

Edinburgh Napier UNIVERSITY



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Doctoral (PhD) Thesis

Women, Festival Leadership, and Social Transformations: The case of Edinburgh, the World's Leading Festival City

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Edinburgh Napier University, for the award of Doctor of Philosophy.

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Declaration

I confirm that this work has not been submitted for any other degree or professional qualification. This is my own work and all sources have been properly acknowledged.

Signed:

A black rectangular redaction box covers the signature. To the left of the box, there is a small grey tab and a single dot.

Benedetta Piccio

May, 2024

Abstract

Edinburgh is internationally renowned for its festivals, with some now celebrating their 76th year. The workforce in the sector is predominantly composed by women, nevertheless, little research has been undertaken regarding gender equality and conditions for women working in Edinburgh's festivals. This postdisciplinary PhD, underpinned by a feminist paradigm and qualitative methodology, studies the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions; and the reasons underpinning this. The research aims to understand the issues and challenges faced by women working in Edinburgh's festivals. It investigates the influence of society and culture. The research also considers gender stereotypes, and to what extent gendered roles are important to the way women perceive themselves. Through a feminist lens, this research considers festival leadership, and what skills are required in this setting.

The significance of this research is both within the topic and its feminist methodology. Semi structured interviews with visual methods, specifically photo-voice, were employed. These were undertaken with women who have worked in Edinburgh's festivals. Research findings indicate that women experience a series of challenges. Some are caused by the nature of festivals, being temporary in nature, timebound, and with busy schedules. Others are a consequence of gender stereotypes, and gendered roles. Moreover, findings around festival leadership revealed the skills required in this role, and the value of a collective and genderless approach.

The conclusions emerging from this PhD study make an important contribution to knowledge and theory building in festival leadership, women leadership, and gender (in)equalities in festivals. Key findings confirm social expectations society has on women seen as primary caregivers. Women experience several gender inequalities, as well as Tokenism, Role Congruity, and the Queen Bee Phenomenon. These findings contribute to wider literature in event, tourism, and hospitality management, advancing the understanding of issues relating to equality, diversity, and inclusion (EDI), and presenting a new understanding of the key skills required for festival leaders.

Key Words: Women Leadership; Women Leaders; Arts Festivals; Edinburgh Festivals, Gender Inequalities; Feminist Research, Qualitative Research.

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Part 1 Introduction to the study and context

The first part of the thesis introduces the research subject, the Edinburgh festivals, as well as the topic of inquiry: understanding to what extent women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions, and the reasons that underpin this situation. The context of this research, Edinburgh, and its festivals, is presented in this first chapter. Furthermore, the research aims and objectives of the research are introduced, as well as the potential contributions to knowledge.

Chapter 1: An introduction to the Edinburgh Festivals and the scope of the thesis

1.1 Background and thesis rational

Edinburgh, the capital city of Scotland (UK), is recognised as the World Leading Festival City (Edinburgh Festival City, 2023b). The city has a long and well-established history of staging arts and cultural festivals (Todd, 2022), dating back to 1947 when Edinburgh hosted for the first time the Edinburgh International Festival, Edinburgh Festival Fringe, and Edinburgh International Film Festival (Bartie, 2013). Since then, the city has grown, and now there are officially eleven annual arts and cultural festivals, which reside under the brand umbrella of “Festivals Edinburgh”. Moreover, the city has multiple other festivals occurring annually.

This research began in March 2019. In terms of the setting of the present study, it is therefore important to note that in November of the same year, the pandemic caused by the severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2), also known as “Coronavirus Disease 2019” or “Covid-19” started to spread globally (Khlystova et al., 2022). This has major impacts on the tourism, hospitality, and events industry (e.g.: Stewart et al., 2022; Khlystova, et al., 2022). In April 2020, the 73rd year for the Edinburgh International Festival, Festival Fringe, and the Edinburgh International Film Festival, the five August festivals (Edinburgh Art Festival; Edinburgh Festival Fringe, Edinburgh International Festival, the Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo, and the Edinburgh International Book Festival) made a joint statement saying that the festivals would not go as planned given the uncertainty caused by the Pandemic of Covid-19 (Fringe Society, 2020). The government requirements of the time imposed a social distancing that created difficulty in the organisation of events which by nature are based on social connections (Piccio et al., 2022). The summer of 2020 and 2021 saw most festivals moving either completely online, or in a hybrid formats, creating short- and long-term challenges, such as redundancies, bankruptcy, and event cancellations (Khlystova et al., 2022; Patrick & Elsdon, 2020).

Recently released data on the economic impact of the Edinburgh Festivals (BOP Consulting & Festivals Edinburgh, 2023) shows that the 2022 festivals attracted 3.2 million attendances, generated by around 700,000 attendees. They contributed £407m in Edinburgh, and £367m in Scotland. For reasons linked to the pandemic, the increase in net aggregate economic impact for 2022 was greater for Edinburgh than for Scotland, caused by more Scottish people taking part in the festivals as “staycation”¹.

Of significance to the present study, Edinburgh’s festivals sector can be described as women dominated, with seven out of the 11 Festivals Edinburgh having a woman director² (Edinburgh Festival City, 2023b). The increasing number of women in director roles signals a noteworthy change in the festival industry in Edinburgh and its commitment to overcome any gender inequality. At the same time, however, it is vital to consider the long history of festivals, some of which have been taking place for the past 76 years. Appointing a woman as a director is for some of the festivals very recent and new, such as for the Edinburgh International Festival. In addition, women who work in the Edinburgh festivals are still experiencing struggles and challenges because of their gender, as shared by the participants of this project. This thesis topic is, therefore, still relevant, and necessary.

Pre Covid-19 statistics showed that in the events industry, around 70% of people employed were women (Dashper, 2018). However, looking at who occupied most senior roles and positions of influence, it can be seen that women in the event industry are in lower-level

¹ Pre Covid-19, research demonstrated the economic power of Edinburgh Festivals. In 2015, they attracted 4.5 million attendance, 1million attendees from 70 countries worldwide, contributing £313 million to Scotland’s economy (BOP Consulting and Festivals Edinburgh, 2016). In 2019 they had an attendance of 4.96million, with 1.17million attendees (BOP Consulting & Festivals Edinburgh, 2016).

² At the time of writing this thesis, the Edinburgh Festivals with a woman director are: Edinburgh International Festival (first woman and Scottish director), Edinburgh Festival Fringe; Edinburgh Art Festival; Edinburgh International Book Festival; Edinburgh Jazz & Blues Festival; Edinburgh International Science Festival; Edinburgh International Film Festival.

positions and middle management, while men have senior roles and board positions (Dashper, 2019; Thomas, 2017; BVEP, 2020).

The reasons why the number of women in leadership roles in the events industry is limited have not yet been explored in depth. A recent report from Creative Scotland³ (2017) showed that women working in the creative industries in Scotland are more likely to work part-time and to be the primary carers of children. Women taking part in this report also commented that they consider gender as a barrier to their career progression. Creative Scotland's (2017) report is an interesting and important piece of research. However, the reasons why gender hinders women in advancing in their career need to be explored more. In general, there has been a call in the tourism, hospitality, and event management literature to conduct further gender research. This does not mean research only about women, but rather the gendered roles for women and men, and how these are enacted and perceived in tourism, hospitality, and event industries (Mooney, 2020; Dashper & Finkel, 2021).

Leadership and events have been gaining interest in research (e.g.: Abson, 2017, 2021; Goldblatt, 2008, 2011; Leigh et al., 2021), and leadership in festivals has been considered (e.g.: Wilks, 2015; Ensor et al., 2007, 2011; Davies, 2015). Despite the growing interest, the predominant focus of research has been on White men as leaders, and the subject of women leaders in festivals have not been explored in great detail yet (Rosette & Livingstone, 2012; Hoyt & Murphy, 2016).

³ Creative Scotland is the public body that supports the arts, screen, and creative industries across all parts of Scotland on behalf of everyone who lives, works or visits Scotland (<https://www.creativescotland.com>.)

This PhD thesis thereby provides an in-depth understanding of what hinders women to reach senior leadership positions in Edinburgh Festivals, while exploring what festival leadership is and what skills are required to be a festival leader.

1.2 Research aim and objectives

Based on the issues raised in the previous section, the research aim for this PhD thesis is to gain an understanding of the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions; and the reasons that underpin this situation.

To be able to complete the research aim, five research objectives have been identified to support and direct this study. These are:

- 1) To undertake a critical analysis of academic literature in the areas of leadership theories, feminism, the management of events, and specifically arts festivals;
- 2) To undertake qualitative research to critically explore and evaluate how women festival leaders position themselves Edinburgh's festivals sector;
- 3) To gain an understanding of how culture and society affect women in achieving leadership positions in Edinburgh's festivals sector;
- 4) To evaluate the issues faced by women in Edinburgh's festival sector in achieving leadership positions in comparison with the literature;
- 5) To understand what the skills of festival leadership are in comparison to existing literature on the subject.

1.3 Research approach

This study has a qualitative approach, and it is underpinned by feminist research. It is a postdisciplinary study⁴, which looks at leadership theories, feminist literature, and the management of events, specifically arts festivals. The extensive literature review identifies several gaps in various areas. First, in terms of leadership theory, women leadership theories, and festival leadership. Secondly, a gap was also found around the topic of working conditions for women and gender inequalities experienced by women in Edinburgh Festivals. These gaps led to the selection of online semi-structured interviews (Brinkmann, 2014), with the aid of visual methods, photo-elicitation (Matteucci, 2013), and photo-voice (Fairey, 2017), as the most appropriate research methods for this study. Data analysis was then conducted using Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The analysis led to 737 codes and 19 themes, through which it was possible to complete the research aim and address each of the research objectives.

1.4 Originality and contribution to knowledge

As a postdisciplinary study, this research therefore blends different streams of academic literature to discuss and explore theory in new directions. In particular, the literature review comes from tourism, hospitality, and event management; feminist research; and leadership theories. While there has been prolific research on leadership styles, more recently leadership has become of concern within the realm of the events research. At the time of writing, no specific study has looked at women working in festivals. Moreover, the area of gender inequalities, working conditions for women, and how culture and society affect women working in festivals is under-researched. Therefore, this thesis targets these two specific areas, critically analysing the relationship between women, festival, and leadership as well as

⁴ Postdisciplinarity, according to Munar et al. (2016), is an answer to the need of creating knowledge that can discuss a society faced by global health crisis, as well as financial and economic downturns, and climate change. It also challenges and is critical of the idea that disciplines are independent, but rather it recognises the multiple different ways of creating knowledge and understanding of the world. It questions what is taken for granted also when it comes to disciplinary truths (Pernecky et al., 2016).

women, festivals and the issues and difficulties they might face in the career progression. This is the first study exploring these topics in the context of the Edinburgh Festivals.

The findings and conclusions emerging from this PhD study make an important theoretical contribution to academic theories in festival leadership, women and leadership, and gender (in)equalities in festivals. There are implications for the wider literature in event, tourism, and hospitality management and studies. This research advances the understanding of issues within equality, diversity, and inclusion (EDI), specifically looking at gender inequalities, and gender expectations in Edinburgh's Festivals sector. This study also contributes to the literature on leadership events, analysing the skills required for a festival leader. This research will also be of relevance to the festivals, events, tourism and hospitality sector, and related areas in terms of women and leadership in practice. It will provide an initial understanding of what obstacles and issues women working in the festivals face, and what aspects of working that festival organisations need to rethink or adjust to meet women's needs and support their career.

1.5 Structure of thesis

The thesis is divided into 10 chapters, which presents the literature review, methods, findings, and conclusion of this study.

- Part 2- Literature Review

Part 2 is divided into four different chapters, each looking at one specific area of the literature review. The first chapter focuses on leadership theories and explores the various leadership styles. The second chapter is centred on women's leadership history and issues; and gender quotas. The third chapter is centred on feminist literature. It discusses the feminist waves, the meaning of feminism, and the power it holds in society. The last chapter, chapter five, is about arts festival management. It presents an overview of Edinburgh's Festivals, it defines

what an arts festival is, to then discuss gender inequalities in tourism, hospitality, and event management, and the impact of the pandemic of Covid-19 on the industry.

