.3.4 Episode 4: Exposing De Lorean in the Media

Introduction

This final episode covering the period 1980 to 1982, will chronicle De Lorean's eventual demise. This was in large part due to the actions of an unexpected source—his personal secretary, Marian Gibson. Gibson, in her forties, was from England and had worked with De Lorean since 1979 (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). Gibson oversaw De Lorean's daily regimen, typing up his confidential memos and even managing his personal checking account (Levin 1983).

Kimmerly (De Lorean's Colluder) and Gibson shared a maid and because of a misinterpretation on a domestic issue, he took a dislike to her (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). In response to this, Gibson found herself demoted to be the secretary to Bill Haddad, a vice-president in the company (Daly 1982; Levin 1983). Both were treated with hostility by Kimmerly and his staff. Haddad already had his reservations about De Lorean, and accounts state that prior to that incident Gibson also had concerns over De Lorean's behaviour regarding his financial arrangements with the British Government (Daly 1982; Knewstub 1981). Her friends recounted that these circumstances contributed to her taking decisive actions, ones that would go on to have a profound impact on the career of De Lorean (Daly 1982; Knewstub 1981).

7.3.4.1 Attempted Discursive Acts of Resistance

The next subsections outline key events and discursive actions that Gibson and other Courageous Followers like Bill Haddad and British MP Nicholas Winterton took which contributed to De Lorean's downfall.

7.3.4.1.1 Writing a Forceful Memo

Haddad had been disillusioned by De Lorean's attempts to bully the British government (Levin 1983). On the 26th of December 1980, he sent a memo to De Lorean outlining several of serious concerns he had. He referred to the views of the former Chief Financial Officer, Walter Strycker, who, before he resigned, asserted that Mr. De Lorean was "milking the company for his private profit" (Lindsey 1982, p.4). Haddad also directly criticised De Lorean himself for his use of secret Swiss accounts, writing: "I am worried about what a Parliamentary inquiry will uncover about our expenditures on both sides of the ocean" (Levin 1983, p.155; Lindsey 1982, p.4).

Haddad went as far as suggesting that if De Lorean's behaviour became public knowledge, the company would invite an attack by the Irish Republican Army (Lindsey 1982). Haddad wrote: "They won't go for the factory, they will go for you. In Belfast or, just as easily, and more dramatically, here in New York" (ibid. p.4). De Lorean did not take at all well to this such

commentary; and like many before him, Haddad was promptly removed to the outer circle of the company (Levin 1983).

7.3.4.1.2 Explaining the Impact of the Stock Offering

As a result of events, a growing alliance began to form between Gibson and Haddad. In 1981, Gibson went to work for Haddad, who often discussed De Lorean's heavy-handed tactics with Gibson (Levin 1983). Shortly after, Haddad was also impacted when Kimmerly registered a stock offering with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) (ibid.). Beyond raising money, the stock offering, if successful would also have restructured the company giving executives like Haddad nonexchangeable options in a shell company, De Lorean a windfall of $120 million and the British Government would get just $8.4 million. By 1981, the British Government had invested nearly US$150 million (BBC 2004; *DeLorean denies allegations of financial irregularities at sports car plant* 1981).

Accounts suggest that Haddad's explanation of the Stock Offering to Gibson fired up the one-time secretary to De Loran. Not only did this amount to a sidelining of her, but also in her eyes would mean a defrauding of her country of birth (Levin 1983). Gibson explained in interview subsequently that she was still deeply connected to Britain despite living in the US (ibid.). From that point, she told Levin (1983) that she told herself that if any good was to come out of her job at De Lorean, it would be to stop that stock issue.

7.3.4.1.3 Giving Documents to a British MP

To commence her resistance, Gibson reportedly planned a trip back to Britain (Daly 1982). Prior to that, she assembled a collection of memos and documents as a brief for the prosecution, including evidence from other employees (Levin 1983). Using her network, she connected with British MP Nicholas Winterton (ibid.). Accounts state, that while Winterton was overwhelmed by what he heard, he was concerned about the welfare of the Irish workers employed in the company as well as the country's investment (ibid.).

Gibson then left Winterton with copies of all the incriminating documents that she had collected from De Lorean headquarters (Sherman 2000). After this, Winterton put in an urgent message to the British Prime Minister at the time, Margaret Thatcher. Thatcher, however, was away from the country at this critical moment, and the matter did not progress (Levin 1983). Gibson was not aware of this and returned to New York expecting news of an inquest by the British authorities

into De Lorean's affairs see any (ibid.). Instead, on returning to work, she was asked to type up a prospectus for the aforementioned stock offering (ibid.).

7.3.4.1.4 Contacting the Media

When Gibson spoke with Winterton subsequently, he informed her that nothing would happen until Thatcher's return (Levin 1983). There was a need for an alternative strategy. Thus she persevered in trying to stop the stock float by calling the press (Daly 1982). With limited response from the main new outlets. Eventually, she enlisted the interest of a freelance journalist John Lisners. He agreed to work with and spent three days in her New York apartment running through all the documentation (Levin 1983).

Gibson also informed Winterton that the story would break. He then persisted by getting in touch with PM Thatcher, who ordered the Attorney General to investigate (ibid.). Lisners after many attempts got a deal to run the story in one of Rupert Murdoch's *(media tycoon)* newspapers—*News of the World*. Reports state that Murdoch, who also happened to be a Manhattan neighbour of De Lorean, vetoed the article and warned De Lorean of the story (Levin 1983; *The scoop that was put into reverse* 1981).

Gibson and Lisners persevered and turned to another outlet, Daily Mirror paper. The article covered Winterton's reports of an inquest. It also included excerpts from the 26th of December 1980 memo from Bill Haddad to De Lorean such as the following incriminating statement: "I continue to be concerned about our efforts to set up a scenario under which the British relinquish their share of equity in the program" (Levin 1983, p.155).

7.3.4.1.5 Standing by the Media Reports

The article caused a storm, now eliciting much interest from other media. When other papers called Winterton about the article in the *Daily Mirror*, he validated it (Low 1981). This increased the level of scrutiny on De Lorean. The dam wall had now broken. What followed was a flurry of negative headlines, also with investigations by Scotland Yard and other government organisations (*Britain Probes Allegations On De Lorean Plant Financing* 1981; Levin 1983).

De Lorean tried to fight back and claimed that the documentation Gibson had provided was forged (Levin 1983). Allegedly, De Lorean told Haddad that if he denied he wrote the memo to Scotland Yard, he would settle their differences (ibid.). However, when interviewed by Scotland Yard, Haddad stood by the memo and validated its authenticity. This was a significant blow to De

Lorean's position. In desperation, he responded by suing Gibson, Haddad and Winterton (*Mr John De Lorean has issued seven libel writs over the allegations of irregularities in his Ulster car company* 1981). This memo became the centre of the Scotland Yard investigation (Knewstub 1981).

7.3.4.2 Outcomes and Analysis of Discursive Actions

Gibson and Haddad achieved their objective to prevent De Lorean and his Colluder Followers from continuing their fraudulent profiteering including gaining a windfall of nearly $120 million by floating a shell company while continuing to defraud the British Government and other several other stakeholders (BBC 2004; Plommer 1984).

After Gibson leaked the documents, Winterton persisted in his *discursive actions* (Deans 1990). However, the British Government attempted to cover up the investment irregularities for nearly a year (*DeLorean Is Cleared* 1981). Only after De Lorean was arrested by the FBI on unrelated charges, did the British reopen investigations (*DeLorean Arrest Jars Britons* 1982; Griffiths 1982b). Finally, a 1984 report concluded that it was "one of the gravest cases of misuse of public resources for many years" (Plommer 1984, p.1). De Lorean's business ventures cost the suppliers, investors, and the British government more than $250,000 million (Levin 1983). It was widely reported that if De Lorean ever returned to Britain, he would be arrested (BBC 2004; Plommer 1984). Thus, through the multitude of discursive actions pursued by a range of stakeholders over many years the Toxic Triangle that lay at the heart of this business was collapsed.

(1) Confronting Internally:

When Haddad wrote a forceful memo directly to De Lorean, he was *confronting internally*. In this episode and previous ones, this action was not of itself successful as De Lorean responded by relegating Haddad to his outer circle and Kimmerly and his staff mistreated Haddad. As noted, in the unfolding narrative this memo was later to be significant but in a different context of activity; that is when it was taken out of the immediate domain of the company and into the public and legal realm.

(2) 'Rubiconising':

As soon as Gibson decided secretly to copy and provide the documents to the British MP Winterton and the British media, this was an instance of a *'rubiconising'* act. Here she relied on the *political* system's *state* structure by drawing on principles of *patriotism* to get alignment from Winterton and the media. Thus, she used *power through* the institutions of the *media* and the *legislature*

with *legitimate* power against the Destructive Leadership.

(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence:

The *discursive actions* of Gibson secretly assembling a collection of memos and documents to provide to Winterton and the media was also *marshalling credible evidence.* The findings showed that she also obtained statements from disgruntled staff, which she passed on to Winterton and the media. In part she could do this because of her network position, being De Lorean's long-time personal assistant and office manager.

Network positioning can provide an individual with power and enable the accomplishment of certain goals (Anderson & Brion 2014; Brass et al. 2004). Gibson was a central cog in the company headquarters and used that *network position of power* to speak to several staff members to *marshall credible evidence.* This evidence gave her *information (i.e., a resource to gain power)* and allowed her to recruit internally and externally to *increase the uncertainty* associated with the Destructive Leader and thus helped bring De Lorean down.

(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions:

Through the analysis of this episode, Gibson and Haddad *built and maintained coalitions,* including the recruitment of certain key players - a politician *(Winterton)* and a journalist *(Lisners).* After Gibson initiated that *chain of action*, Winterton took it forward by providing them to PM Thatcher. Lisners worked through the evidence and supplied it to various media outlets. The media that printed it subscribed to the *intellectual* system by using the *professional codes* of journalism, while the government tried to manipulate the resource of *public sentiment* by suppressing the investigation, behaving like a Susceptible Follower. Thus, *building and maintaining coalitions* seemed critical to the resistance.

(5) Perspectivising:

Haddad *perspectivised* by telling Gibson that De Lorean was swindling the British Government. This *perspectivising* was a key element that inspired Gibson through the rule of *patriotism* towards Britain. She used also *structural diversity (i,.e. state vs. capitalist)* to *perspectivise* and enlist British MP Winterton. Haddad also *perspectivised* in his memo to De Lorean where he even asserted that the IRA would assassinate him in New York, if they found out he was siphoning funds away from the Irish for his own personal use.

This aligns with a mechanism of power called the *mobilisation of bias,* where agendas are furthered

through rules of structures. Alternative structures' *rules* and *resources (see Table 3.2 on p.76 above)* can be systematically harnessed into decision-making that govern an individual's agency (Clegg 1989; Giddens 1984; Fleming & Spicer 2007). In this episode, rule in this case was *patriotism,* the resource was *credible evidence* from the *intellectual and state* structures as *power against* the *capitalistic* structure of the De Lorean Motor Company.

(6) Boundary Spanning:

In the act of providing the documents to Winterton, Gibson was *boundary spanning.* Going to the media as well was a *discursive act* of *boundary spanning.* This cross-boundary alignment between Gibson, Lisners, Haddad and Winterton had a significant impact and finally shifted the media and other organisation's views about De Lorean's business dealings. This resulted in reactions from Conformers groups—*other media, politicians and government organisations* (*DeLorean denies allegations of financial irregularities at sports car plant* 1981; Griffiths 1982c; Knewstub 1981; Levin 1983; Sherman 2000).

As with many successes in this regard, there were limitations ultimately in the impact of these actions. Despite this *boundary spanning,* and De Lorean's court record and fraudulent activities, in October 1981, the British Government cleared De Lorean of any wrongdoing (*British inquiry clears DeLorean* 1981; *DeLorean Is Cleared* 1981).

Gibson alleged that she suspected a British Government cover-up, because the police who interviewed her did not seem interested in what she had to say (Levin 1983). However, the outcomes of these *boundary spanning* activities did manage to attract the attention of the SEC and the FBI, who continued to pursue De Lorean on the other side of the Atlantic. After the FBI arrested De Lorean, the British Government had no choice but to take action (*DeLorean Arrest Jars Britons* 1982; Griffiths 1982b).

(7) Intensifying:

Initially, Haddad wrote an internal memo which got him sidelined by De Lorean. He then *intensified* through other channels and convinced *(i.e., perspectivising)* Gibson of De Lorean's actions to further defraud the British. After Gibson gave the documents to the media and excerpts of his memo was printed he *intensified* despite threats and a lawsuit from De Lorean and stood by what he wrote (*Mr John De Lorean has issued seven libel writs over the allegations of irregularities in his Ulster car company* 1981).

Gibson, when she did not get a favourable response from Winterton, she *intensified,* and contacted

several people in the media until she found Lisners. Lisners too *intensified* after Murdoch pulled the publication of the article and found another British newspaper that was willing to publish the story. Had any of those Courageous Followers not *intensified* by initiating alternative chains of action despite it is possible that they would have not shifted the power balance.

Collectively, Gibson, Winterton, Haddad and Lisners harnessed *communal and political* system's rules of *egalitarianism* and *ethics* through *state's* structures by activating institutions like the *media, law enforcement, the British Parliament.* This indicated that when Courageous and Conformer Followers align using key societal rules with each other, over time they can increase their power against the Destructive Leadership and reduce toxic outcomes.

7.4 Conclusion

This case study clearly showed the importance of a range of the discursive actions identified in the project. In particular it seems that without some *intensifying* of *boundary spanning* to *build and maintain coalitions,* the resistance against the Destructive Leadership usually failed. *Marshalling credible evidence* and *perspectivising* while *boundary spanning* to *build and maintain coalitions* also shifted the power balance against Destructive Leaders. These initial shifts in power did not appear to be large. However, over time small shifts disarticulated the existing order of power and created new ones (see Fairclough, Mulderrig & Wodak 2011). Such disarticulation can be observed through actions, reactions, and outcomes at the bottom of the *funnel of commitment* seen in long *chains of actions* (Scollon 2001). Table 7.1 below summarises these *discursive actions.*

As we have seen, throughout the project, the successful challenging of Destructive Leadership in particular contexts appear to depend on some *discursive acts* to a greater degree than others and the order in which they are enacted. *Rubiconising'* and *confronting internally* by individuals was not successful unless it was done after *building coalitions* and *boundary spanning.* In the present case, the key ultimately to breaking the Toxic Triangle of De Lorean's business appears to have been some *boundary spanning* beyond the domain of the Destructive Leaders backed up with *intensifying 'marshalling of credible evidence'* to *build and maintain coalitions.*

Table 7.1: Discursive Actions to Resist Against A Destructive Business Leader

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System *(i.e., Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual)*
(1) Confronting Internally: is directly to confront the Destructive Leadership within the latter's dominion of control *(e.g., country, state, organisation, group)*	• Expert power • Giving upward feedback • Articulating an alternative discourse	• Meetings • Information • Formal Conversations • Informal Conversations • Memos • Publications	• Dahlinger confronted the chairman of the bank and Nesseth when they tried to sell the business from under him, but he was not able to prevent the transaction from going ahead • Brown despite the fact that he was well respected and had different bases of power when he confronted De Lorean directly, he did not fare well and eventually De Lorean asked for his resignation	Ineffective	Destructive Leaders and their Colluders are driven by self-interest, the only way that this would be effective if the Courageous Follower were to tap into a self-interest. However, in De Lorean's case, *personal profit* was the *economic* system's rule that trumped most of his actions
(2) 'Rubiconising': is acting decisively on a plan or values to cross a point of no return.	• Rule manipulation • Increasing uncertainty • Resource control • Network positioning • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• Meetings • Phone calls • Gathering • Speeches • Extreme plans • Radical actions • Enforce deadlines	• Brown's refusal to sign the resolution to restructure and give away collateral from the company for a $600,000 loan from one of De Lorean's shell companies. This was a *'rubiconising'* act, considering that De Lorean and other members of the Board had signed it. • This action alerted other stakeholders that significantly weakened De Lorean's position with the board and NIDA	Partially Effective	Brown was an Evangelical Christian and often drew on the *religious* system by adhering to the rules of *morals* and *egalitarianism*.

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System *(i.e., Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual)*
(3) Marshalling Credible Evidence: is the collation and presentation of credible evidence with a view to influence other actors	• Expert power • Legitimate power • Information control • Increasing Uncertainty	• Interviews • Meetings • Classified documentation • Financial statements • Secret reports • Statements • Plans	• Gibson marshalled credible evidence effectively recruit Winterton and journalists through the media by compiling documents and statements that would work against De Lorean • Dahlinger despite evidence did not achieve the outcome he desired until he boundary spanned his coalition to include General Motors (GM)	Partially Effective	Credible evidence draws on *intellectual* systems which value *expertise* and *legitimacy* as a basic resource and *professional codes* are often rules of professional bodies *(e.g. boards, media, investors, owners)*
(4) Building and Maintaining Coalitions: is to grow support by influencing and recruiting other actors to align with one's agenda and then to maintain continually the coalition	• Expert power • Formal or legitimate position • Network positioning • Information control • Increasing Uncertainty • Articulating ideologies • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• Phone calls • Meetings • Coded messages • Public Gatherings • Posters • Advertising • *Symbolism*	• Gibson, was a central cog in the company headquarters, so she could speak to several staff members including VP Haddad and used her network to recruit internally. She formed a coalition externally with British MP Winterton and journalist Lisners which was necessary in exposing De Lorean • Dahlinger despite collecting credible evidence was not positioned well in a network and did not have any network power bases so could not convince the chairman of the bank to align with him, however, when he spoke the GM directly because of his past record had expert power that changed the outcome	Effective	Gibson heavily relied on the *political* structures when *building and maintaining coalitions* often tapping into the rule of *patriotism* which is contained within the *state's* system supported by institutions like the *media, parliament, and government agencies*

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System *(i.e., Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual)*
(5) Perspectivising: is framing an alternative argument, this was used to raise awareness to individuals or groups that can shift the power balance and is more likely to be effective at a macro-level outside of the dominion of the Destructive Leadership	• Increasing uncertainty • Network positioning • Over identification • Articulating an alternative discourse • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• Press articles • Meetings • Interviews • Broadcasted messages • Factual statements • Emotive statements • Advertising • Speeches • *Symbolism*	• Haddad perspectivised when convinced Gibson that De Lorean's stock offering would defraud the British, which in turn contributed to her decision to 'rubiconise' and blow the whistle on De Lorean • Jack De Lorean in the heat of the moment tried to perspectivise to the investor that his brother was siphoning money, but it did not work as he did not have enough power bases or boundary span	Partially Effective	Haddad and Gibson used the *state* system's rules of *patriotism* and its institutions *(e.g., the media and the government)* to counter the *economic* system's *capitalistic* structures using the resources of *public sentiment*
(6) Boundary Spanning: is the act of going from the micro to the macro-social level and vice versa. Boundary spanning is also includes expanding to a level equal or greater than the Destructive Leader's dominion of control (e.g., country, state, organisation, group)	• Increasing uncertainty • Network positioning • Over identification • Articulating an alternative discourse • Power through organisations • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• All of the above	• The media started printing articles on US entrepreneur De Lorean defrauding the British were discursive acts of *boundary spanning* which magnified the impact of other discursive actions like marshalling credible evidence, *perspectivising* and *building and maintaining coalitions* • *Boundary spanning* also occurred when the structures of the judiciary upheld Bank of America's getting the De Lorean cars as collateral for the unpaid multi-million dollar debt	Effective	*Boundary spanning* crosses several structural systems and their institutions. For instance, here *Political* system's subscribing to the rules *egalitarianism, state laws and patriotism* using the institutions of the *media* and the *courts* exerted *power against* the Destructive Leadership.