- Part 3 – Methodology and Methods

Part 3 presents the methodological approach and methods applied to the research. Chapter six introduces the philosophical paradigm of this study, feminist research. Chapter seven discusses the chosen methods for the data collection, namely semi-structured interviews, photo elicitation, and photo-voice.

- Part 4- Research Analysis and Research Findings

Part 4 considers the research analysis, Thematic Analysis (TA), of this thesis. Chapter eight discusses the various steps of TA, its implications to the study, and the reasons why it has been chosen. Chapter nine addresses the collected data, the themes emerged from TA, taking into consideration the research objectives of this thesis.

- Part 5- Conclusion, Future Research and Limitation

Part 5 presents the conclusions of this study. Chapter ten is concerned with the discussion and conclusion of the research findings, and the contribution to knowledge made by this thesis. Then the chapter presents recommendation for future research areas and discusses the limitation of this research.

Part 2 Literature review

Part 2 of this thesis consists of the literature review which develops over four different chapters: leadership style; women leadership style and issues; feminist studies; and arts festival management. These are macro topics which are then developed further in more specific aspects. The four chapters correspond to the first objective of this research, which is to undertake a critical analysis of academic literature in the areas of leadership style, feminism, and the management of events. Part 2 provides the theoretical framework upon which the data collection is based on.

First, chapter 2 looks at leadership, and the history of the various leadership styles. Chapter 3 considers women leadership styles, and the challenges women as leaders might face, and gender quota. Chapter 4 focuses on feminism and feminist studies, the feminist waves, and provide a definition and examples of gender inequalities. Finally, the last chapter, Chapter 5, looks at arts festivals, and the Edinburgh festivals, and presents an overview of gender inequalities.

The various topics are analysed and investigated in the literature review across disciplines: leadership management; festival and events management; social sciences; human resources; feminist studies; and social behaviour. The professional context of the examples and studies presented in this section come from the corporate environment. When possible, reference to the tourism, hospitality and event management will be discussed.

Chapter 2: Leadership theories

2.1 Introduction

Leadership plays a central role in this study. As presented in Chapter 1, this study aims to gain an understanding of the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions; and the reasons that underpin this situation. First, there are several elements that need to be taken into consideration. These are: the terminology linked to leadership, the dichotomy between masculinity and femininity, and the history of leadership and its styles.

In this chapter, the focus is on two central themes. Firstly, the specific terminology used in leadership, its definitions, and how it may be applied to this study will be discussed. As this research is concerned with leadership, understanding what this means, and how a leader can be defined, is the basis upon which the data collection is built. Then, the chapter will consider leadership history. It will highlight the prominent changes that leadership has gone through over the years and how the focus on this matter has shifted. This will include both the most established and researched leadership styles, as well as more recent ones, such as the collectivistic leaderships.

For a long time, and across many areas of academic research, leadership has been studied. Within event management research it is a more recent area of study. This absence will be analysed in Chapter 5, which focuses on arts festival management. The literature review of this chapter draws from studies undertaken in leadership studies, human resources, and social science.

2.2 Leadership terminology

2.2.1 Leader and leadership definition

Terminology is a very important aspect of leadership because there is not a widely accepted definition of leadership and the term itself might mean and carry different connotations that create ambiguity (Howieson, 2019). Furthermore, the literature relating to leadership is extensive. This is why it is crucial, for the purpose of this PhD research on women leaders in festivals, to clarify what meaning is given to each term used, to avoid confusion and to aim at clarity.

Defining leadership is not an easy task, considering that the word *leader* has existed since the fourteenth century, and, thus, has gone through many different interpretations (Hunt & Fedynich, 2018). Moreover, what makes it also difficult is that one of the most asked questions is: *what is leadership?* (Hunt & Fedynich, 2018). The search to find the exact features that make a person a good leader and how to become a leader have been widely explored throughout the centuries (Northouse, 2018). Leadership has been widely studied, in different contexts and at a worldwide level, providing different theoretical approaches to explain its complexity (Howieson, 2019; Ford, 2005). Leadership has also been analysed from different perspectives. Some researchers see leadership as defined by the features, qualities and behaviours shown by the leader alone (Horner, 1997). Others, on the contrary, see leadership from an information-processing view or relational standpoint, which means that leadership analysis is based on both affective and cognitive processing strategies (Northouse, 2018). Moreover, several methods have been used to collect data on the matter, from qualitative to quantitative, from small groups to large organisations (Northouse, 2018).

The terms *leadership* and *leader* have gone through many different definitions, and some researchers suggest that there are more than a thousand to count today (Silva, 2016). Even though there is no definition that has been widely accepted, there is agreement on the main components that can be considered central and needed for the phenomenon of leadership to happen (Howieson, 2019). These include viewing leadership as a process, that occurs in

groups and involves influence and common goals (Northouse, 2018). Therefore, it can be suggested as a definition, that leadership is a process, where an individual person influences a group - namely, the follower/followers, to reach and achieve a common goal that would benefit both (Northouse, 2018). This definition will be the one used in this project, and it outlines the three main elements in leadership: leaders, followers, and context. It is important to underline the idea of the process that comes with leadership, because, as mentioned before, it has also been defined by many researchers by the traits, qualities, and behaviours of a leader (Horner, 1997).

2.2.2 Followers and context

Leadership was for many years seen as a personal quality that people would be born with. Early leadership theories take into consideration leadership powers as innate traits. One of the first theories, the heroic theory, or the great man theory, which emerged in the 1840s, considered power as something a person is born with (Malakyan, 2014; Carlyle, 2015), and as the name suggests, this person would be someone born as a man. Only towards the 1950s did the idea of leadership as an act of influencing other people towards a shared goal and achievement start to be proposed. Leadership was seen as the intention to move a group or groups in the same direction (Stogdill, 1950). Followers therefore also play an essential role in the leadership process as seen from the definition provided above. However, their importance and their role has been recognised only later, towards the end of the 20th century (Bass, 1990). The idea of an equilateral triangle where three sides of the leader, the context, and the followers, as being equally important was then suggested (Silva, 2016). This idea of the triangle with equally important sides adds to and enriches the previous definition of leadership. Not only does it emphasise once more that leadership is a process and not just a personal quality; but it suggests that the influence is not unilateral from the leader to the followers, rather it is an interactive influence between the leader and the followers (Silva, 2016).

In addition to the components of leader and followers, in the process of leadership the context is also important. The context will change the leadership process. The context should

not be defined only by the physical place, but also by the type of work and the features of the leader and followers (Avolio, 2007). If the followers do not accept or recognise their leader, then the process of leadership will not take place and the leader will have to face some struggles (Derks et al., 2016). The followers need to perceive the leader as the appropriate person for this role and, thus, the leader needs to be able to adapt to the context, namely to the needs of the followers and should direct them to reach shared goal. Whether a leader is effective or not depends on the followers. They might judge the effectiveness of leading differently (Silva, 2016).

2.2.3 Masculinity and Femininity

An important factor in the consideration of leadership and its terminology is the affected dichotomy of male and female in *doing gender* (Ackerly & True, 2010; Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017; Ayman & Korabik, 2010). *Doing gender* means to underline the differences between women and men, or boy and girls (West & Zimmerman, 1987). However, the two terms female and male serve a stereotypical gendered idea of femininity and masculinity which is culturally attached to these words and that has been socially constructed (Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017; Ackerly & True, 2010). The stereotypes of women belonging to a gender that does not fit with the idea of a leader as being strong, powerful, and aggressive are one of the reasons why women struggle to achieve leadership roles (Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017). Women leadership is highly connected to the terminology used, and specifically to the distinction between *male* and *female*. This is one of the first considerations people make when meeting a new person. It is what the human being is accustomed to do as a socially imposed norm (Hoyt & Simon, 2018; Ackerly & True, 2010; Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017; Ayman & Korabik, 2010).

The way the female gender is stereotypically viewed is associated with qualities which are more fitting to caring roles, rather than to leadership positions. A leader must be strong, powerful, and aggressive - traits that a man has by nature (Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017). Positioning masculine and feminine as polar opposites has confined men and women

to gendered sex-role stereotypes, since childhood (Niederle & Vesterlund, 2007). This can make it difficult for women to find their own way of operating within a masculine workplace socially seen as masculine, leaving them with no other option than to adopt men's working traits (Due Billing & Alvesson, 2000). The reason for this is that the workplace has always been associated with a place of power and authority. These two qualities have, in turn, traditionally been considered as features owned by men (Xiong et al., 2022). This has placed women in leadership positions in contradictory roles between their gender identity and the masculinity qualities of holding power. Their gender is not associated with power and therefore it is not congruent with the role they have (Mavin, 2008; Eagly & Karau, 2002).

The habit of differentiating people according to their gender has been noted by researchers since the 1970s. Yet, the question has been asked, why should gender be described in such a simplistic way based on the behaviour of men and women, by just a physical observation, or by asking them to self-report on what gender they belong to (Ayman & Korabik, 2010). There is much more in the concept of gender than socio-demographic gender. It is a multilevel and multidimensional phenomenon which has different facets, among which values, attitudes, gender-role identity and traits, how men and women interact with each another and the social roles they are expected to conform to in society (Korabik, 1999; Deaux & Major, 1987, Eagly, 1987a). Gender is also an ascribed status characteristic. Men have a higher social status, consequently they have greater access to power and resources compared to women. Gender becomes a hierarchical structure of both opportunities, for men, and oppression, for women (Ayman & Korabik, 2010).

Masculinity and femininity have been shown not to be fixed concepts, but rather, are constantly changing, while being culturally and historically affected by the meanings people give to them (Due Billing & Alvesson, 2000). Butler (1988) was one of the first to identify how sex and gender are two different concepts, by comparing the act of performing on stage as an actor to gender. Butler therefore describes gender as performative, and only real to the extent that it is performed. Butler's (1988) work contributes to an understanding that gender and identity is not necessarily binary. Until then, the prevailing view was the stereotypical

division between man/woman without embracing other variables (Mooney, 2020). As Butler (1988) states, genders constitute univocal signifiers, where any gender is seen as polarised and stabilised. Therefore, gender is made to comply with a model which contradicts its performativity. Performing one's gender correctly means creating reassurance; while performing it wrongly, creates a backlash⁵. Further, as Ford poses:

A recognition of the social context and the socially constructed nature of leadership may still overlook a fundamental dimension in the study of organisational life, notably that this performative process of leadership is achieved through a range of exclusionary practices that aim to offer a homogeneous definition of what a leader in an organisation is expected to be (2005, p. 243).

This is apparent in leadership, where women are expected- because of their gender - to be communal, good listeners and carers. When a woman leader behaves in an agentic way, for example, more aggressively, then she is going against how her gender tells her to behave (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Gender roles are social constructions, which then manifest in stereotypes and bring issues for women leaders. However, because they are social constructions stereotypes linked to gender may be broken down. This can happen with a genuine social change, where occupational and domestic work segregation is weakened, and consequently the perspective and perception of women's and men's roles changes (Chizema et al., 2015).

Keeping these concepts in mind, it is important to consider culture and how this also influences leadership. Culture can be defined as an acquired and transmitted pattern of shared meaning (Hofstede, 2001; Fisher, 2009). It can be described as characterised by some features that are on the surface, and others that are invisible. The former is, for example, country boundaries or the individual physical features, something visible that can be seen

⁵ The term *backlash* was coined by Rudman (1998) to describe the economic and social penalties incurred by women and men who engaged in gender stereotype-incongruent behaviour or hold gender stereotype-incongruent roles.

(House, Wright & Aditya, 1997). The latter consider deeper differences among people, such as values and personalities, the invisible characteristics (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Connerley & Pedersen, 2005). This instead, suggests a more integrated definition of culture, as a phenomenon which is complex and dynamic, with invisible and visible features, such as demographic characteristics- the physical gender; the status characteristics- the economic and educational variables; and ethnographic characteristics, the nationality, language, and ethnicity. All these elements are socially constructed, embedded with meaning (Ayman & Korabik, 2010).

Gender is a subset of culture that will be considered for this study. In the leadership context, the action to differentiate the leader based on their gender, although apparently a simple distinction, brings along a series of beliefs and stereotypes. In leadership, it also suggests the idea that a leader could only be a man because he has certain traits, e.g. agentic, powerful, strong, and that traditionally have always been linked to a good leader, and that a woman, instead, does not show (Hoyt & Simon, 2017).