Discursive Categories *(Interactions)*	Mechanism of Power & Influence *(Modalities)*	Discursive Action Form	Key examples or the action/event	Interpretation: Outcome of the Discursive Action	Structure System *(i.e., Communal, Economic, Domestic Political, Intellectual)*
(7) Intensifying: is making multiple persistent attempts and using varying avenues to influence the status quo even when faced with repeated setbacks	• Expert power • Network position • Over identification • Articulating an alternative discourse • Increasing uncertainty • *Power through* or *power against* organisations	• All of the above	• *Intensifying* can be seen in Gibson's behaviour where she tried many avenues like both the British MP, the media and kept persisting with those avenues despite setbacks. • Brown also informed different investors, lawyers and the CEO when De Lorean was looking to give away the company for $600,000 • Dahlinger repeatedly attempt to convince the chairman at the bank but when he quit, he tried GM as an avenue and that worked in changing the power balance against De Lorean	Effective	In this the power balance often shifted by *intensifying* of the all the above structures and discursive actions

Chapter 8 – Discussion, Implications, and Conclusions

8.1 Overview

The cost of Destructive Leadership is significant, real, and it has wide-reaching implications (Schyns & Schilling 2013; Tepper 2000). This study investigated how followers stood up to Destructive Leadership. Mostly, leadership studies have provided inadequate knowledge about the processes that aid in the ascension of Destructive Leaders; and generated scant knowledge on Followers' agency in resisting Destructive Leadership (Johnson et al. 2017; Thoroughgood et al. 2016; Winn & Dykes 2019). This study thus has taken a constructivists approach to leadership by augmenting the Toxic Triangle framework of Destructive Leadership (Padilla 2013). Using Structuration theory's postulation of structures simultaneously constraining and enabling agency (Giddens 1984), with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), this study provided a detailed analysis of the *discursive actions* taken and structures used by Courageous Followers as they attempted to resist Destructive Leadership.

The final chapter discusses the insights generated to answer the primary research question: *How do Followers stand up to Destructive Leadership?* And the two secondary research questions (1) *How, if at all, do Courageous Followers influence Conformer Followers?* (2) *How, if at all, do Courageous and Conformer Followers change the power balance and collapse the Toxic Triangle?* Drawing on the diverse three case studies *(i.e., Mass Movements, Politics and Business)* containing 12 longitudinal episodes and a total of 70 events, this chapter outlines emergent theoretical and descriptive models that capture the processes by which Courageous Followers can effectively stand up to Destructive Leadership. This chapter also discusses the contributions and implications for research and practice and the limitations of this study; and offers suggestions for future research.

8.2 Discussion

Constructing theories using qualitative research conceptually links a substantive topic with multiple bodies of theory (Timmermans & Tavory 2012, p.181). This project has done that through the vast bodies of theory that have been explored in the literature review sections and by analysing diverse cases. Theory building from multiple theoretically sampled cases with longitudinal elements produces robust, generalisable, and testable theory (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). Chapters 5, 6

and 7, detail the findings and analysis of the three contrasting theoretically sampled cases that included: (1) Mass Movements *(building a grassroots movement on a national scale to resist an imperial regime in South Africa and India);* (2) Politics *(harnessing the State's structures against the actions of the US President's administration at home and abroad);* (3) Business *(working with stakeholders to resist the leadership in a Transatlantic organisation).*

These cases had different cultural contexts and building on the Toxic Triangle, the unit of analysis spanned across micro and macro levels. Each case covered extended periods (approximately 15-20 years) and comprised multiple episodes. The unit of analysis used in these cases, the *discursive events* contained *discursive actions,* which provided a valuable lens to investigate the nature of attempted follower resistance (Mendonça et al. 2019). This juxtaposition of cases with conflicting realities enabled the project to generate robust theoretical generalisations, develop testable constructs, and claim empirical validity as the theory-building process was intimately connected to the empirical evidence (see Eisenhardt 1989).

The diversity of the cases and episodes led to both convergences and divergences in the findings with respect to these *discursive actions* as discussed below. The research questions in this thesis, were answered using CDA by interpreting the meanings of retrospective 'chains of discursive actions' inside 'funnels of commitment' (FOC) (Scollon 2001). Recall the explanation in Section 4.8.2.1 that shows retrospective 'chains of discursive actions' are a chronological sequence of actions, while FOCs explain the relative reversibility of actions, thus showing commitment to a course of action (ibid.).

The top of the FOC examined the primary research question, which pertained to the discursive actions of resistance by Courageous Followers, who attempted resistance resulting in 'chains of actions'—*see Figure 4.8 on p.106 above.* When answering the primary research question*,* the findings showed that Courageous Followers usually initiated chains of actions of resistance through seven major types of discursive actions: (1) Confronting internally; (2) 'Rubiconising'; (3) Marshalling credible evidence; (4) Building and maintaining coalitions; (5) Perspectivising; (6) Boundary spanning; and (7) Intensifying—*defined in Section 5.3.1.2 on p.125 above.*

The first secondary research question examined the attempted resistance in the middle of the FOCs. Thus, addressing the relative effectiveness of the aforementioned Courageous Followers' discursive actions in eliciting reactions from Conformer Followers. Recollect that Conformer Followers are those who passively or unwittingly contribute to Destructive Leadership (Padilla 2013). The last secondary research question examined the attempted resistance at the bottom of

the FOCs. Here the Destructive Leadership reactions refer to how they responded to the resistance from aligned Courageous and Conformer Followers. Recall that the Destructive Leadership's reactions and outcomes were used retrospectively to determine the relative success or failure of the FOCs containing *discursive chains of actions* against the Destructive Leadership. The next subsections will discuss the efficacy of the various FOCs initiated by the aforementioned Courageous Followers' *discursive actions* as they emerged from the cases.

8.2.1 Confronting Internally

Confronting Internally repeatedly manifested itself in Courageous Followers' *discursive actions* of resistance in the findings. When faced with Destructive Leadership, confronting can be an obvious follower tactic (Lipman-Blumen 2005a). However, the findings showed that *confronting internally* seemed ineffective against the Destructive Leadership irrespective of the *strength* or *immediacy* of the follower. Recall that *strength, immediacy* and *the number of other people* are the three determinants of influence in *Social Impact Theory (SIT)* (Latané 1981; Latané & L'Herrou 1996, p.1219). This ineffectiveness could be because Destructive Leaders can behave in aggressive and retaliatory ways towards followers that confront them (May et al. 2015). In fact, in cases of extreme toxicity, just the act of merely questioning the Destructive Leadership was enough to elicit an aggressive response. Thus, Courageous Followers can gain some benefit by not *confronting internally* through silent response (Stouten et al. 2018) and only judiciously confront Destructive Leaders when they have the power bases to do so.

When followers *confronted internally*, they directly and isolatedly tended to target the Destructive Leadership. Ergo they generally omitted gaining support from other Courageous or Conformer Followers, thus not moving the *chain of action* down the FOC. While greater the *strength* (Jackson & Latané 1981) and *immediacy* (Mullen 1985) the more influence on the target (*i.e., in this case the leader*); the *number of people* acting has the largest actual influence (ibid.). However, the findings partially contradicted SIT's *number of people* determinant at the bottom of the FOC. For instance, in the *mass movements* episodes, despite many followers *(i.e., building and maintaining coalitions)* acting, if they did not expand their movement beyond the Destructive Leadership's dominion, they struggled or had to work a lot harder to shift the power balance in their favour. The followers had more success confronting Destructive Leadership when they magnified their discursive actions by *boundary spanning (e.g., whistleblowing going from the micro to the macro levels)*. The relative level of the followers' discursive actions, vis-à-vis the Destructive Leadership, is important. Thus, to be effective against Destructive Leadership, followers need to not *confront internally,* but confront macroscopically

beyond the dominion of the Destructive Leader.

8.2.2 'Rubiconising'

This thesis conceptualises the term *'rubiconising'* as the discursive act of decisively crossing a point of no return. This decisive act entails courage, risk and self-sacrifice. Self-sacrifice is a key act of whistleblowers who are regarded as responsible followers (Alford 2008). For example, followers during the Holocaust who were rescuers *(i.e., Courageous Followers)*, showed courage and differed from bystanders *(i.e., Conformer Followers),* by assisting despite high risk *(i.e., self-sacrifice),* while the bystanders did nothing (Shepela et al. 1999).

In mass movements, to be successful Courageous Followers sacrificed themselves through distinct types of courage to overcome moral or ethics dilemmas; or endure psychological or physical harm *(e.g., Gandhi being ridiculed, imprisoned or physically assaulted).* While physical courage was largely not required in resisting in the Business case and only partially required the in the Politics case (within a stable democracy); other forms of courage were required like: courage to withstand the loss of social standing or livelihood or imprisonment. These different types of courageous acts have been classified as *social courage; moral courage, psychological courage, or physical courage* (Lester et al. 2010). These types of courage when *intensified* over time often pushed the resistance further along FOCs in different contexts. Thus, depending on the context, *'rubiconising'* courageous acts, while qualitatively different from each other, play an important role in attempted resistance against Destructive Leadership.

Conformer Followers are important in progressing the resistance through the FOCs. Without Conformer Followers, even Gandhi wrote that the first time he went to prison, he feared no one else would join him. Thus, Gandhi too could be described as being worried about his 'rubiconising' not gaining traction. He seemed to intuitively appreciate that if *'rubiconising'* did not galvanise Conformer Followers, it would not be effective. Once Conformer Followers started to *'rubiconise'* along with the Courageous Followers, it showed that the resistance in those *chains of action* travelled to the middle portion of the FOCs and often weakened the Destructive Leadership. Therefore, *'rubiconising'* was most effective when it was done with the support of Conformer Followers and this brought into focus the importance of *building and maintaining coalitions,* which is discussed later.