2.2.4 For this study: Leadership as a process

For this study, leadership is recorded as a process, rather than an attribute that leaders are born with. This is also to be linked with the idea of opening leadership spaces to anyone, including women and minorities. They are often the groups who struggle the most to reach higher managerial roles, because, as already mentioned above, they are often pictured as not presenting those qualities a leader should have. This is also connected to the goal of showcasing that gendered traits are a social construction which does not represent the reality of a person, his/her/their qualities, and skills (Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017). To understand this idea of leadership as an attribute that only men have, a brief history of leadership, with particular attention to women leadership history, will be presented.

2.3 The history of leadership styles

Leadership has a long and rich history. It is interesting to see, then, how the focus on which elements and components of leadership are considered important have shifted throughout the years. The evolution of leadership in the 20th century as cited by Northouse (2018) can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1: The evolution of leadership

Period	Definition
1900-1929	Emphasis on control and centralization of power, common theme of domination (Moore, 1927)
1930s	Traits are the focus when defining leadership. Leaders as an influence, interaction of an individual's specific personality traits with those of a group
1940s	Leadership as the behaviour of an individual when involved in directing group activities (Hemphill, 1949). Introduction of the idea of leadership by persuasion.
1950s	Three main themes: leadership as a relationship that develops common goals (based on leader's behaviour); group theory (what leaders do in groups); effectiveness (ability to influence overall group effectiveness)
1960s	Leadership as behaviour is the prevailing definition, as influence of people towards shared goals (Seeman, 1960)
1970s	Organisational behaviour approach- started by from the group focus. Leadership seen as the reciprocal process in order to achieve goals help either independently or mutually by the leaders and the followers (Burns, 1978)
1980s	Many different studies on the topic: leadership seen as to follow what the leader wishes; leadership as influence in a noncoercive way; leadership based on traits; transformational leadership, raising both the leaders and the followers' levels of motivation and morality (Burns, 1978)

Note. Adapted from "Introduction" by P. Northouse, in P. Northouse (Ed), *Leadership: Theory and practice* (7th edition, international student ed, pp. 1-18.), 2018, Los Angeles: SAGE

In the first three decades of the 20th century, definitions put the emphasis on control and centralisation of power, most of them with a recurrent theme of domination. Moreover, there was the idea of the *Great Man*, as previously mentioned. This idea suggested that leaders are

born to lead, and leadership is only meant for men. Women were not taken into consideration (Hunt & Fedynich, 2018).

It was only in 1930s that leaders' traits became the focus on how to define leadership. The first shift from domination to influence was, then, suggested: leadership was the interaction of an individual's specific personality traits with those of a group. Leadership was affected by the influence of both sides, leader, and followers (Horner, 1997). In *trait theory*, not every individual has potential. Rather, you are born with the traits of high energy, integrity, competence and so on, to be a leader (Hunt & Fedynich, 2018).

In the 1960s, the idea of leadership as a behaviour that influences people towards shared goals was proposed. This idea was maintained throughout the 70s and the 80s, where the word *influence* in the context of leadership was probably the most used term (Northouse, 2018). One of the theories proposed in these years was the *behavioural theory*, which focused more on the behaviour a leader had rather than on his/her personal traits (Horner, 1997). There is also another important change in the study of leadership in the 80s. Burns (1978) initiated a movement that defined leadership as a transformational process, where followers and leaders raise one another to higher levels of motivation and morality (Bojeun, 2014).

In the 1990s the context of leadership, and the role of followers became more relevant in the study of leadership. The *Situational theory*, as an example, suggested that some environmental elements need to be taken into consideration. For this theory, it could be possible that the leader mattered less than the environment and the social status of the leader and the followers needed to be addressed to understand leadership (Hunt & Fedynich, 2018).

Today it would be impossible to name all the leadership theories researched and studied, because there are so many. However, to support the focus of the present study, an overview of some of the recognised main leadership styles is presented in Appendix 1, and in Appendix 2 the differences in style are considered. As illustrated in Appendix 1, one of the most

important elements is that emerging research started to present leadership as a process, and as the definition suggests, a process means that there is an individual who influences a group to achieve a common goal (Northouse, 2018).

As Appendix 1 and the related literature summarised show, it is difficult to provide one accepted definition of leadership, as it is a multiple-level phenomenon (Chun et al., 2009). It is also challenging to suggest one specific type of leadership that could be applied for all situations of followers, leaders, and companies. That is why there are so many leadership styles as it depends on what perspective the research is taking, what is considered more important and in what working situation (Hunt & Fedynich, 2018). Moreover, with elements such as global influences and generational differences, leadership will have to continue to change in order to adapt and meet the demands of the market and the working environment (Northouse, 2018). In recent years, there have been new leadership approaches that have been researched. These will be briefly presented and discussed in the following section.

2.4 Towards new leadership approaches

Leadership is a complex process, a phenomenon that occurs on different levels. It involves multiple factors, takes place over a long period of time, affects different subjects, and it is highly influenced by the context where it happens (Gardner et al., 2010). As was remarked above, the idea of leadership and what is needed for a leader to effectively be one has shifted throughout the years. At the same time, the approach towards the study of leadership has changed in the past years.

As previously noted, Silva (2016) suggested the idea of leadership as a triangle where the three sides, leader-followers-context, all play equally important roles, interactively influencing one another. Leadership is a multi-level and multi-dimensional process. This is also underlined by Uhl-Bien (2006) who presents leadership and organisation as human social constructions that are created by the rich connections and relations of organisations and their members.

As described in Appendix 1, leadership theories have started to focus on what the effects of transitory processes, such as emotions, thoughts, and reactions can have on leaders and followers, altering their behaviours and thus their outcomes (Dinh et al., 2014). They have also considered that leadership can produce both top-down and bottom-up outcomes, and that it unfolds in different time scales. When leadership is analysed considering only one level, the result is a limitation of the phenomenon of leadership and its understanding (Dinh et al., 2014).

Neo-charismatic theories, such as transformational and transactional, and social exchange-relational theories (see Appendix 1) are some of the most prominent and mainstream of leadership research (Dinh et al., 2014). Leadership is typically seen as a leader-follower interaction process in either teams or small groups, sometimes dyads, which take place in a particular situation, the context. Leaders, and followers have a common purpose and together aim at accomplishing goals and objectives (Yammarino et al., 2012). However, the current situation with new technological advancements, a difficult economic situation, and the Covid-19 pandemic have increased the complexity of leadership. It has made it difficult for one individual to act alone, to have just one leader to be able to display the requested effective leadership (Yammarino et al., 2012). Among researchers, there has been a request to broaden the interest and to change the focus of study (Dihn et al., 2014). The new leadership styles that will be presented in the following section demonstrate the need for a new type of leadership approach, which goes beyond this leader-focus view, and includes formal and informal higher levels of analysis. It also involves more extensive multi-person interactions (Dinh at al., 2014; Dionne et al., 2014; Yammarino et al., 2012).

Of interest are the emerging leaderships which show how the focus of study has changed. More importance is given to the context and leadership as a process characterised by interactions, relationships, and interdependencies not only in dyads, but also in groups (Dionne et al., 2014). The decisional power does not come only from leaders (Uhl-Bien, 2006). As Dionne et al. (2014) notice, the focus has moved from the leader to teams, teams within teams, networks within organisations, and teams which are not physically in the same space.

It is interesting and important to understand the various leadership styles. Their analysis will support the evaluation of what leadership skills, based on the literature review and on this study findings, can be suggested in festivals organisations as the most effective. Some of the most researched leadership styles have been already discussed in a brief overview in section 2.3. In the following parts, 2.4.1, 2.4.2, 2.4.3, some of these new approaches will be briefly presented and analysed. Attention will be given to the following: leadership development, leadership emergence, and collectivistic leadership theories.

2.4.1 Leadership Development

Leadership development is the study of methods with which a company can increase within its members the social capital resources that are necessary to create leadership activities (Avolio et al., 2016; Day, 2000, 2011; Day & Sin, 2011; Day et al., 2021; DeRue et al., 2012; Ely et al., 2010; Gipson et al., 2017; Dionne et al., 2014; Murphy & Johnson, 2011). This usually takes place at the system level, and it is often a combination of multiple methods which are employed to develop leaders (Gipson et al., 2017; Day, 2000). The question asked in the study of leadership development is on who looks for development opportunities and why individuals who have the same developing opportunities have different learning outcomes (Dionne et al., 2014). Understanding how life events, the environment, and parenting influence the leader development is very important to be able to offer suitable training and coaching and, thus, forming the next generation of leaders (Dionne et al., 2014).

Studies and research on leadership development is not well established in literature (Avolio et al., 2010; Day et al., 2014; Day et al., 2021) There is not yet a theory on leadership development fully advanced (Avolio, 2007; Day et al., 2021). Empirical studies have, however, shown its positive effect on the behaviours, attitudes, and performance of leaders and their followers (e.g.: Burke & Day, 1986; Collins & Holton, 2004; Avolio et al., 2010).

2.4.2 Leadership Emergence

Leadership emergence research (Acton et al., 2019; Badura et al., 2018; Mann, 1959; Neubert et al., 2004) is related to the literature on leadership development as it also concerns the traits and experiences that characterise a person to become a leader (Dihn et al., 2014; Judge et al., 2009). Here, traits, behaviours, emotions, personality, and experiences are all taken into consideration (Guastello 2007; Walter et al., 2012). Within leadership emergence, leadership comes from the team itself while working together rather than from having one person chosen as the leader beforehand (Dionne et al., 2014). Emerging leaders have a significant influence over other members of the group, also when they are assigned no formal authority (Luria & Berson, 2013). Emergent leaders, to become formal leaders, usually take part in leadership development program, which can be found in many companies (Luria et al., 2019). This style does not lie in a particular person, but in an interactive dynamic, in which each person takes part as a follower or a leader at different times and for different purposes (Acton et al., 2019).

2.4.3 Collectivistic leadership approaches

Collectivistic leadership theories or “we phenomena” (Yammarino et al., 2012, p. 382) analyse leadership in larger organisational collectives or network levels, rather than just at the individual, dyadic, or small group level of analyses as traditional research used to do (De Brun et al., 2019; Friedrich et al., 2009; Friedrich et al., 2016; Marion et al., 2016). The various styles that belong to collectivistic leaderships share the element that leadership responsibilities and roles are taken by various and multiple individuals in a team, depending on the type of tasks (De Brún & McAuliffe, 2023). According to the collectivistic approaches, leadership can involve more than just one individual and the role can change over time in both formal and informal relationships (Dionne et al., 2014). Formal relationships can happen in small and large groups, in dyads, departments, strategic business units, and so on. Informal ones can be personal connections and networks within or outside the company (Yammarino et al., 2012).

These approaches contrast to a traditional view of leadership as being executed just by one individual who holds entire responsibility. Whereas in these newer approaches, leadership is seen as a collectivistic phenomenon where the *we* stand for several individuals who interact through informal and formal relations and take on a variety of leadership roles (Yammarino et al., 2012). When such collectivistic leadership styles are employed, teams experience less conflict, and there is a higher level of cohesion and trust (D’Innocenzo et al., 2016; De Brún & McAuliffe, 2023).

There are several collectivistic leaderships that have been studied by researchers. Among them, there are three that will be taken into consideration and analysed here: team leadership; shared leadership, network leadership, complexity, and collective leadership.

2.4.3.1 Team Leadership

Team leadership (Burke et al., 2011; Burke et al., 2006; Day et al., 2004; Fang et al., 2022; Kozlowski et al., 1996; Mathieu et al., 2002; Morgeson et al., 2010; Raithel et al., 2021) is an emerging theory that has been growing in interest in the past years and it develops from more general research on teams and leadership. This is especially important now given the popularity of teams as a way to organisation the work in companies (Day et al., 2004; Raithel et al., 2021). It is one of the most prolific emerging leadership approaches and this indicates how the context of leadership has begun to be taken into consideration from research (Dihn et al., 2014). In team leadership, the influence comes from both horizontal leadership, the team members, and vertical leadership, the formal team leader (Zhu et al., 2018).

Team leadership influences teamwork and team learning, which, in turns, impact how the leadership process happens within the team. Team processes influence team leadership through the leadership role that is shared and distributed among the members. Team leaders interact with the team directly and have a good understanding on how they should shape these interactions. They can, then, be more adaptive and proactive in how to guide the team (Raithel et al., 2021). Where team leadership is applied, the leader is a coach to the teams,

and more experienced team members are also encouraged to exchange advice, teach skills and be role models for the others (Yammarino et al., 2012). Accordingly, a leader operating in such working environments would be able to understand how to integrate the needs required within the team with the external environment. Moreover, the focus of team leadership is to satisfy team needs and ultimately to enhance team effectiveness (Morgeson et al., 2010).

2.4.3.2 Shared/Distributed Leadership

Shared leadership (Carson et al., 2007; Evans et al., 2021; Lorinkova & Bartol, 2021; Pearce & Barkus, 2004; Pearce & Conger, 2003; Pearce et al., 2008; Sato & Makabe, 2021) is another leadership approach that belongs to the collectivistic leadership theories. Here, leadership is seen as a shared responsibility among team members, and this distribution can be done equally, unilaterally, and the decisions and actions taken are not the result of a single leader (Yammarino et al., 2012). Individual members exercise leadership roles depending on their expertise and skills to meet shared objectives and goals. This leadership influence can be done by a few members, or by a whole team, based on the demands of the situation (Anderson & Sun, 2017). This style differs from traditional style which sees one leader assuming the power, who is hierarchically above the other team members (Carson et al., 2007).

The first to suggest the idea of distributed leadership was Gibb in 1954, who distinguished between distributed and focused. The latter, as with most traditional styles, is when leadership resides within a single individual (Carson et al., 2007). Despite the great interest that the shared style has received from many researchers, there is still not a unified conceptualisation or a theoretical framework that can explain the emergence and consequences of shared leadership (D’Innocenzo et al., 2016; Lord et al., 2017; Mehra et al., 2006; Pearce & Sim, 2002; Sweeney et al., 2019). Some studies have been focusing on the number of people needed to be involved in leadership activities to have shared leadership, in contrast to the traditional single leader. Others underline how shared leadership involves horizontal, and lateral influence among team members, contrary to a traditional top-down leadership influence (e.g.: Carson et al., 2007; Pearce & Sim, 2022). Some other studies

measure the extent to which each team member is engaged in leadership behaviour (e.g.: Zhu et al., 2018; Mehra et al., 2006).

Despite the differences highlighted, shared leadership can be articulated by the following three characteristics. First, there is lateral influence among members, where vertical leadership and team leadership can operate together. The first one comes from the formal team leader, while the latter stems from all team members (Locke, 2003; Nicolaidis et al., 2014). Secondly, it is an emergent team phenomenon, and the leadership influence is shared among members collectively at the group level. The difference with the first feature is that the former indicates the source of leadership influence, while the latter indicates that the leadership influence does not reside with one person, one individual team member, but it is shared at a group level (Zhu et al., 2018; Carson et al., 2007). Third and lastly, leadership roles and influence are dispersed, distributed, widely among team members (Zhu et al., 2018). This leadership has been studied in many new venture organisations and it has been also noted that when shared leadership is in place, there is increased team performance and effectiveness (Yammarino et al., 2012).

2.4.3.3 Network Leadership

Network leadership takes place within the context of a social system, where it addresses the process by which leadership emerge and operate (Balkundi & Harrison, 2006; Cullen-Lester & Yammarino, 2016; Hoppe & Reinelt, 2010; Peckham & Whitehead, 2019; Yammarino et al., 2012). It is also about the ability of a leader to interpret and perceive the characteristics of a social network and its relevant outcomes (Balkundi & Kilduff, 2005), in a world which is increasingly more interconnected (Hoppe & Reinelt, 2010). The style is leader-centric, since it is important the perception of the leader of the network and the outcome are the result of the leader operating in this social network. (Yammarino et al., 2012). However, it is included in the collectivistic leadership concept as the leadership process of network leadership connects members of one group to another and is thus seen as a series of influence relationships (Carter & Dechurch, 2012).

Network leaders have four roles: conveners, mediator; catalyst, and bridge builder. Convener as the leaders promote and safeguard collaboration, and in doing so they maintain integrity among all parties involved (Uster et al., 2022). Mediators as leaders support the collaboration by supervising exchanges and managing conflicts among the stakeholders. Catalyst means that they help understand and create valuable opportunities (Ansell & Gash, 2012).

2.4.3.4 Complexity Leadership

Complexity leadership, as suggested by Uhl-Bien et al. (2007), is a framework which describes how leaders can enable companies to operate as complex adaptive system, which are also able to adapt and evolve with a changing environment, within contexts of larger organising system. It describes leadership as embedded in context and socially constructed from and in a context (Uhl-Biel & Marion, 2009). Complexity leadership takes on several forms of a complex system of interactions. The outcome is organisational adaptability, creativity, and learning (Yammarino et al., 2012).

Complexity leadership does not mean it is complex, as in difficult or complicated. The term goes back from complexity science (Phelan, 2001; Tourish, 2019), this leadership tries to take advantage of the dynamic capabilities of complex adaptive systems (CAS), which are the basic unit of analysis in complexity science. They can be described as network of interacting, interdependent agents which are connected, bonded, in a cooperative dynamic by, for example, a common outlook, a goal or need (Uhl-Bien et al., 2007). CAS dynamics are the self-organising mechanism with which complex system adapt and change their internal structure spontaneously to cope with the environment, to solve problems creatively and adapt quickly (Cilliers, 2001; Uhl-Bien & Marion, 2009).

There are three types of components that are recognised for the adaptability of complexity leadership (Uhl-Bien et al., 2007). First, operational leadership, which is the formal design and alignment of systems to efficiently operate ideas and transform them into productive outcomes. It represents the authority, position, and power to make decision for the

organisation (Backlander, 2019). Second, entrepreneurial leadership, the source of new ideas, learning and growth of the organisation. Third, enabling leadership, that is the enabling of conditions that effectively support and sustain adaptive space. These three functions are not associated only with one individual. On the contrary, a member of the team can engage in any of them, or none of them. Highly agile complexity leaders will be able to move between the three, although this is not necessary, as normally there should be a pool of leaders who have those capacities (Uhl-Bien et al., 2007; Uhl-Bien & Arena, 2017).

2.4.3.5 Collective Leadership

Collective Leadership (De Brún & McAuliffe, 2023; De Fairhust et al., 2020; Empson & Alvehus, 2020; Fang et al., 2022; Friedrich et al., 2009; Raelin, 2018; Yammarino et al., 2012) focuses on units, teams, and networks, rather than only on the skills of individual leaders. To reach an effective outcome and quick resolution of emerging problems, there is a need for the expertise from multiple sources (Yammarino et al., 2012). Similar to shared leadership, collective leadership sees multiple members who take on leadership responsibilities within the team (Zhu et al., 2018).

To understand collective leadership, four main features will be briefly described here. Firstly, it is important to underline that not all team members are equal, but each one of them brings to the team different skills and expertise and this is what makes collective leadership very effective when those skills are used strategically (Friedrich et al., 2009). Secondly, collective leadership is information-based. By exchanging information through formal and informal networks, the correct person with the right expertise will be called to support the team to reach the desired outcome (Boone & Hendricks, 2009). Thirdly, collective leadership can take place in big size groups and so there is the need to make sure that the information is shared correctly. This is why there will be one or multiple formal leaders who are in charge of creating a team or network and clarifying what its objectives are (Raelin, 2018). Fourthly and lastly, collective leadership is not static. There will be different needs for expertise depending on the problems or the desired outcome. Consequently, there will also be a shift in who and how many are needed and what roles they are requested to have (Friedrich et al., 2016).

Some of the benefits of using collective leadership in contemporary organisations rely on the increased use of specific members depending on the issue. This comes in handy when there are rapidly emerging and complex problems with its capacity to quickly adapt and the importance given to innovation (Friedrich et al., 2009; Yammarino et al., 2012).

2.4.4 For This Study: The New Leadership Styles

This is a brief analysis of the body of knowledge relating to what is identified as being 'New Leadership Styles', and emergent in the 1990s and early 2000s. Its significance is that for many it has become a mainstream theory, albeit advanced from the other traditional perspectives cited as the beginning of this chapter. For great many others however - as a literature analysis has evidenced, it is viewed as new. It is illuminating to see how these new approaches show many commonalities that underline the changes organisations and societies are undertaking. First, there is a change from a traditional top-down way of thinking of leadership, a shift from one only individual in charge of the whole team to a collectivistic vision of leadership where multiple people take on different roles depending on the need (Dionne et al., 2014; Anderson & Sun, 2017).

Moreover, good communication, awareness of the other team members and their abilities, formal and informal networks, and relations are all key elements in contemporary leaderships. Knowing who your team members are, what their skills and abilities are needed to solve issues and reach goals faster and in a more effective way. Communication and knowledge sharing is the key to reach out to the right member when needed (Dihn et al., 2014). These changes are essential in contemporary companies. Organisational structures have changed as well as the needs of the followers. Leaders play a bigger role in motivating and retaining today's employees who have different expectations and desires than in the past. Studies have shown that workers from newer generations are more likely to be motivated when they work for a leader they like and appreciate. Leadership has had to change to adapt to these new shifts and compete in a new fast and international market (Anderson et al., 2017).

These new leadership approaches could be a tool to create a more equal working environment and create opportunities when it comes to gender and leadership, and for the purpose of this project, specifically in the creative and festival industries. As Ayman & Korabik (2010) state, there is a call to develop more inclusive theories of leadership, where both emic and etic perspectives are included. The *emic* approach means looking at leadership from within a cultural or social group, while the *etic* approach looks at validating theories and models of leadership through genders and cultural settings. The new theories approaches proposed above represent a change in a very traditional field of research. The collectivistic leadership theories, for example show the need for more inclusion and more collaboration in leadership roles (Yammarino et al., 2012).

This has been a brief look at the new leadership approaches to provide an idea of the change that is being taking place and what direction has been chosen. These new approaches presented opportunities, but also challenges and weakness and require more practical research. However, the change in leadership studies has started and the studies have proposed promising new approaches that could create a change in leadership research.

In the following part, the history of women leadership, in terms of when it was firstly introduced and studied and under what circumstances, will be presented. To understand the current situation for women leaders in festivals, main topic of this project, it is essential to look back at the past and its history.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the topic of leadership, presenting an overview of the terminology linked to the concept of leadership, and its various styles. Understanding what leader and leadership mean and how they are defined, alongside the importance of context and followers (e.g.: Howieson, 2019; Hunt & Fedynich, 2018; Stogdill, 1950; Silva, 2016) sets the

basis of this study, which is focused on women leaders and festival leadership in Edinburgh's festivals.

The terms femininity and masculinity were also discussed, specifically how they affect leadership, the way women and men are seen as leaders and the skills they stereotypically possess as leaders (Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017; Ackerly & True, 2010; Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Xion et al., 2022). This discussion is relevant to the analysis presented in the other chapters of the literature review. It is connected to Chapter 3, both where issues women might face as leaders are discussed, and it supports the understanding of the obstacles that hinder women's career. It contributes to the discussion of gender inequalities in the workplace in Chapter 5.

Further, the chapter presents an overview of the most established and researched leadership styles (e.g.: transformational and leader-member exchange), and new approaches and theories. This is valuable as it shows how the perspective on leadership, leaders, and followers, has changed throughout the years (Anderson & Sun, 2017; Northouse, 2018). This overview highlights the shift from a leader-centric perspective, where the leader was someone born with leadership skills (Hunt & Fedynich, 2018; Malakyan, 2014), to focus on the followers and the relationship that are created between the leader and them (Dinh et al., 2014). The new leadership styles that have emerged in research in recent years underline how leadership is a complex phenomenon in continuous transformation. It is highly influenced by the context (Gardner et al., 2010), and a shift of the decisional power, from one individual to multiple individuals in the team (Uhl-Bien, 2006; Dionne et al., 2014). These new leadership styles as discussed in this chapter are: collectivistic leaderships (De Brún & McAuliffe, 2023; Yammarino et al., 2012, D'Innocenzo et al., 2016); leadership development (Gipson et al., 2017; Avolio et al., 2010; Collins & Holton, 2004), and leadership emergence (Dihn et al., 2014; Acton et al., 2019; Luria et al., 2019). The new leadership styles are particularly interesting to understand what festival leadership style is and if the participants of this study would describe it as a collective leadership rather than having one individual holding the power. This overview is fundamental when evaluating events leadership styles in Chapter 5.