Most power theories are also leader-centric, this one directional application largely leaves followers' power unmapped (Howell & Shamir 2005). Other literature contends that followers' power lies in their ability to 'grant' power to a leader by choosing to follow (Kilburn 2010). However, when

looking at the bottom portion of FOCs, the Destructive Leadership's power is weakened through repeated *(i.e., intensifying)* *'rubiconising'*. The findings showed that *'rubiconising'* is successful because this discursive act *increases uncertainty* and thus upsets the status quo. Conversely, *uncertainty reduction* is said to be a mechanism to increase power (Fleming & Spicer 2014). Therefore, by *'rubiconising'* Courageous Followers' are able to *increase uncertainty*. It is argued that this uncertainty gives followers *coercive power,* because only they can reduce that uncertainty after their demands are met by the Destructive Leadership, thus weakening the Toxic Triangle.

8.2.3 Marshalling Credible Evidence

The findings showed that Courageous Followers were *marshalling credible evidence* across all twelve episodes. Even outside of destructive cases, followers have been known to influence leaders by using supporting data (Kipnis et al. 1984). Followers perceive data to be more effective because they are often 'in the trenches' and therefore may have better access to the resource of information than the leaders (Yukl & Tracey 1992). Credible evidence tends to increase the actors' courage of conviction and encourages *'rubiconising'* actions, as was seen within the whistleblowers' episodes. Low-strength followers need to *marshal credible evidence* to *perspectivise* and *build coalitions* for shifting the power balance against Destructive Leadership. This can be explained as evidence *(i.e., information)* is considered to be a resource that gives people power (Anderson & Brion 2014; Van der Toorn et al. 2015).

Marshalling credible evidence was especially important when it came to moving resistance through the FOC. When looking at the middle of the FOC, marshalling credible evidence is effective in appealing to and convincing *(i.e., perspectivising)* Conformer Followers. After repeated attempts *(i.e., intensifying)* by Courageous Followers with different types of credible evidence, Conformer Followers can change their beliefs. Different types of credible evidence can be more effective than uncorroborated evidence (Walsh et al. 2010). The power balance can decisively shift when new evidence corroborates existing evidence, as was the case with the Nixon tapes in the Watergate episode. Thus, at the bottom of the FOC, using different types of evidence is critical to shift the power balance against Destructive Leadership.

Marshalling credible evidence against Destructive Leadership also proved more effective when Courageous Followers *intensified* and *spanned boundaries* to a level equivalent or greater than that of the Destructive Leadership. These repeated attempts often involved showing the same or different evidence to multiple actors to *build coalitions* or enlist higher status *(i.e., strength actors or institutions)*

actors. Showing the same evidence to different actors is critical as with structural diversity (Whittington 1992), because different evidence can resonate with different audiences. While *marshalling credible evidence* was ubiquitous across all the cases, on its own it was not universally successful in shifting the power balance. *Marshalling credible evidence* needs to be *intensified* and serves to assist with other discursive acts like *perspectivising, building and maintaining coalitions* and *boundary spanning*. This could be seen in all the cases. Therefore, by itself it is only *partially effective* against Destructive Leaders.

8.2.4 Perspectivising

Perspectivising as defined by this thesis encompasses *argumentation* (Reisigl 2017). *Perspectivising* also is also linked to power mechanisms like *articulation of an alternative discourse* to persuade others about one's position (Fleming & Spicer 2014). *Perspectivising* was a *discursive act* that Courageous Followers used across all the episodes primarily to influence Conformer Followers, but the act was largely ineffective when used internally against Destructive Leaders without *building coalitions*.

In each episode, there were significant divergences depending on the *context* in which the Courageous Followers operated in. In the case on mass movements, *perspectivising using symbolism* was employed far more by Courageous Followers to influence Conformer Followers than in the other cases. These findings align with the literature that describes massive movements as *symbolic struggles* with conflicting meanings (Mendonça et al. 2019). *Symbolising* in mass movement is instrumental in *building and maintaining coalitions* as it galvanises followers. The findings show that divergences on the effectiveness of *perspectivising* is because of the *strength* of an actor. Strength is constituted by age, historical relationship, power or status (Latané 1981). Both inter-case and intra-case findings showed strength as a determinant of influence and power. Low-strength actors struggle to *perspectivise* without *marshalling credible evidence*, however, as an actor's strength increases, it is argued that they can *perspective* and galvanise Conformer Followers more easily with minimal evidence. This change in an actor's strength vis-à-vis their ability to *perspectivise* without evidence was seen in both Gandhi and Graham over the course of time.

When looking at the middle of the FOC, a Courageous Follower with *strength* or *credible evidence* can *perspectivise* and persuade Conformer Follower of their argument when *building and maintaining coalitions*. Convincing Conformer Followers with *perspectivising* also involves *boundary spanning*. The act of *boundary spanning* is related to *perspective making* and *perspective taking*, which can cause reconstruction of identities and practice (Akkerman & Bakker 2011). In this way, *perspectivising* can

change ongoing human practices which eventually change structures (Giddens 1984; Jones & Karsten 2008). These changes significantly alter power balances over time. However, when situated within a Toxic Triangle, at the bottom of the FOC, even after successfully *perspectivising* and galvanising Conformer Followers, Destructive Leaders rarely relent with only *perspectivising*. Thus, *intensification* of *perspectivising* needs to occur with *boundary spanning* to continue to *build and maintain coalitions* so as to shift the power balance.

8.2.5 Building and Maintaining Coalitions

The findings show that *building and maintaining coalitions* is a necessary discursive act to resist Destructive Leadership and was used in all episodes where the power balance successfully shifted towards the followers. Followers try to influence leaders by forming coalitions (Kipnis et al. 1984). *Building and maintaining coalitions* can be based on *expert power* by an individual with *legitimate power* or *network power* (Ammeter et al. 2002; Anderson & Brion 2014; Brass et al. 2004). Most forms of power contributed to shifting the balance, while coalitions based on *expert power* in the business case tended to be relevant, *network power* was more relevant in the political and mass movement cases.

In the cases, by using *expert, legitimate* or *network power*, followers were intuitively acting in a manner that enhanced their chances of success. This success can be linked to the *strength* and *immediacy* determinants of SIT (Oc & Bashshur 2013). Dynamic SIT states that followers both individually (depending on their *strength*) and in groups can influence a leader (Latané 1996; Latané & L'Herrou 1996; Nowak, Szamrej & Latané 1990; Oc & Bashshur 2013). However, in the case of Destructive Leadership, while acting individually, Courageous Followers seem unable to influence the leadership, so forming groups is important. Thus, implying that *building and maintaining coalitions* is necessary to shift the power balance against Destructive Leadership.

Traditional social science views assert that leadership is usually a centralised network, but *social network analysis* shows that there are competing clandestine networks executing plans, who conflict with each other (Faulkner & Cheney 2013). These competing networks can consist of Susceptible Followers, thus, *building and maintaining coalitions* can allow Courageous Followers to exploit the former's internal tensions and is critical to shifting the power balance and growing the number of people resisting Destructive Leadership. Ergo, the *number of people* determinant of SIT (Latané 1981; Latané & L'Herrou 1996, p.1219) is therefore related to *building and maintaining coalitions*. The impact of the *number of people* on influence has been discussed in other research as well (Milgram, Bickman

& Berkowitz 1969; Mullen 1983; Tanford & Penrod 1984). When successful, *building and maintaining coalitions* pushes the resistance from the middle of the FOC towards the bottom of the FOC and gains the attention of Destructive Leadership.

Despite follower-coalitions demanding attention of the leaders (Courpasson & Clegg 2012), within a Toxic Triangle *(inside organisations or nations),* they are not always successful. At the bottom of the FOC the findings show that gaining the attention of the leaders, and the growing the *number of people* does not necessarily shift the power balance away from the Destructive Leadership towards the followers. The foremost reason is that the Destructive Leadership reacts strongly and uses their resources and power to counter resistance, as was seen in all the cases. Thus, while *building and maintaining coalitions* is necessary in shifting the power balance, it is not without severe consequences.

The findings show that *intensifying* the *building and maintaining coalitions* with *boundary spanning* to a level greater or equivalent in power than the Destructive Leader is more effective. However, *boundary spanning* to a greater level is not always possible, as is the case with mass movements and politics. In these instances, when followers are almost completely under the dominion of the Destructive Leadership, they can engage in *boundary spanning* by moving horizontally to *build and maintain coalitions. Boundary spanning* horizontally can include forming coalitions with people from different ethic, socio-economic or religious backgrounds all being oppressed by the same Destructive Leadership. Thus, depending on the structures available and the extent to which those structures are controlled by the Destructive Leadership, *building and maintaining of coalitions,* while necessary, needs to be accomplished through different avenues and can have varying levels of effectiveness.

8.2.6 Boundary Spanning

This thesis has shown the importance of *boundary spanning* of discursive actions to move across different structures or levels. As discussed*, boundary spanning* to a level greater or equivalent to the level of the Destructive Leader was of significance. In order words, Courageous Followers need to harness what Giddens (1984) describes as *resources, rules and organisations* that are equivalent, or at one degree larger in magnitude, than the Destructive Leader. The importance of relative magnitude is significant at the bottom of the FOC because it is usually a critical hurdle to overcome when shifting the power inequality against Destructive Leadership.

Addressing inequality requires different types of *boundary spanning* work (Pedersen et al. 2017).

Against Destructive Leadership of a business, *boundary spanning* is easier because Courageous Followers can harness several external structures of the state or community like the media, judiciary, or other oversight bodies. *Boundary spanning,* however, gets more difficult in the political environment. This is because the Destructive Leadership's dominion of control or influence usually encompasses a lot of those structures that provide checks and balances. However, a lot of political systems contain structures to permit checks and balances on the leadership. Without some of those checks and balances, *boundary spanning* must take a distinct character. For instance, in mass movements, followers do not have many structures or institutions of equivalent or greater power. Hence in these instances Courageous Followers' *boundary spanning* means moving horizontally using a diversity of structures *(discussed below)* or creating ones of their own.

Boundary spanning is also important in co-ordination, communication, confrontation and recognising shared problems (Akkerman & Bakker 2011). Using *boundary spanning* Courageous Followers can invoke a different dimension of Giddens' (1984) *Structuration* theory. Here, structural conflicts are important, as they explain that the ability to exercise one's agency is through the exploitation of tensions between divergent structures (Whittington 1992). These tensions can lead to two principal sources of *agency*: (1) ambiguity and plurality *(i.e., complexity of balancing rules and resources within a system)*; (2) structural diversity *(i.e., using one system against another)* (ibid.).

The first source of agency *(i.e., ambiguity and plurality)* usually works within a particular *activity system*— see Table 8.1 below. For instance, within the *economic system* there can be complex ambiguities and pluralities between how to balance *capital* and *profit-maximisation,* versus *labour* and *ethics*; as was observed in the business case study. However, the episodes showed that followers can gain agency within businesses through their knowledge of the *rules* governing firms. Using ambiguity in those *rules*, followers within the *capitalistic structures,* can successfully question decisions and continually make critical statements to give others a *perspective* to *confront* the Destructive Leadership. This also shows that while power is normally associated with leadership, it is neutral and flows between structures (Giddens 1984; Hardy & Clegg 2006). Similarly, ambiguity of rules in the political system can occur because of varying interpretations of laws or when norms like *patriotism* can take different guises. For instance, a person could regard oneself as being *patriotic* by being loyal to the Destructive Leader, while another can gain agency by being loyal to the rules enshrined in the Constitution. Thus ambiguity and plurality can be used either to *build and maintain coalitions* against the Destructive Leadership in the middle of the FOC, or to use structures *(e.g., organisations or rules)* to prosecute the Destructive Leadership at the bottom of the FOC.

Structural diversity, the second source of structural agency tends to work across structural systems

and in this instance was critical to *building and maintaining coalitions* across all three types of cases. Here, the diversity of rules within unique systems can be seen in Table 8.1 below. This project has augmented Whittington's (1992) table on 'social systems and the structural bases for action'– *see Table 3.2 on p.76 above*. This augmentation—*bolder font in Table 8.1 below*—was because Courageous Followers repeatedly *(i.e., intensifying)* used different and new resources, rules (or norms) and organisations (or facilities) that had not been explicitly captured in the extant *Structuration* literature. These alternative rules can be used within or across systems *(i.e., communal, economic, domestic, political, and intellectual)*. Thus, by harnessing the inter-system diversity, Courageous Followers can draw on this as a source of agency.

Table 8.1: Inter-Structural Systems for Boundary Spanning

Structural System	Communal	Economic	Domestic	Political	Intellectual
Dominant Structures	• Ethnic • Religious	• Capitalist	• Familial	• State	• Professional • Academic
Basic Resources	• Networks	• Capital Ownership • **Labour** • **Competitive Advantage**	• Patriarchal Authority	• Legitimate Coercion • **Public Sentiment**	• Expertise • Legitimacy • **Evidence**
Basic Rules/Norms	• Solidarity • **Peace** • **Egalitarianism** • **Morals**	• Profit-Maximisation • **Ethics**	• Paternalism • **Loyalty**	• Patriotism • **Egalitarianism** • **Constitution** • **Laws**	• Professional Codes
Organisations/Facilities	• Clubs • **Mosques** • **Temples** • Churches	• Firms • **Media**	• Households	• Executive • Legislative • Judicial • **Military**	• Professional Bodies • Universities

This form of *boundary spanning* is usually the only avenue of resistance available when the Destructive Leadership has expansive control over the macroenvironment. For instance, in mass movements, Courageous Followers can use the *communal system* by drawing on both *ethnic and religious structures* to *build and maintain coalitions* against the *state structures*. This can be achieved by amplifying the *communal system's rules of egalitarianism, solidarity, and morals* against the *state* structure. This can create a decisive shift the in the power balance and weaken Toxic Triangles. Further, the Courageous Followers united by *rules of inter-religious ethnic structures*, can also *intensify* their resistance by harnessing the *economic system* against the state or by creating their own alternative organisations or ideologies *(e.g., the Satyagraha Association)*. Recall that articulating new ideologies is a power

mechanism that can change the status quo (Van Bommel & Spicer 2011). Thus, follower-*agency* can change *structures* even under oppressive conditions and *boundary spanning* is necessary with the other *discursive actions* to weaken or collapse Toxic Triangles.

8.2.7 Intensifying

This thesis earlier defined *intensifying* as making multiple attempts and using varying avenues to influence the status quo, even when faced with repeated setbacks. Like *building and maintaining coalitions* and *boundary spanning, intensifying* is a discursive action necessary to shift the power balance successfully. The findings showed that Courageous Followers, who were successful, *intensified* by starting multiple *chains of action* against the Destructive Leadership. While "grit" which is made of persistent effort (Winn & Dykes 2019) can be related to *intensifying,* the latter is also a multiplier that could apply to all discursive actions. For instance, in the Politics case, *'rubiconising'*, by whistleblowing required *intensifying* by trying multiple avenues to engage with many actors who were afraid join the whistleblowers and to stand up to the powerful Destructive Leadership. Comparatively, whistleblowing is easier from within a business, as the relative dominion of the Destructive Leadership is smaller, despite that, some *intensifying* was still required even here.

Similarly, *intensifying* also can apply to *perspectivising.* For instance, in mass movements, Courageous Followers must relentlessly *intensify* their message and evidence to reach a wide coalition of people through speeches, publications, meeting and other forums. Therefore, through their *intensifying,* Courageous Followers can increase their discursive actions of *marshalling of credible evidence, 'rubiconising', building and maintaining coalitions, perspectivising* and *boundary spanning.* Courageous resistance has been described as conscious, voluntary selfless behaviour, which entails high risk or cost to the actor, their family, and associates which has to be sustained over time (Shepela et al. 1999, p.787). Sustaining behaviour over time implies *intensifying.* SIT research also suggests that to build *strength* actors must be persistent (i.e., a form of *intensification*) (Oc & Bashshur 2013). More generally, perseverance (i.e., another form of *intensification*) can be a predictor of long-term success over time (Andersson & Bergman 2011; Suzuki et al. 2015) under the current context.

Courageous behaviour seems to be a skill that grows stronger over time. This is analogous to the development of *moral competence* that can be developed over time (Gentile 2010). Through the cases it became evident that Courageous Followers need to *intensify* courageous behaviour to increase their relative power against the Destructive Leadership. Courageous Followers usually persist *(i.e., intensification)* based on their ethical or moral obligations. CDA describes *intensification* as modifying

the force of an actor's deontic *(i.e., moral or ethical obligations)* status (Reisigl 2017). Thus, *intensification* is qualitatively different from the other *discursive categories* and a necessary component when attempting to resist Destructive Leadership.

8.3 Contributions

Due to the disparateness of the destructive contexts of the cases, veridical generalisations about the effectiveness of *discursive actions* can be adduced. The adduced generalisations led to the creation of frameworks conceptualising the dimensions (*Figure 8.1 below*) and processes (*Figure 8.2 below*) that Courageous Followers can use against Destructive Leaders. This study, in effect, generates knowledge about the processes through which Courageous Followers *collapse Toxic Triangles* and mobilise Conformer Followers. Galvanising Conformer Followers is significant, because the extant literature showed that within a Destructive Leadership system, Conformer Followers increasingly behave like Colluder Followers out of self-interest or fear (Baker 2007; Collinson 2006; Howell & Méndez 2008; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a). However, Conformer Followers changing and behaving like Courageous Followers over time within a Toxic Triangle setting was virtually absent from the literature.

In collapsing Toxic Triangles, Courageous Followers' *discursive actions* had to shift the power balance using several *power mechanisms* across unique structures and boundaries. As shown in Figure 8.1 below, *intensifying* and *boundary spanning* are not separate acts per se, because *intensification* reflects the level of persistence in the different discursive acts, and *boundary spanning* the extent to which different structures or levels were accessed by the acts in question. In other words, *intensification* and *boundary spanning* are the two dimensions along which all discursive acts differ. Thus, discursive acts described in the various episodes were successful in severely undermining Destructive Leadership in some instances and completely ineffectual in other. It seems that the success of the discursive acts was contingent on the extent to which Courageous Followers *intensified* and *boundary spanned* while undertaking their discursive acts. Conceptually, it is possible to capture four sets of discursive acts that varied along *intensifying* and *boundary spanning* dimensions—*see descriptive framework in Figure 8.1 below.*

In the 'Toxic Triangle in Full Force' quadrant, the Destructive Leadership functions unchecked, at this stage most followers are conforming. In this situation if a follower resists it could be considered as *confronting internally.* Here, followers can gain the Destructive Leadership's attention, however with low *intensifying* and *boundary spanning* the follower's challenges are usually unsuccessful

and the power balance remains the same. In the 'Intense Internal Resistance' quadrant, followers *intensify* their discursive actions without *boundary spanning,* this can result in severe outcomes to those followers. Here, a small coalition of Courageous Followers can unite, they might engage in some ineffective *rubiconising* and *confronting* actions, resulting in punitive reactions from the Destructive Leadership.