Chapter 3: Women leadership

3.1 Introduction

Women leadership is a central theme of this study, which aims at gaining an understanding of the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions; and the reasons that underpin this situation. Chapter 2 provided a general overview of leadership, its terminology, the most established and researched leadership styles, and new approaches. In Chapter 3, the focus is specifically on women and leadership. To address this subject, it is relevant to examine the research done on the topic of women leadership and to assess what challenges and obstacles women can encounter when achieving senior roles.

In this chapter there is a brief overview of the history of women leadership, how research has discussed and studied the topic, and how the perspective on the subject has changed throughout the years. Then, four specific issues women might face when achieving leadership positions in companies will be discussed. These are: the Glass Cliff Phenomenon, the Queen Bee Phenomenon, the Token Theory, and the Role Congruity Theory. After, an overview of the obstacles that hinder women's career will be presented. Specifically, attention is on motherhood and the impostor syndrome. Finally, this chapter concludes with a discussion on gender quota, analysing both its benefits and criticisms.

This chapter is fundamental for the data collection, as one of the research objectives is to evaluate the issues faced by women in Edinburgh festivals' sector in achieving leadership positions in comparison with the literature. The literature review draws from studies undertaken in leadership studies, human resources, and social science.

3.2 History and current studies of women leadership

The history of women in leadership, how the topic was firstly studied and with what approach are all important elements to consider in this project, which specifically looks at women

leadership in the Edinburgh Festivals. Women leadership is a central matter and to understand how it is nowadays, what issues women face when they achieve leadership roles, it is important to look to its past.

Studies and research that debated about the topic of gender and leadership together appear quite late, only in the 1970s. This is not because women were not part of the workforce until that time, but because women were gaining more leadership positions as well as the number of women in academia was growing, creating interest in the study of this topic (Hoyt & Simon, 2018). The first research question ever asked about women and leadership was on the actual ability women had to lead (Derks et al., 2016). There were few women in high managerial roles and there was interest to know if they would have been able to perform a good leadership role (Hoyt & Simon, 2018).

Following from the distinction between masculinity and femininity, discussed in section 2.2.3, the idea of differentiating leaders based on their gender, despite seeming a simple distinction, in reality brings a series of stereotypes and beliefs. As Schein (1973) observes, the stereotype, "think manager-think male" (Ryan et al., 2016, p.450) is based on the idea that only men could become leaders as they had certain traits, considered essential to be a good leader. This is because of their gender, being agentic, powerful, and strong (Hoyt & Simon, 2018). Literature on leadership styles of men and women has long focused on the idea that leaders elicit a set of expectancies depending on people's characterisation of them as either male or female (Kubu, 2018). The situation has, however, changed and improved for women and the shift of the discussion about gender and leadership has moved away from that first question about their skills, as discussed back in the 1970s. Women's corporate and political leadership is increasing. In 1970s in USA, only 18% of managerial and administrative positions were held by women (Eagly & Carli, 2003). In 2021, in USA, 40.9% of women held managerial positions (Catalyst, 2022). In 2021, in the UK, only 31 women (14.2%) held executive roles, including 8 CEOs across 27 companies with women executives in the UK's FTSE 100 (Catalyst, 2022; FTSE Women Leaders, 2022). In 2022, these numbers slightly increased to 36 women executive

directorships across 33 companies with women executives (Vinnicombe & Tessaro, 2023). Globally, in 2021, 26% of all CEOs and managerial director were women (Catalyst, 2022).

The increase of women in leadership has brought changes in the theories and practices of studies and research related to women leadership. There has been, thus, a change from the idea of a powerful to a more collaborative leader (Eagly & Carli, 2003). As discussed in Chapter 2, historically, leadership has been constructed around notions of masculinity. Leadership theory has emphasised male attributes as desirable qualities to become leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2003). However, in the last years, attention has been given to those qualities a woman leader has and how a company could benefit from them (Mendez & Busenbark, 2015; Xiong et al., 2022).

Since it emerged, research has been trying to find reasons to justify why women leaders would bring disadvantages to the working environment, as they were not seen as suitable. One way to support this has been done by underlining differences between men's and women's leadership style, where men were meant to have better skills (Eagly & Carli, 2003). However, the differences have been proven to be small, thus the differences in leadership attributions are not seen as the result from gender differences in leadership style or behaviours (Mendez & Busenbark, 2015). Moreover, the perspective on the topic of women and leadership has also greatly changed, as has the idea of what makes a good leader. No longer does a leader need to be all powerful decision maker. But rather a more collaborative one (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Other explanations have been suggested, as researchers have been in need to find a reason for the lack of presence of women in top leadership positions. One reason prevails in the research literature. This is the lack of fit between women's characteristics, skills, and aspirations with those thought to be needed for effective leadership (Hoyt & Murhpy, 2016; Eagly & Karau, 2022; Vial et al., 2016). This lack of fit is strongly connected pre-conceived traditions of a leader being White and being male. Being a woman does not fit in this image

of masculine leadership standards (Hoyt & Murhpy, 2016; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Nor with the masculine way of seeing what an ideal worker should be: high availability to work overtime, constantly on calls, and with less domestic duties (Liu et al., 2020).

Throughout the years, research have been taking different stands regarding the issue of women and leadership, and specifically the few numbers of women as leaders (Mendez & Busenbark, 2015). However, in the last years, studies have a changed point of view. Rather than discussing what women would lack as leaders (Amanatullah & Tinsely, 2013; Artz et al., 2018), or underlining why they do not fit in leadership positions (Meeussen et al., 2022; Wood & Eagly, 2012), some studies have started to showcase that women would actually be good leaders. They further analyse what issues they face and, thus, are obstacle to their leadership. (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

From one side, qualities thought to be stereotypically feminine- such as inclusion, communality, collaboration, and teamwork, have started to be seen as valuable in a leader (Eagly & Carli, 2003; Hammer & Champy, 1994). Women should be hired as leaders because they are what new companies need to break into the market and answer to the needs of new working situations (Mendez & Busenbark, 2015). Contemporary studies state that a good leadership should encourage teamwork, collaboration and underline the ability of the leader to empower, support, and engage his/her followers (Eagly & Carli, 2003). There is less focus on hierarchy and more the role of the leader as a coach or teacher who helps and supports the team. This change is also due to the technological growth, to the increase in workforce diversity, and to the need to face competitors (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Concomitantly, taking a different perspective, many scholars have considered the issues women face when they get leadership positions, and the challenges they confront and must overcome in acquiring higher level management roles (e.g.: Derks et al., 2011; Faniko et al., 2017; Faniko et al., 2021). In doing so, the focus has moved and the issue of being a woman leader is not caused by the leader being a woman, but by the difficult working conditions and

stereotypes women leaders find in companies (Vinkenburg et al., 2011; Derks et al., 2011). Some of the challenges emphasised are gender pay gap, and gender differences in promotion, presented in section 5.6.4. Some of the barriers women struggle with are the glass ceiling (Carvahlo et al., 2018), that is a popular metaphor to explain the challenges faced by many women to advance in their career (Harris & White, 2018), analysed in section 3.3.1.2; and the maternal wall (Ma et al., 2022), the different forms of discriminations at the workplace against pregnant women and working mothers (Williams, 2004), discussed in section 3.4.2. These led to women being offered fewer opportunities in the workplace (Xiong et al., 2022; Mendez & Busenbark, 2015).

This study will take into consideration specific issue women leaders and women aspiring to become leader might face in their career. However, before doing so, a brief overview of women leadership history will be presented.

3.2.1 Women leadership styles

The underrepresentation of women at senior leadership positions is well documented worldwide (World Economic Forum, 2022; UN Women, Women Count & United Nations, 2022). Previously, it has been discussed that men and women have different leadership styles, and this could be a reason to explain the scarcity of women leaders (Cuadrado et al., 2012). This can be one of the reasons, in addition to the obstacles women encounter when working on their career, such as gender inequalities, which will be discussed in section 5.6.3, and issues that hinder women's leadership, presented in section 3.4.

The differences analysed regard the leadership style, which refers to patterns of behaviour that are manifested by the leader (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). Earlier research on gender and leadership, prior to 1990, distinguished between two approaches to leadership. The former was known as task-oriented style, which was concerned on tasks-relevant activities. The latter, the interpersonally oriented style, which was about the importance of maintaining interpersonal relationship (Eagly et al., 2003). Men were generally considered

more autocratic and task oriented. This is because of the dimensions of gender stereotypes, where men have strong associations with being aggressive, independent, dominant, competent, enterprising, self-sufficient. Women, on the contrary, are considered more relationship orientated and democratic, because of their communal dimensions. They are caring, sensitive, affectionate, generous, and understanding (Cudrado et al., 2012; Eagly & Johnson, 1990). However, studies on this topic, gender, and leadership styles, were carried out in a laboratory (e.g.: Cann & Siegfried, 1990). When the same studies were conducted with real leaders, in organisational studies, results stated that there were no differences between men and women (Cudrado et al., 2012.) This underlines how in the studies done in laboratory, the differences were greater, and the genders were stereotyped (Cudrado et al., 2012).

Research on the topic has changed with the introduction of many new leadership styles, as seen in section 2.4. They gave further opportunity to investigate the relation between gender and specific leadership styles (Eagly et al., 2003; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Van Engen, van der Leeden & Willemsen, 2001). As example, transformational leadership is considered to be a women style, as the feature of this style is the intellectual stimulation of the leader and the individualised consideration given to followers (van Engen, van der Leeden & Willemsen, 2001). Women are more transformational and more democratic (van Engend & Willemse, 2004), and more committed to contingent reward behaviour, which is a transactional leadership feature, compared to men. Men have more autocratic, and passive leadership styles, such as laissez-faire style (Eagly et al., 2003; van Engen & Willemsen, 2004; Eagly et al., 1995).

Gender roles, presented in section 2.2.3, are central when discussing leadership. The link between the two, gender roles and leadership, will be discussed again in relation to the issues women might face as leaders, in the following section. There are two attributes that are relevant to leadership: agentic and communal attributes (Wood & Eagly, 2016). Agentic features describe confidence, assertiveness, controlling characteristics, such as being aggressive, competitive, independent. In the working place this means influencing others,

competing for attention (Eagly et al., 2003). These are usually ascribed more to men than women, and this is why men are seen as more autocratic (van Engen et al., 2004.) Women, on the other side, are linked to communal attributes. These are concerned with interpersonally sensitive, being gentle and caring towards others, helpful, sympathetic, and kind. In the working place, these are expressed by supporting others, avoid drawing attention on oneself, contributing to solution of interpersonal problems (Wood & Eagly, 2016). Gender roles influence how men and women behave as leaders, but also how followers see them as leaders, making it difficult for women to even be seen and accepted as leaders. Followers have gendered expectations on leaders and react accordingly to them. This will be greatly explained when discussing the role congruity theory in section 3.3.3 (Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006; Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Vitaly, as Mendez & Busenbark (2015) and Schedlitzkis & Edwards (2021) confirm, those differences in leadership between gender, as previously mentioned, have been proven to be small, and no clear difference between a style or the leader effectiveness because of their gender has been confirmed. As will be discussed in the following sections, the differences are based on expectations of how a woman and a man should behave because of their gender, and not because of their skills or effective abilities (Eagly & Karau, 2022). Moreover, most of the leadership styles that have been analysed come from studies and research conducted from a Western perspective, with a focus on White men as leaders (Rosette & Livingstone, 2012; Hoyte & Murphy, 2016).

This study aims at understanding what festival leadership is and whether differences between men and women as leaders have been experienced by the participants to this study. Specifically, the study has as a goal to overcome the dichotomy between male and female to open leadership roles to those with the right skills and experience, regardless of their gender, as well as their ethnicity and social-cultural background.

3.3 Women leader's Issues

There are several issues women as leaders might face when they reach a leadership position. Some of these have been recorded since the 1980s, while others have only recently been part of larger scale studies (Bechtoldt et al., 2019). These issues, which will be analysed in the following sections, have been chosen because they are issues that arise from gender stereotypes in the organisations. They underline how the culture in the company puts women in difficult situations, hindering their career progress (Derks et al., 2011). They fit well with the aim of this PhD, which is to understand the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions, and to analyse the reasons behind this. It is significant to take these issues into consideration and to critically engage with them in order to understand and then, evaluate them in the festival environment.

Specifically, the following issues will be taken into consideration: *Glass Cliff Phenomenon* (Glass & Cook, 2016; Kulich et al., 2015; Bechtoldt et al., 2019; Ryan et al., 2016; Ellemers, 2014; Morgenroth et al., 2020), *Queen Bee Phenomenon* (Vial et al., 2016; Derks et al., 2016; Arvate et al., 2018; Harvey, 2018; Ellemers, 2014; Faniko et al., 2021), *Token Theory* (Cook & Glass, 2018; Zimmer, 1988; Young et al., 1982), and *Role Congruity Theory* (Paustian-Underdahl et al., 2014; Aicher & Samariniotis, 2011; Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006).

3.3.1 Glass Cliff Phenomenon

Glass Cliff Phenomenon is one of the challenges women might face when holding leadership positions. This phenomenon is recorded when a company experiences a crisis. The interest in studying the Glass Cliff Phenomenon is linked to the recent Pandemic of Covid-19 which brought the entire events industry into a crisis (Patrick & Elsdon, 2020; Khlystova et al., 2022). Therefore, it is interesting, in the case of the Glass Cliff Phenomenon, to understand how an organisation behaves during moments of internal instability, and what role cultural organisational plays in this. As it will be suggested at the end of this analysis, Glass Cliff Phenomenon needs to be considered and elaborated in its entirety and complexity to comprehend it. Moreover, to fully understand it, several elements, such as culture and

organisational structure, and their impact on women leadership need to be taken into account.

3.3.1.1 Glass Ceiling

Glass Cliff Phenomenon belongs to a broader concept named Glass Ceiling. This is the subject of a great deal of literature starting in the 1980s, which discussed the underrepresentation of women in the workplace (Yaghi, 2018a). The Glass Ceiling is a metaphor that was firstly introduced by Hymowitz and Schellhardst in 1986 in the corporate world (Balasubramanian & Lathabhavan, 2017) and it was used to indicate the invisible barriers that obstacle women's career development, specifically when the job opportunities appeared to be the same available to men (Harris & White, 2018).

3.3.1.2 Glass Cliff Phenomenon: An introduction

Glass Cliff Phenomenon, specifically, appeared for the first time 2004 in a journal article by Connolly (2004). In the same year another article, published in the organisational literature, reviewed the phenomenon (Yaghi, 2018b). They both argued that while women do gain leadership positions, companies tend to offer only high-risk, dangerous, or uncertain positions to them. This both means that the chance of failure for women leaders is high, and that the reasons behind them being hired are different compared to men managers, to whom more stable positions would be usually offered (Ryan & Haslam, 2005).

Glass Cliff is a phenomenon that emerges when a company is going through a moment of crisis and in response the managerial team decides to take on a non-traditional leadership, not the stereotypical choice of a man (Morgenroth et al., 2020). There are two types of crises that an organisation might face. One is external and thus has uncontrollable factors (Ryan et al., 2016). The 2007-2008 Global Financial Crisis is an example of this. The second type is internal, which means that has controllable factors (Ryan et al., 2016). This could be when the company experiences previous bad management (Esposito, 2021).

The initial demonstration of the Glass Cliff Phenomenon was conducted by Ryan and Haslam (2005) with a relatively small sample aimed at demonstrating the causes of British women's failed leadership in the private sector. After that, researchers have tried to replicate the phenomenon in the context of corporate management (Morgenroth et al., 2020). Cook & Glass (2014), for example, investigated the phenomenon in the US taking into consideration Fortune 500 companies and noticing that those companies performing poorly were more likely to appoint a woman CEO compared to those performing better. A similar study was conducted by Haslam et al. (2010) who analysed the Glass Cliff in FTSE 100 companies in the years 2001-2005. They found evidence that stock performance was negatively related to the presence of women on company boards the following year. This means that when the company has a bad performance, the likelihood of having at least one woman member on the company board the next year was high. Another study in another setting, educational agencies, done by Smith (2015) demonstrated that educational leaders were more likely to be women, rather than men, when the risk of failure was higher, measured by the indicators of out-of-school suspensions and limited English knowledge.

The above-mentioned studies investigated and demonstrated the presence of the Glass Cliff Phenomenon. It is, however, important to mention that other research has not found evidence of the phenomenon and have questioned its existence (e.g.: Bechtoldt et al., 2019; Adams et al., 2009).

3.3.1.3 Authors' positions on Glass Cliff Phenomenon

Most authors agree that the Glass Ceiling Phenomenon takes place when the crisis is a controllable one, giving more power and more safety to the managerial team over the chosen woman leader (Kulich et al., 2015; Glass & Cook, 2016; Ryan et al., 2016). However, those who have investigated this phenomenon tend to take two different positions. From one side, some state that the Glass Ceiling exists, and it is a common phenomenon in companies that are facing an internal crisis and want to showcase a change to external stakeholders (Glass & Cook, 2016; Ryan et al., 2016; Kulich et al., 2015). From the other side, some authors remark

how the Glass Ceiling is a complex phenomenon. It cannot only be explained and justified by accusing man managers of discriminating against women, so lessening their power by choosing them as leader only during a crisis, in difficult working situations (e.g.: Bechtoldt et al., 2019; Yaghi, 2018b; and Kulich et al., 2018). To them, there are more elements that need to be taken into account to understand this phenomenon in its entirety.

These two positions will be both taken into consideration in the following section, and they will be analysed to fully understand the Glass Cliff Phenomenon. In the final section, there will be a discussion on which perspective will be chosen for the purpose of this study and why it is considered to fit better with the aim of this project.

3.3.1.4 First position on Glass Cliff Phenomenon

The first position on the Glass Cliff Phenomenon has been proposed by a significant number of studies that have been conducted. These have demonstrated how this phenomenon is a common situation in companies dealing with an internal crisis and pressure from external stakeholders for a change in leadership management (e.g.: Kulich et al., 2015; Glass & Cook, 2016; Ryan et al., 2016).

The group of authors, who have undertaken these large-scale studies on the Glass Cliff Phenomenon, agree that the Glass Cliff Phenomenon happens in cases where the pressure on women, their leadership work and performance in the company is strong. They can be excessively scrutinised because of the critical situation and being women, they are not traditionally seen as suitable for leadership roles (Glass & Cook, 2016). Moreover, some studies have demonstrated that non-prototypical leaders, including women, are usually punished more for mistakes than prototypical leaders (e.g.: Ryan et al., 2016).

There is also another element in the Glass Cliff Phenomenon that has been studied and proposed by this group of authors. This is linked to the meaning behind the appointment of a

woman as a leader (Kulich et al., 2015). Here, women are chosen as leaders to showcase to external stakeholders, customers, and investors that the company is actively working towards an improvement after the crisis caused by the previous leaders, usually men. Having a woman leading the company demonstrates an abrupt change and a completely shift of direction (Kulich et al., 2015). Companies want to signal that they are aware of the critical situation they are in and that they are actively taking action to overcome the crisis (Kulich et al., 2018).

However, companies may have no real trust in women as leaders because the managerial team does not believe they have those leadership skills and abilities required to face the crisis. They do not count on women leaders to take actual action and solve the critical state the company is in. Women are elevated to leaders as a mere representation of the change to reassure external stakeholders that the company is effectively trying to improve the situation (Kulich et al., 2015). The appointment of women, thus, represents a low-risk decision for the company in case they fail, as their failure is an expected outcome (Kulich et al., 2018).

Moreover, women leaders experiencing the Glass Cliff Phenomenon find themselves in a working environment where there is no material support, since the company is in decline. They also have little support from relevant stakeholders and managerial staff, and so they lack social resources, as well (Ellemers, 2014). This can have ripple effects on their career prospects as women in this position may struggle in being appointed to leadership positions in the future, particularly if they come from poorly performing companies (Ryan et al., 2016).

Despite this situation, some authors (e.g.: Glass & Cook, 2016; Ryan et al., 2016) have underlined how women will both accept these leadership positions and will also seek out these kinds of opportunity. Further, the literature suggests this is because women feel this could be their only chance to climb the company social ladders and to prove themselves as valid leaders. The conclusion the authors (e.g.: Glass & Cook, 2016; Kulich et al., 2015) draw is that by not giving women the support and trust they need to act as leaders, companies can lose potential vital human leadership capital. This is, especially, because a change in

leadership style after a moment of crisis can be a good turn for the company itself and women could face this and, thus, actually provide an improvement for the company if better equipped to cope (Kulich et al., 2015).

Organisations can gain benefits from having a gender diverse working environment, as this can allow them to penetrate more and new markets and cater for different customers and suppliers (Kulich et al., 2015). Diversity can also facilitate more creativity and innovation and assist with engaging in more effective problem solving thanks to the presence of different perspectives (Ryan et al., 2016; Richard et al., 2013; Richard et al., 2003). Gender diverse leaderships have also been demonstrated to help comprehend complex demands and cultural differences in global markets, achieving, thus, better financial results (Ryan et al., 2016; Kulich et al., 2015).

3.3.1.5 Second position on Glass Cliff Phenomenon

On the other side, the second group of authors (e.g.: Bechtoldt et al., 2019; Yaghi, 2018a; and partly Kulich et al., 2018) who have undertaken research on the Glass Cliff Phenomenon believe that it is constraining to talk about a “Glass Cliff Phenomenon”. They argue the concept proposed by the previous group of researchers presents women as dependent on men’s decisions and that men are the only ones to blame since they only hire women in critical situation.

Yaghi (2018a), discussing the Glass Cliff Phenomenon, talks about a “glass prison” where women, because of their gender, are confined at the workplace. The glass prison refers to a state of mind where people are convinced that men dominate the workplace and hold the decision-making positions. Women, on the other side, are looked down upon by men as failed employees and leaders (Yaghi, 2018b). Further, women are vulnerable, easily manipulated and are not capable of deciding whether to take a precarious position or to reject and avoid it. The author suggests that the meaning of this metaphor refers to people convincing themselves that men want to dominate the workplace and have all the decision-making

positions, the notion of “think evil-think men” (Yaghi, 2018b). This leaves women no other choice than being failed employees and leaders (Cook & Glass, 2014). This concept of “think evil-think men” refers to the idea that men are always the ones to be blamed, allowed women no room for agency (Yaghi, 2018a).

This notion suggests that the reasons behind the lack of women leaders, or their failure in a company, should be more comprehensively analysed and understood. This is rather than accusing men of being “evil” with the aim of failing women in their career progression (Yaghi, 2018b). The author argues that the Glass Cliff Phenomenon does not help women to gain leadership positions nor to understand why they might fail. It provides, quite the contrary, i.e., a general reason for the failure of professional women, specifically at managerial levels. Further, it creates an unrealistic expectation for women that they should never fail. This puts extreme pressure on women leaders and, moreover, causes the failure of women in the workplace to be perceived as more significant than it is in reality (Yaghi, 2018a).

What Yaghi (2018a) tries to underline is that the failure should be more deeply analysed as being inevitable for everyone at a certain point in his or her life, in the working environment. What’s more, Yaghi (2018a) is also concerned by some studies that have been proposed, in which he perceives that the concept of Glass Cliff Phenomenon is not value-free. By the contrary, researchers have prior judgements about bias and discrimination against women in the workplace even before the data have been collected and analysed.

Yaghi (2018a) position align with that of Bechtoldt et al. (2019), as they agree that the Glass Cliff Phenomenon does not take into consideration several other aspects of this problem, namely: the culture of the organisation; the regulations and laws of the country where the job is based; organisational, political, psychological and regional factors; board structure; and societal value placed on diversity management that have often been overlooked in previous studies.

Bechtold et al. (2019) in particular, suggest that the phenomenon should not be generalised as national cultures impact how strongly the value of gender equality is enforced and, thus, they will affect expectations of whom an effective leader is and whether women are considered to be more or less suitable for leadership roles. In addition to these ideas, Kulich et al. (2018) also highlight how choosing a woman over a man during a moment of crisis should not only be explained by the gender of the leader but the decision could be a matter of gendered traits rather than a matter of gender, and, thus, be a positive choice as feminine traits are actually needed to change the situation. The choice of a woman as leader during a moment of internal crisis can be read in two ways. To Kulich et al. (2018), there are both a greater trust in women leadership's skills, but also as recognition of women's capacity only in such moments of difficulty and struggle. The concept *think crisis-think female* means that women are chosen for their stereotypically women traits needed at this time of crises (Morgenroth et al., 2020). According to these authors, the Glass Cliff Phenomenon could be seen from a positive perspective as a proof of trust towards women leaders who could be the only ones to help the company overcome the challenging situation.