In the 'Some External Resistance' quadrant, followers start *boundary spanning, marshalling credible evidence* and *perspectivising* to galvanise other followers. Their *boundary spanning* can gain attention *(e.g., getting publicity through 'rubiconising' acts like whistleblowing)*. While Courageous Follower's actions in this state can also result in punitive reactions from the Destructive Leadership, because of the *boundary spanning* their actions can also serve to *build coalitions*. With strong *coalitions* and *boundary spanning,* Courageous Followers are more successful. Here, they can enhance their own credibility, harness alternative structures and slightly shift the power balance towards themselves, however, if they do not *intensify* at this stage the Destructive Leadership can reclaim power *(e.g., as shown in the episode with failed mass movements)*. In mass movements or politics, Courageous Followers may only be able to *boundary span* horizontally between structures, but not to a level equivalent to or higher than the Destructive Leadership, here by *intensifying* over time with a large enough coalitions, Courageous Followers can create their own structures to weaken the Toxic Triangle with *intense 'rubiconising'* and *confronting.* The final quadrant is when the 'Toxic Triangle Collapsed', When Courageous Followers *intensify* both *boundary spanning* and *building and maintaining coalitions,* they are likely to collapse Toxic Triangles. Collapsing Toxic Triangles is easier when there are structures in place to counter Destructive Leadership *(e.g., an impeachment processes, or external oversight institutions).*
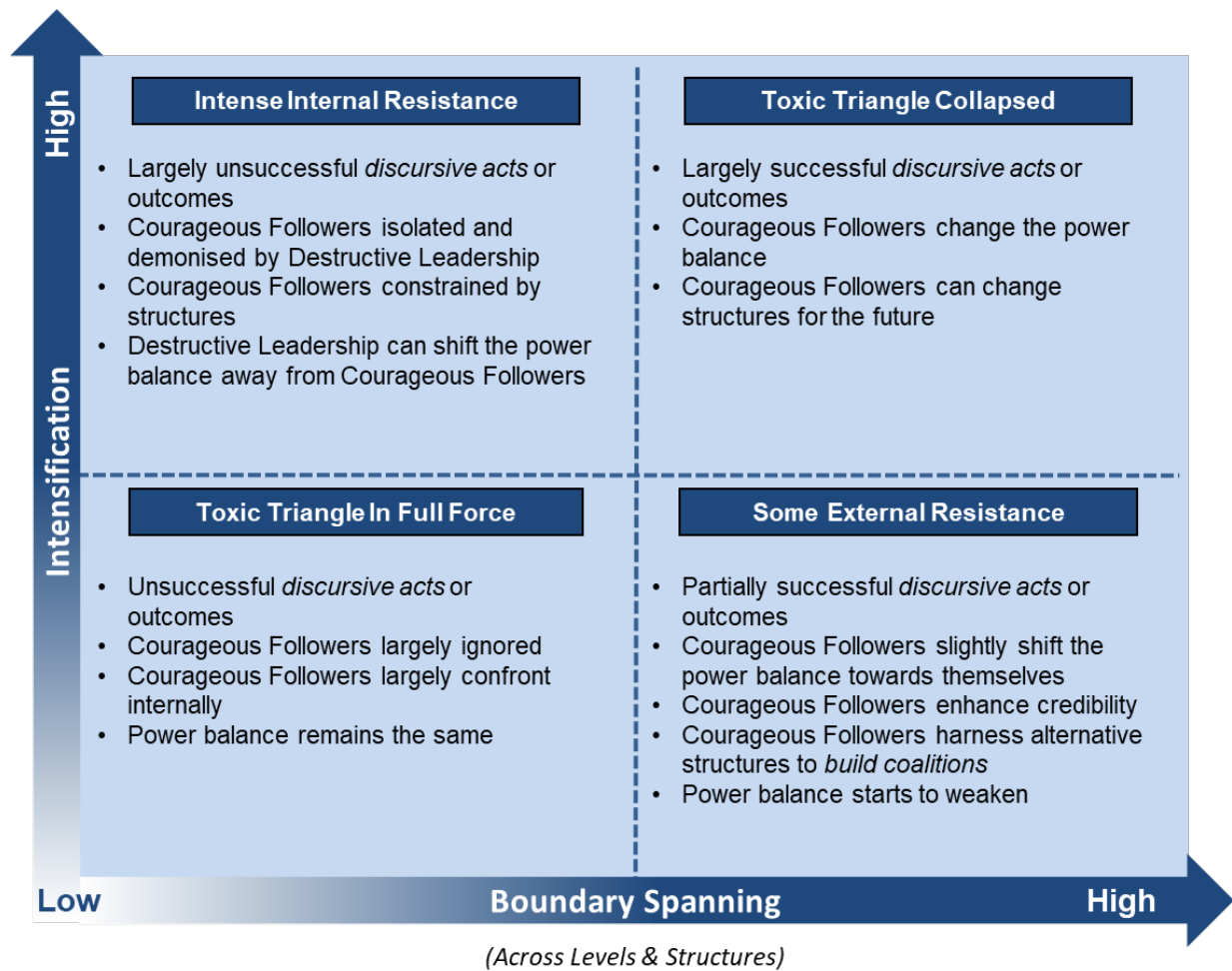
Figure 8.1: Dimensions of Discursive Resistance

As the project emerged, it seems that the common discursive acts are not just qualitatively different, but they are also more successful depending on when they are enacted within resistive *chains of actions* flowing through FOCs. *Building and maintaining coalitions* is at the core of successful resistance *chains of actions* against Destructive Leadership. *Building and maintaining coalitions* is necessary but not sufficient to collapse Toxic Triangle. In other words, without *building and maintaining coalitions* Courageous Follower will not get their desired outcomes, but they also need to engage in other *discursive actions*. As shown in Figure 8.2 below, the more *intensely* an actor *perspectivises* or *marshals credible evidence* and the more *boundary spanning* they engage in, the more effective is the *building and maintaining coalitions*.

To *build and maintain coalitions* followers need to enact other discursive actions recursively. At distinct points of time, different actions could get different followers to align with the Courageous Followers' coalitions. Thus, increasing their network power and giving the movement more legitimacy. As illustrated in Figure 8.2 below, while challenging Destructive Leadership at some point, the Courageous Followers will have to *'rubiconise'* and *confront* which could expand the

coalition. However, followers should only start '*rubiconising*' and *confronting* after they have strongly *built coalitions*. If they '*rubiconise*' or *confront* before *building and maintaining coalitions* their resistance will probably take the form of *confronting internally* or get a severe reaction for challenging the Destructive Leadership (as seen in 'Intense Internal Resistance' quadrant above) and is unlikely to shift the power balance decisively. Finally, when Courageous Followers' coalition sizes increase to a large enough extent, or the coalition strongly *spans boundaries* to levels equivalent to or great than that of the Destructive Leader, the Toxic Triangle is likely to collapse or be severely eroded.
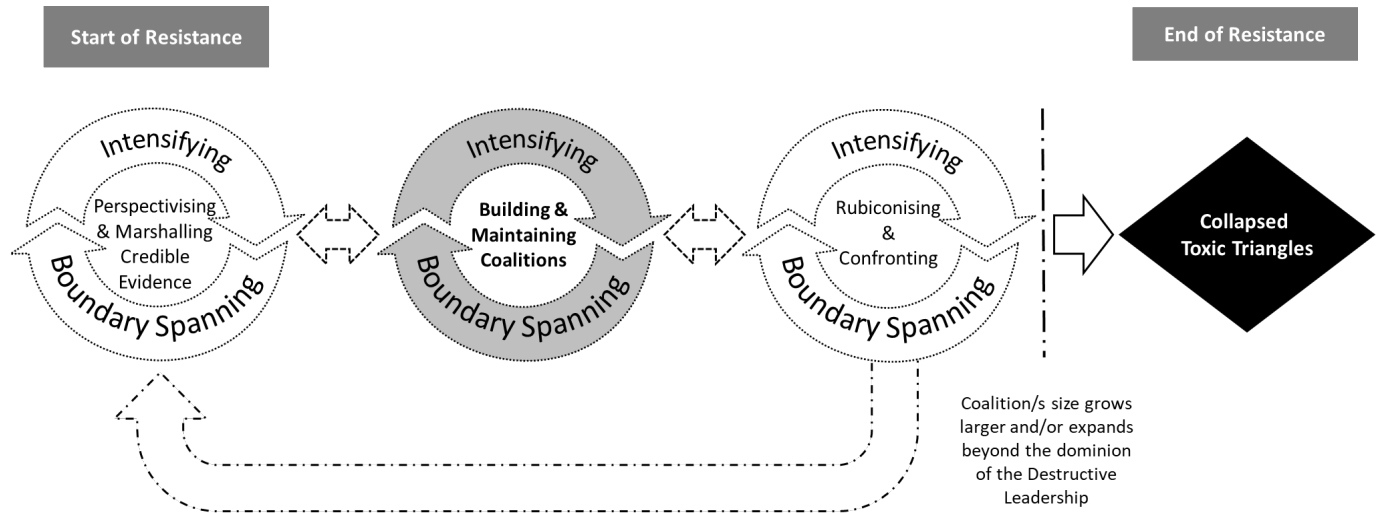
Figure 8.2: Followers Processes to Successfully Collapse Toxic Triangles

Finally, *building and maintaining coalitions, boundary spanning,* and *intensifying* have been found to be necessary actions that followers need to engage in to collapse Toxic Triangles. The differing extent to which followers engage in or are successful can lead to different outcomes. These outcomes range from the Toxic Triangle operating in full force, to its collapse as illustrated in Figure 8.3 below. The direction in which the Conformer Followers travel determines the state and its corresponding outcomes. The journey between one end of the continuum is not linear and usually involves the messy back-forth movements representing a metaphorical hegemonic 'tug-o-war' between Destructive Leaders and their followers on one side, and Courageous Followers and emerging leaders on the other side.

Figure 8.3: Conceptual Continuum of Follower Resistance

8.4 Implications

This study has implications for several issues important to theory on co-creational leadership. Leadership is socially constructed (Shaw, Erickson & Harvey 2011), yet most extant leadership research is leader-centric (Uhl-Bie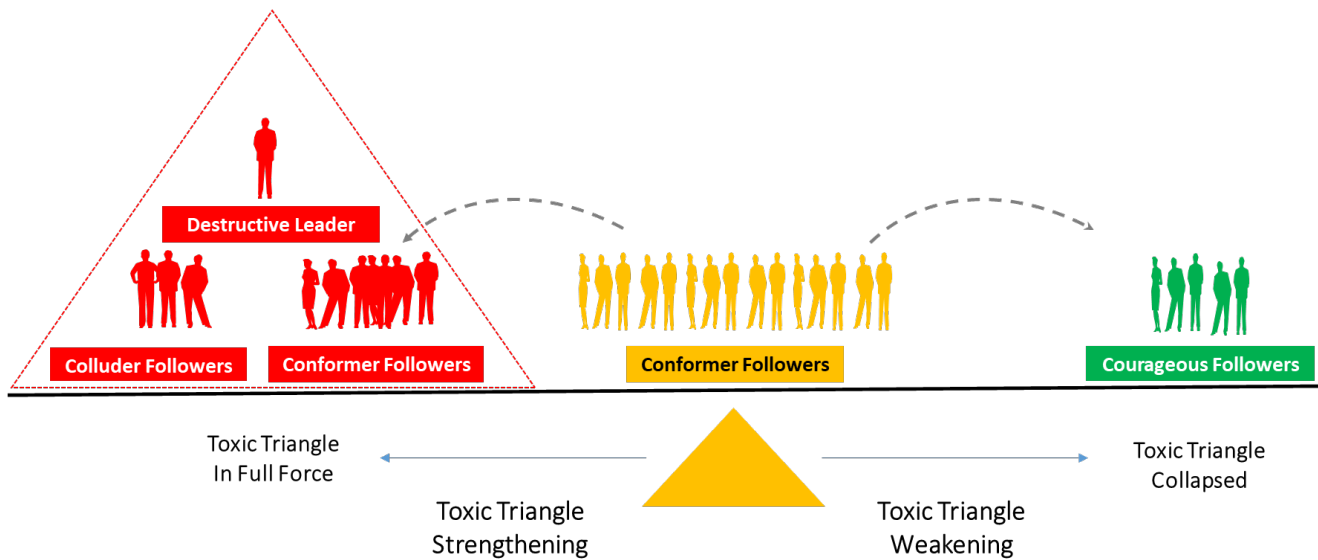n et al. 2014). This is particularly true about socially constructed Destructive Leadership (Thoroughgood et al. 2016). In this study, Destructive Leadership has been examined using the socially constructed Toxic Triangle theoretical framework which is a confluence between *contingencies* in the form of a *Conducive Environment; Destructive Leaders* and *Susceptible Followers* which result in destructive outcomes (Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a; Padilla 2013). Thus, by doing a fine-grained analysis of Toxic Triangles across twelve Destructive Leadership episodes, this study has tested the Toxic Triangle in several new settings, affirming the confluence of *contingency, trait and behavioural leadership* theories contributing to outcomes. *Behavioural theories* are also extended by the identification of actors' specific *discursive actions* that lead to and collapse Destructive Leadership and contribute to the rise of altruistic actors. Further, the project has highlighted that there is merit in framing outcomes, whether positive or negative, as artefacts co-created by leaders and followers in a given a context.

This study has implications for combating Destructive Leadership. Recent research has provided no insight into how to collapse Toxic Triangles (Pelletier, Kottke & Sirotnik 2018). By augmenting the Toxic Triangle framework, this study generates knowledge on the processes that could lead to a collapse of the Toxic Triangle—*see Figure 8.2 above*. By looking at how Courageous Followers can amplify their agency by using structures, this project identified several contingent factors that can

counter Destructive Leadership, thus contributing to *Contingency* theories. Thus, this study explored the role of *agency* with *structures* (Giddens 1984) in resisting Destructive Leadership. Critics of Giddens' *Structuration* theory suggest that he conflates *structure* and *agency* with no empirical examples of these processes (Layder 2014). While other critics stated that it is implausible that actors can get a significant distance from *structures* to change them (Mouzelis 1989).

This thesis establishes that followers, starting with relatively no power bases, can gain distance and use their *agency* to change *structures* that favour the opposing Destructive Leadership. Further, this study expands the concepts of *agency* through *structural diversity* and *internal ambiguity* (Whittington 1992) by identifying different interactions and new resources, rules, norms, and organisations that Courageous Followers can use to get change structure—*see Table 8.1 on p.262 above*. Across the episodes, actors continually could selectively draw on various rules or norms from different structures or create new structures to suit their purposes, while leaving others dormant—both Followers or Destructive Leaders engaged in invoking *structural diversity* to either change or maintain the power balance. This insight has practical implications, because it shows how followers can navigate the perils of standing up to Destructive Leadership by strategically using *agency* with *structures*, rather than just feeling helplessly constrained by structures. Such Courageous Follower navigation skills should be included in training and education programs. Society must remember that institutions have no existence apart from the human actions that constitute and re-constitute them (Wheeler-Brooks 2009, p.132).

Another implication relates to power and influence theories which state that a core determinant of influence is the 'number of people' (Latané 1996; Latané & L'Herrou 1996; Nowak, Szamrej & Latané 1990; Oc & Bashshur 2013). While the study appears to support the importance of followers' *building and maintaining coalitions*, this project however found evidence that *building and maintaining coalitions*, is more effective when those coalitions *span boundaries* beyond the dominion of the Destructive Leadership. As highlighted previously, from a practical standpoint, if there are elements *(i.e., resources, organisations, rules or people)* that are equivalent to or greater than the dominion of the Destructive Leader, Courageous Followers should use those elements. These elements *(e.g., oversight bodies, laws etc)* are usually more available when confronting Destructive Leadership in a business setting. For instance, in workplace bullying or fraud, there are laws and bodies external to the Toxic Triangle to provide accountability. However, in settings when the elements are not available *(e.g., totalitarian governments),* followers may have no choice but to *boundary span* horizontally across structures under the dominion of the Destructive Leadership. Irrespective of the setting, if followers do *not boundary span*, while they may increase the 'number of people', they could be left

in a state, where those people could face punitive reactions from the leadership. The implication for theory is that the 'number of people' determinant must be augmented with *boundary spanning* when faced with Destructive Leadership.

An implication for practice stems from the knowledge that courageous action by followers can successfully change the power balance against Destructive Leadership. However, few individuals are trained to practice 'courageous' behaviours (Gentile 2010). The literature says when standing up to leaders, few followers practised resistance through *persistence*, where they demanded greater *information, accountability,* and *openness* from leaders (Collinson 2006, p.185). Despite being an effective strategy, *standing up* is uncommon as followers do not perceive enough importance on the upside potential and benefits of standing up to Destructive Leaders (Chaleff 2008; Collinson 2006). Therefore, we need to move away from "leader as a saviour" thinking and raise awareness of the importance of each individual's continual courageous actions in standing up to destructive behaviour. Therefore, a practical implication is to teach Followership and its positive impact on outcomes in organisations and universities, and not just continue teaching and training people on leadership. Teaching followership is also important from a broader organisational perspective because followers on the front lines are closer to external feedback and actions taken by competitors, they can see patterns before formal evidence reaches the leadership (Uken 2008), but followers rarely know how to provide that feedback or what avenues to use. Thus, creating a cultural change by teaching them how to provide courageous feedback and having strong structures to do so, is in the long-term interests of most organisations and society.

The study has implications for policy as well. It makes a case to have more and better structures in place to allow followers the ability to *boundary span* and provide more *transparency (i.e., information* and *openness)* on the actions of leaders. The literature associates low checks and balances *(i.e., accountability)* with Destructive Leadership (Padilla 2013), so where possible *transparency* and *scrutiny* needs to be increased. Contrary to both transparency and access to credible information is the over-classification of information and secrecy of leadership. Transparency of information as Justice Brandeis suggested is like sunlight, an essential disinfectant; in the form of robust public access to information for good governance, irrespective of the state of corruption (Aftergood 2008). The findings show that destructive outcomes were often caused by institutions obfuscating the leadership's actual actions and motives until it was too late. So, policy makers and leaders, who are genuinely looking for change, should use their agency to institutionalise more transparency with better checks and balances. This lack of structures to increase transparency is significant systemic flaw which makes the system more leader-centric and prone to abuse. Thus, systemic

changes need to occur, whereby, within reason, most information as a rule is declassified. Perhaps, instead of those without security clearance applying for *freedom of information* requests, those with security clearance should continually apply for *privilege of information* requests that have expiration dates. This could potentially ease access to *credible evidence* which is vital in collapsing Toxic Triangles. Policymakers should frame the debate around the importance of transparency as insurance against the cost of Destructive Leadership, as opposed to the secrecy versus security dichotomy. However, the debate tends to get framed around security, with governments acting in increasingly clandestine fashions to maintain their secrecy, while simultaneously using technology incrementally to erode the privacy of their citizenry (Hartzog 2012). This in further widening the 'asymmetry of power' between leaders and followers and needs to be addressed urgently.

The findings show that *marshalling credible evidence* assists with *perspectivising* and *building coalitions*. Thus, the thesis implies that it is important to discern between credible evidence and 'alternative facts'. These alternative facts are often untruths that have been increasingly flooding public discourse creating a parallel narrative. Yet, today it is commonplace to see strategies like 'flooding the zone' with misinformation to inhibit people's cognitive ability to discern truth and build consensus (Langvardt 2018). Looking at the importance of *marshalling credible evidence* in resisting Destructive Leadership, the challenge for policymakers and the media is to balance plurality of speech with accuracy of information and needs to be a priority to stop the polarisation of society that could lead to the rise of Destructive populist leaders that selectively magnify or fabricate fears thus creating a *conducive environment for Toxic Triangles to emerge*.