Kulich et al. (2018), then emphasise what Yaghi (2018a) already suggested, that is that studies have to be careful before labelling a woman leader in a crisis situation as part of the Glass Cliff Phenomenon. A distinction should be made between the "window-dressing" strategy, or image-lifting, which are part of the phenomenon itself, a way to showcase external stakeholder a change, and the real need for a good and experienced leader (Kulich et al., 2018).

Finally, there are many elements that come into play when a leader is chosen, (Kulich et al., 2018; Yaghi, 2018a; Bechtoldt et al., 2019). Among those there are: leadership ideals and choices, usually a consequence of complex interplays, the company's situation, either in a moment of crisis or in stability, the information about the candidates, and the type of role expected by the leader. However, it is more difficult for a woman to know whether her role was given as a sign of trust or not, especially when the selection criteria are unclear, having detrimental consequences for women, their work, and their outcomes (Kulich et al., 2018).

This second position, in contrast to the first one analysed above, is more concerned and careful when it comes to talk about the presence of the Glass Cliff Phenomenon. It tries to consider all other elements and aspects that could influence the decision on the future leader, without pointing at men or gender inequality as the only reasons.

3.3.1.6 For this study: Perspective on the Glass Cliff Phenomenon

For the purpose of this study, despite both perspectives being interesting and relevant, Kulich et al.'s (2018) position will be adopted. The reason behind this decision is twofold. First, this study wants to avoid looking at the Glass Cliff Phenomenon from only one perspective. Second, the Glass Cliff Phenomenon should not be used to justify the lack of women as leaders, and the presence of women leader as merely image-lifting during a crisis, as suggested by the first group of authors (e.g.: Kulich et al., 2015; Glass & Cook, 2016; Ryan et al., 2016). On the contrary, all other elements will be taken into account. This will start from the culture and the organisational structure of events, specifically festivals.

There is a lack of literature which engages with women leaders in the field of festival and event management. The studies of Glass Cliff Phenomenon are mainly concerned with traditional business and financial orientated companies. Therefore, one of this study's objectives is to understand what issues women face in the Edinburgh festivals, and whether the Glass Cliff Phenomenon is one of them.

Moreover, this study wants to avoid the paradigm "think-evil think-men" (Yaghi, 2018a). This is because this paradigm does not recognise individual capabilities or merits, but it only considers gender as the determinant of organisational outcome and behaviour. By over-emphasising the gender aspect, women might be pushed to believe in the glass prison: the perception that men targeting women can limit women's ambitions and leadership (Yaghi, 2018b).

Finally, it is important to consider the Glass Cliff Phenomenon and be aware that it might happen in organisations. However, the perspective this study is adopting is that of not blaming women for that, depicting them as easily manipulated as the first group of author seems to suggest. This study also wants to avoid targeting this phenomenon as a “woman problem”. The present study does not want to represent women as weak and incapable of making decisions and refusing risky leadership roles, but it rather aims at creating awareness of the Glass Cliff Phenomenon and considering all those other elements suggested in the above analysis. The goal is to try to understand whether the problem exists in the working – employed- environment of festival organisations and management, and how to overcome it.

3.3.2 Queen Bee Phenomenon

Glass Cliff Phenomenon is one of the issues that women can experience when they reach higher positions in a company. However, there is another element that needs to be taken into account and it concerns the behaviour of women leaders and how they are seen and perceived by other female co-workers. Understanding these dynamics in the workplace is crucial to be able to frame women’s leadership better and make the right suggestions and recommendations for women leaders in the festival environment. One of the objectives of this project is to critically explore how women festival leaders position themselves in festival fields and to assess what leadership style they have. To evaluate this, it is crucial to understand how women behave with one another when they become leaders and how they exercise their role as leaders.

The following section will, firstly, give an overview of what Queen Bee Phenomenon means. Secondly, it will analyse the effects of this phenomenon on the company and on women. Thirdly, the reasons behind this phenomenon will be explained. Fourthly, the problematic of choosing the name “Queen Bee Phenomenon” and the critiques it rises will be highlighted. Finally, it will consider what point of view will be taken for the purpose of this project.

3.3.2.1 The Queen Bee Phenomenon: The term

The Queen Bee Phenomenon term was introduced for the first time in 1973 by Staines, Tavis and Jayaratne. It was, then, continuously studied and proposed throughout the '90s (e.g.: Knight, 1992; Cooper, 1997) until more recent days (e.g.: Vial et al., 2016; Derks et al., 2016; Neto et al., 2022). The term itself is a metaphor taken from the bee colony where there is only one reproductive queen. All the other female bees are infertile, and they all serve the queen (Queen Bee Syndrome, 2019). Staines et al. (1973) specifically discussed *the Queen Bee Syndrome*, for the first time, referring to women in leadership positions who tended to manifest antifeminist features and behaviours towards their female co-workers. In their views, women in higher positions take on more stereotypically man-like styles, being individualistic decision-makers and avoiding being friendly or creating mentoring relations with other women. This could both distance themselves from their female colleagues and stop potential competition (Staines et al., 1973).

3.3.2.2 Description of Queen Bee Phenomenon

The research and studies done so far on this phenomenon agree on three ways women behave like Queen Bees (e.g.: Derks et al., 2016). First, women leaders will present and act more like a man. Second, they will physically and psychologically distance themselves from other women in the workplace. Thirdly, they will enact the previous elements by endorsing and legitimising the current gender hierarchy (Derks et al., 2016).

In analysing those three elements more specifically, it is found that firstly women in leadership positions will emphasise the features that they see as masculine and, thus, required as a leader, e.g. agentic characteristic. Women leaders will, then, assimilate these features while moving up the organisational ladder (Vial et al., 2016).

Secondly, women leaders will underline how much more ambitious and committed to their career they are compared to any other women co-worker in the company, but not to male

subordinates (Derks et al., 2016). It has been demonstrated that women usually do not distance themselves from all women in general, but only from those who have not been as successful as them, and who have not made the same sacrifices (Harvey, 2018).

Thirdly and finally, women leaders legitimise the status quo in multiples ways. Queen Bees agree with negative stereotypes about women, they do not support or even obstacle and oppose action to address gender inequality and they deny the illegitimacy of lower outcomes for women as a group. They are also very critical of women with junior roles, and they enact stereotypes on considering them as less ambitious and committed than men with similar roles. Moreover, they indicate there is no gender bias in selection procedures, even when there clearly are and, thus, they are against any gender equality policies for junior women (Derks et al., 2016).

Women, who succeed in a male-dominated work environment, will accept, and adjust to, its masculine culture and will consider themselves different from all other female colleagues (Derks et al., 2016). They will characterise themselves in a highly masculine way and will be extremely career orientated (Ellemers, 2014). In addition, a Queen Bee will treat co-workers in a demoralizing, undermining or bullying way (Harvey, 2018). What women seek, according to Cooper (1997), is attention from men and this is why they feel threatened by other women in the workplace. How the Queen Bee Phenomenon takes place is by evaluating women colleagues more negatively, trying to subvert their success.

Finally, it is often thought and believed that sexist and discriminating behaviours in workplaces usually come from men (Derks et al., 2011). However, recent research has been showing how women who manage to have success in male-dominated jobs are also responsible to have a negative role when it comes to help and support the advancement of their female colleagues (e.g.: Faniko et al., 2021; Neto et al., 2022; Kark et al., 2023). Several studies have demonstrated how women in positions of power would obstruct rather than support their colleagues to improve their positions (e.g.: Derks et al., 2011; Salles & Choo,

2020; Faniko et al., 2021). This has also been demonstrated by research conducted by the Workplace Bullying Institute (2022), which suggests that women bullies in the workplace choose women as targets 65% of the time.

3.3.2.3 Consequences of Queen Bee Phenomenon on the company

The Queen Bee Phenomenon brings a series of repercussions that are important to be addressed to understand it in its entirety. These can affect either the company or the woman leader as well as female co-workers. For the company, this phenomenon has negative consequences on its outcomes and performances. It also impacts the organisational performance and bottom-line results (e.g.: Harvey, 2018; Derks et al., 2016).

This phenomenon can diminish results for companies by limiting opportunities for them to benefit from the diversity that women would have to offer. Female leaders believe that they have to adjust to the established way of thinking and organisational culture, which is usually masculine dominant, if they want to be accepted and part of it. Consequently, they will not add any new or different perspective. This will entail a loss of a richer discussion and new ideas (Derks et al., 2016). Furthermore, poor leadership negatively impacts organisational performance and profitability. Moreover, Queen Bees often hinder other skilled and talented women from advancing in the workplace (Harvery, 2018).

In addition, the Queen Bee Phenomenon does not leave space for diversity of thought. This influences the company climate in a negative way since women leaders suggest to women with junior roles that for the purpose of fitting into the organisation and go up the ladder, they need to defeminise themselves and think like a man (Harvey, 2018). These situations may lead to higher turnover rates among women in companies, affecting the company's quality and wellbeing (Derks et al., 2016).

3.3.2.4 Consequences of Queen Bee Phenomenon on women

The Queen Bee syndrome not only has consequences on the company, but it can also be a very major hindrance to women advancing in the workplace. It can be detrimental to both junior female colleagues and the Queen Bee, herself. By not admitting that there are gender biases in the selection criteria, as previously mentioned above, women in the workplace will often lack the sponsorship or support needed to be promoted (Harvey, 2018).

From the perspective of a Queen Bee, their behaviour will affect the support they could potentially receive. The main source of support for Queen Bees would be other senior women. However, they will not always be other women at the same level. Thus, one of the backlashes is experienced by women leaders when they have a behaviour that is not congruent with their gender role, is that they will not receive help from subordinates when needed, as they are not affectively involved with lower groups and they actively try to distance themselves from them (Vial et al., 2016). Therefore, they will not be able to cope with the stress of gender bias and they will not have any opportunities to share their experiences with other women, who could possibly share the same issues and could help each other to overcome them (Derks et al., 2016).

Moreover, for women with junior roles, the Queen Bee Phenomenon is also detrimental and negative as their career ambitions and their perceived opportunities for success may suffer and diminish when their female supervisor, potentially seen as a role model, has distanced herself from female colleagues with junior roles (Derks et al., 2016). Furthermore, because of the negative evaluations of women perpetuated by Queen Bees, women colleagues will find their opportunities limited. The stereotypes and negative gender bias personified by Queen Bees will also remain unchallenged and will continue to take place (Derks et al., 2011).

Finally, in male-dominated companies, they will lack someone to be inspired by, to ask for suggestions from, and to gain work help. Women in junior roles are in need of female role-

models, but they usually rate women with senior positions as poorer role models who behave in ways that reflect negatively on women as junior co-workers as a group and who are difficult to work with (Derks et al., 2016) In this sense, Queen Bee behaviour remains an individual strategy that reinforces rather than challenges gender-based inequality, providing negative outcomes on women working at all levels in the company (Derks et al., 2011).

3.3.2.5 Reasons for Queen Bee Phenomenon to happen

The Queen Bee Phenomenon has been studied to understand whether women choose to behave in this way, or it is affected by external elements (e.g.: Havery, 2018; Vial et al., 2016; Faniko et al., 2017; Ellemers, 2014). Discussion on this phenomenon has concluded that women can behave in such a way that they become their own worst enemies, and it is not men, but women themselves, who try to hinder women to advance in the workplace (Faniko et al., 2021; Neto et al., 2022; Salles & Choo, 2020; Derks et al., 2016).

However, the reasons behind this phenomenon are not to be driven to the behaviour women have, but rather to external factors which will be analysed and explained in the following sections, namely: the gender inequality in the company; the lack of support from the organisation and then the self-reinforcing cycle of illegitimacy.