Seeing the important role that whistleblowers play in collapsing Toxic Triangles, increasing mechanisms and genuine protections for whistleblowers, is something that needs to be urgently escalated in societal discourse. For instance, the Australian Government could implement a Federal Independent Commission Against Corruption (FICAC) with powerful reach to investigate corrupt activities and enhance the integrity of the public administration along with better protection whistleblowers who have thus far often been persecuted or sidelined by those in power. Whistleblowing against Destructive Leadership is a form of *boundary spanning* or an act of *'rubiconising'* in an attempt to shift the power balance. Whistleblowing has been referred to as responsible followership (Alford 2008), thus protecting whistleblowers more robustly, would be in the long-term interests of companies and society.

Finally, this study has implications for the way in which we can study leadership and Destructive Leadership in particular. For instance, experiments subjecting participants to toxic conditions may not be realistic. Further, Destructive Leadership involves an extended time frame and is not a static

occurrence that can be captured via a cross-sectional account of behaviours at a point in time (Thoroughgood et al. 2016). Therefore, those factors make it difficult to study Destructive Leadership. The extant literature asserts that leadership processes change direction over time depending on the developing exchanges among leaders, followers, and the environment (Hogan & Kaiser 2005; Padilla, Hogan & Kaiser 2007). However, there have been few, if any, systematic longitudinal examinations of leadership, suggesting that scholars have erroneously assumed that observed relationships are not time-contingent (Hunter, Bedell-Avers & Mumford 2007, p.441). Additionally, Destructive Leaders are not "all destructive" (Shaw, Erickson & Harvey 2011, p.575). Determining whether the leadership process is destructive, requires a review of outcomes to a group, after the peak-period of power of the leader (Mumford 2006). Yet outcomes have been a much-neglected area of leadership research, Kaiser and colleagues (2008) in their meta-analysis discovered that only 18% of studies in the leadership research measured outcomes as a criterion. Thus, by using archival empirical material of Destructive Leadership episodes spanning several years, this study partially addresses the aforementioned issues. This empirical work suggests that longitudinal case studies which narrate how destructive regimes collapse may be a valid way to not only study time-contingent issues, but also link outcomes to leadership actions over a period of time.

8.5 Limitations and Future Research

This study's limitations provide provocative opportunities for future research. While this study was across different cultural contexts that included both Eastern and Western cultures, all the Destructive Leaders were from Western countries. Courageous Followers in this study included both men and women from unique cultures, however, again the Destructive Leaders were only male. So, care must be taken not to over-generalise the findings, and future research should include an examination of Destructive Leaders from non-Westernised countries and destructive female leaders from Western and non-Western cultures as well. Additionally, other fields were initially considered for this study, however, because of resource constraints the researcher did not explore Destructive Leadership within military or religious fields. Examining standing up in those fields could be qualitatively very different, hence future research should explore that as well.

Some can criticise the case study approach for generalisability and circularity (Yin 1999) and see them as limitations. Regarding generalisability, the purpose of this project was to generate theory into resisting Destructive Leadership and not test it. However, generalisability was addressed by the research design, which theoretically sampled disparate cases and divided them into units of

twelve episodes containing 70 discursive events. While random sampling was not a component, theoretically sampled cases have the potential to produce generalisable and testable theory (Eisenhardt & Graebner 2007). Regarding circularity in the case study approach, which is when a researcher collects initial evidence, leading to a desired change in research questions (Yin 1999). Here, while the *discursive actions* were adduced, circularity did not change the research questions. However, in order not to overreach the generalisability of the adduced *discursive actions,* further testing must be done. Therefore, the model and the constructs in Figure 8.1 Figure 8.2 above, along with their relationships should be tested to validate the process that can collapse Toxic Triangles. While this study postulates the necessity of the *boundary spanning, building and maintaining coalition* and *intensifying,* that too will need to be tested. As illustrated in Figure 8.4 below, it is acknowledged that there could be additional *discursive actions* that could assist in collapsing Toxic Triangles. Other researchers may implicate other discursive actions. This is an area ripe for further inquiry.
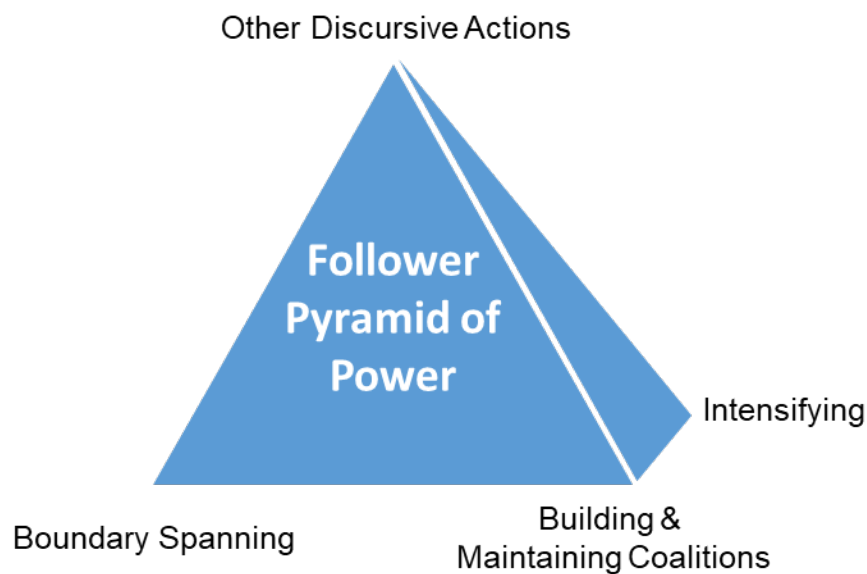
Figure 8.4: Follower Pyramid of Power

Traits can be used to classify different types of followers (Shepela et al. 1999). Bystander Followers and Destructive Leaders use 'just world thinking' to see victims as deserving of their fate to devalue them (Staub 1993, p.327). Unlike other followers, rescuers (Courageous Followers) in the Holocaust were shown to have the following attributes: socialised and selfless; higher empathy; altruism; morals; social-responsibility; and appetite for risk (Fagin-Jones & Midlarsky 2007; Staub 2013; Thoroughgood et al. 2012a, p.908; Zhu et al. 2011). The purpose of the current study was to examine followers' behaviours against Destructive Leadership. While this study's methodology

implemented a deductive process to identify actors in all the cases, the study did not intend to measure the psychological traits of Courageous Followers. Excluded findings showed that Courageous Followers seem to work actively to 'self-perspective' against 'just world thinking' and to practice or develop the aforementioned 'rescuer' traits. While there are some instruments to measure follower traits (Dixon & Westbrook 2003; Kelley 1998), their validity and reliability are still questionable (Ligon, Rowell & Stoltz 2019; Ray 2006). Even if those instruments were robust, they do not address the transformational psychological factors. Thus, examining Courageous Followers' psychological changes that allowed them to resist Destructive Leadership would be worthy of study.

While instruments exist for measuring Destructive Leaders attributes (Erickson, Shaw & Agabe 2007; Shaw, Erickson & Harvey 2011), none exist for leadership (destructive) outcomes apart from Mumford's (2006) rudimentary count and rating metrics that measures outcomes. Thus, future research should develop instruments to measure the impact on outcomes of Courageous Followers discursive actions. Methodologically, all the above could be tested using the Historiometric scholars' leadership approach on archival data. The Historiometric approach transforms qualitative information into quantitative metrics to test theoretical frameworks. Considering the relevant qualitative data obtained through this project, using the Historiometric approach to test this emergent theory would be the next logical step for the researcher.

Another limitation that this research has is that while it identified that *building and maintaining coalitions* was a necessary condition, it did not explore the structure of those coalitions' networks. There needs to be further insight into the types of social networks of followers that contribute to the fall of Destructive Leadership. Hence, a social network analysis study examining the complexities of multiplex relations of working acts of rebellion; relations of unity; conduits of financing and the loyalty; and the strength of the ties; of Courageous Followers would provide further detail on the make-up of successful Courageous Follower coalitions. Additionally, using social network analysis, another study could examine the nature of network structures that lead to Destructive Leadership.

Finally, the findings of the study were limited to interpreting the *discursive actions* of individuals by analysing secondary empirical material. As a result, there can be a risk of making inferences based on the accounts in archival material as opposed to direct observation. In part this risk was mitigated by using multiple archival sources. Further, the contemporaneous nature of the empirical avoided revisionist biases. While this method permitted the study of longitudinal leadership episodes, because of complexities of contributing factors, it is acknowledged that it is difficult to draw direct

causal linkages between specific behaviours and outcomes. Thus, notwithstanding the difficulties in subjecting participants to destructive environments, sophisticated experimental simulations could generate insights that was not possible using archival material.

8.6 Conclusion

This study addresses an important phenomenon which is the rise of Destructive Leadership across several fields. As Justice Hayne, recently wrote, "What more can be done to achieve effective leadership?" in (Hayne 2019, p.5). It would thus seem that the wider community, across public and private sectors, appears often unable to combat the pernicious effects of Destructive Leadership. By studying how Destructive Leadership has been overcome by Courageous Followers, this project aimed to create knowledge that could be useful to leadership scholars and of practical benefit to society.

Consequently, this study has revealed the importance of followers and how they can produce better outcomes when faced with Destructive Leadership. In summary this study: (1) enhances research on co-creational leadership by augmenting the Toxic Triangle, (2) extends behavioural theories by identifying the types of *discursive actions* required to resist destructive leadership, and (3) moves towards a theoretical framework explaining follower resistance as power balance shifts against Destructive Leadership. The study generates theoretical insights on *how Followers can stand up to Destructive Leadership* and collapse Toxic Triangles.

Ellsberg, a highly regarded Courageous Follower, suggests that the lesson people should take from Destructive Leadership phenomena is that society can't afford to let the leaders run the country and organisations by themselves, without the help of the institutions and the public (Ehrlich & Goldsmith 2009). Individuals should remember that "society is not an oppressive entity that must be overcome, but a social construction that can be shaped through our actions" (Wheeler-Brooks 2009, p.132). Therefore, each person's actions shape leadership, it is a shared responsibility, so by learning and practicing effective followership, everyone can be empowered to shape the future.

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Appendix C: Bibliography Business Case

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