1) Gender inequality in the company

First, there is an important distinction to make, which is between those women who act like Queen Bees because of external reasons and those who are not Queen Bees, but will be seen as such (Harvey, 2018). The first type of women behaves like Queen Bees because they either have a feeling of insecurity or the belief that to be taken seriously by the followers they need to look aggressive (Harvey, 2018). The second type is not to be confused with Queen Bees, as they are strong and ambitious women in the workplace who behave in an aggressive and agentic way by nature (Harvey, 2018).

As just described here, this phenomenon takes place not because the woman leader wants to behave in such a way, but it is mainly caused by the working conditions and organisational culture of the place where they work as leaders (Vial et al., 2016). The Queen Bee phenomenon is a consequence of gender discrimination in the workplace that drives some women to believe that to work on their success they need to underline how different they are from other women colleagues, as well as accept gender stereotypes (Derks et al., 2011). Workplaces where women go through a high degree of gender prejudice and discrimination could lead them to agree, conform and accept the existing gender stereotypes. They, for example, will believe that other women colleagues are less orientated than they are (Derks et al., 2011).

Because of this situation, to obtain senior positions, women need to prove, or feel that they have to prove, that they are different from the other women in that environment. In doing so, they also want to distance themselves from those features that are stereotypically feminine, e.g. being communal and caring (Arvate et al., 2018).

The Queen Bee Phenomenon is, therefore, thought to be a response to external situations that put the women leader to behave in such a way and not a way of working chosen by them. Specifically, this phenomenon is a consequence of gender inequalities and gender discriminations experienced in the workplace, and not a cause of it (Arvate et al., 2018). In these working situations, women believe that they have to set themselves apart from the other women colleagues as a strategy to improve their own career success (Derks et al., 2011).

So, the conclusion is that women do not behave like this on purpose, but Queen Bee responses emerge as a strategy to deal with the issue of gender bias (Ellemer, 2014). This phenomenon is not linked to a woman being a leader, on the contrary it is caused by the discriminatory career experiences women in higher positions encounter on their way to the top (Ellemer, 2014).

2) Lack of support from organisation

Organisational gender biases are the main cause for the Queen Bee Phenomenon to happen. In addition to this, an organisational culture that lacks a focus and a commitment on gender equality also affects how women can exercise their ability to leadership (Faniko et al., 2017).

There are three elements that characterise such company culture. Firstly, in general, individuals who are part of an undervalued minority have to face those stereotypes threats that make their contributions likely to be considered less important or valuable than those of the majority group members (Derks et al., 2011; Kark et al., 2023).

Second, companies offer fewer resources to contribute to perform to women leaders in comparison to those given to men. Despite this, women and men will be expected to provide and deliver the same outcomes even if with less favourable circumstances, overcoming greater risks of failure than men (Faniko et al., 2017; Faniko et al., 2021).

Thirdly, in line with stereotypes, to be successful and effective all leaders are expected to behave in a certain way which does not align with the expectations of how a woman should behave in leadership positions. This is a mismatch. For women, not only is it hard to understand how to find a way to express their leadership skills and be taken seriously, but there is also a lack of role models to follow, or other women with senior positions who could support them during the process, of becoming, and then developing as a leader (Faniko et al., 2017; Neto et al., 2022).

In addition to this element of inconsistency, women are often expected to prioritise their work above anything else. This is precipitated by employers putting greater demand on them

(than men) and offering limited if any support for the pressure of family and children (Faniko et al., 2017).

This organisational culture, where women lack support, also sees the Queen Bee phenomenon as a response to social identity threat, which is a term used to indicate that part of people's self-image, derived from the groups to which they belong (Derks et al., 2011). Women working in companies where their gender is not valued, see it as a threat to their social identity.

Social identity threat can have two consequences. From one side, women will act behaviours aimed to improve the so-called *collective mobility* which is when women group together to fight negative stereotypes and to improve their social conditions (Derks et al., 2009). On the other side, there could also be a psychological dissociation from the group that negatively affects one's identity, attempting to improve personal outcomes instead, and this is known as *individual mobility* (Faniko et al., 2021). The latter one has been associated with the Queen Bee Phenomenon, a response that women might take to companies that lack of support and discriminative organisational culture that make them feel threatened and less worthy of achieving a career compared to men (Derks et al., 2011).

In conclusion, working conditions for women are harder when the organisation culture is not inclusive and does not aim at equality and integration. Women have to invest more time and mental energy in their work if they want to achieve career success, and they also lack important sources of social support that men usually have. In these conditions, Queen Bee behaviours are likely to happen as a form of reaction to the difficult and exhausting situation (Faniko et al., 2017). Finally, the more women experience gender discrimination along their way up the organisational ladder, the more they will work to improve their own outcomes by perpetuating these negative images of other women while simultaneously presenting themselves in masculine terms (Derks et al., 2011).

3) The self-reinforcing cycle of illegitimacy

The Queen Bee Phenomenon does not happen only because of a gender inequality culture in the organisation. Despite this being a prominent reason for this behaviour to take place, the lack of trust in women as leaders does not only come from HR and managerial positions, but followers also play an important role in the relationships they build with their leaders (Vial et al., 2016). The relationship between a leader and their followers is essential: followers are those who create the dynamism with the leaders, who give the *power* to the leader to lead them. Leaders and followers are two key concepts in leadership management (Northouse, 2018).

The self-reinforcing cycle of illegitimacy theoretical framework helps to understand the difficult situation in which women leaders find themselves and how hard it can be for them to get out (see Appendix 3). A woman leader can have the power and be on top of a company, but if her followers will not believe that the position and the power she holds are legitimate, then she is not be perceived as a leader (Vial et al., 2016). What happens next, and why this framework is seen as a cycle, is that women become aware of this lack of trust the subordinates have towards them, and that they are not seen as proper leaders, and this will consequently mean women will have a reduced confidence in their skills and abilities. As a matter of fact, this situation will also have potential consequences in their leadership skills and, thus, in their performance (Vial et al., 2016).

Specifically, there could be two consequences to the above. Firstly, women leaders will try to behave in a more stereotypically male way, which is more aggressive. Alternatively, they will become more submissive and try to please the followers. Both reactions will have a negative impact on how women will feel about themselves, their confidence and, of course, on how they exercise their leadership on their subordinates (Vial et al., 2016). This scenario is when the Queen Bees Phenomenon takes place. From one side, women may take on an agentic way of leading and may try to shade away those typical feminine features. From the other side, they distance themselves from other women as they do not want to be associated with them

by their followers, losing credibility and working connections with their subordinates (Vial et al., 2016).

3.3.2.6 Issues with the label “Queen Bee”

In the following section, the label “Queen Bee” itself and the issues that it arises will be taken into consideration and discussed. As mentioned at the very beginning, the term was chosen in the ‘70s to describe this phenomenon using as a reference the bees’ colony where there is room for only one queen (Staines et al., 1973). However, nowadays, studies have considered the choice of the word “queen”, a term that is very specific and can only refer to women (e.g.: Derks et al., 2016; Derks et al., 2011; Mavin, 2008). It can be said, then, that the concept itself is sexist. The Queen Bee Phenomenon is not the cause of gender inequalities in the workplace, but rather it is a consequence of them, and the negative gender biases that women encounter in male-dominated work settings (Derks et al., 2016; Arvate et al., 2018).

There are two elements to consider, both linked to stereotyped ideas on women. From one side, there are certain stereotypical behaviours that are expected by women in the workplace. On the other side, when those are not met, the idea of a woman being a Queen Bee is easily proposed again, especially, but not only, in the media (Mavin, 2008). These are two interrelated elements that provoke blame towards women, and they do not let a deeper analysis of the issues of gender discrimination that are in the workplace.

Firstly, women are expected to help and promote each other in the workplace, the so-called forced sisterhood women must show, while men are accepted to compete amongst each other for the best jobs (Derks et al., 2016). This can be linked to the concept of solidarity behaviour, which suggests that women will align themselves with other women, and, thus, women in a senior position will help other women colleagues in the workplace, mentoring and supporting them. This assumption of natural sisterhood is implicit also within research, and it is suggested and recommended that women who want to go up the company ladder should have proactive, high profile senior women as role models and mentors who are

involved in women's networks (Mavin, 2008). When this does not happen, women are pejoratively labelled and blamed, and called Queen Bees (Fernandez-Mateo & Kaplan, 2020).

However, there are three elements that have never been taken into consideration (Derks et al., 2016). The first one being if women in senior positions *are* willing to help other women, as it should be a choice of their own. Second, women have struggled to gain a position in a man dominated company, and the price for that might also include a willingness to turn against other women (e.g.: Mavin, 2008; Derks et al., 2016). Third and last, it is also difficult for women to create a good boss-subordinate interaction, since at work women tend to react to women bosses as women and to men bosses as bosses (Mavin, 2008). This phenomenon of women leaders having to behave like men to fit will also be part of the role congruity theory that will be discussed in the next section.

Women who join the competition for higher career outcomes are seen as particularly hostile and unfriendly, considered to have a deviant personality structure and against other women. Consequently, Queen Bees are seen as the main responsible for gender discrimination in the company (Mavin, 2008). Furthermore, based on this idea, research has started to move the focus of the question on who these women are, exploring stable personality traits such as low self-esteem or traditional gender attitudes to explain their hostility towards other women (Derks et al., 2011). These two reasons for which women are called Queen Bees share a common trait: the established misogynist and macho culture in the workplace (Derks et al., 2011).

One way to explain this gendered biased mental process can be linked to the idea of the notion of masculinity and femininity, which has been demonstrated to be grounded within culture and not by biological necessity and has been described in section 2.2.3. Masculinity and femininity have been shown not to be fixed, but their concept is constantly changing, and it is culturally and historically subjected to the meanings people give to them (Due Billing & Alvesson, 2000).

The issue that arises is that positioning masculine and feminine as polar opposites confine men and women in gendered sex-role stereotypes and this makes it difficult for women to be able to find their own way of operating within a socially though masculine workplace, leaving them with no other option that adopt men working traits (Due Billing & Alvesson, 2000). The reason is that the workplace has always been associated with a place of power and authority. These two qualities have, in turn, always been considered features owned by men. This has put women in leadership positions to experience a contradiction between their gender identity and the masculinity qualities of holding power. This situation can be an explanation of why women adopt stereotypical man attributes (Mavin, 2008).

All in all, the Queen Bee concept is sexist for the cultural and discriminatory meanings attached to it. Moreover, there is not an alternative term used to negatively label senior men in organisations and it succeeds in reproducing the gendered status quo for women in management (Derks et al., 2011; Fernandez-Mateo & Kaplan, 2020). Finally, Queen Bee is an outcome that happens in work settings where women are not valued and negatively stereotyped, where the number of women at management level is low and where the idea of women being unsuitable leaders is strong. The continued use of this term provides further argument as why women are not suitable for senior roles in a company (Derks et al., 2011). In the following section, ways to overcome this issue connected to the Queen Bee Phenomenon will be discussed.

3.3.2.7 Ways to overcome the Queen Bee Phenomenon

The current analysis of the Queen Bee Phenomenon has underlined how this issue can bring negative outcomes not only for women working at senior and junior roles, but also for the company itself. Moreover, it has been demonstrated how the Queen Bee should not be seen as a *woman problem* but provoked by discriminatory and gender bias organisational cultures (e.g.: Derks et al., 2016; Mavin, 2008; Derks et al., 2011; Faniko et al., 2021). In order to overcome this phenomenon, the first action to take place is to address the gender discrimination in the workplace (Ellemers, 2014).

To improve gender diversity, organisations should not just choose *token women* and put them into positions of power. These token women leaders are unlikely to add their personal approach to the company and be role models for women colleagues, especially if they might believe this will harm their personal opportunities for all the reasons analysed in the above discussion (Derks et al., 2016). If the organisational culture does not change and it remains biased, there will not be a real improvement (Neto et al., 2022). By simply increasing the number of minority representative in higher positions in a company, in this case *women*, it will not really face the problem for that discriminating group (Derks et al., 2011). Furthermore, asking or expecting senior women to have solidarity behaviours, while blaming them if they do not fulfil this request is also not the best answer to the issue. Instead, companies should scrutinise and challenge their organisational culture and examine whether gender diversity would be welcomed (Derks et al., 2016).

Finally, challenging this idea of the Queen Bee would mean to challenge prejudgements on women, avoiding tensions, creating the right environment for them to advance (Mavin, 2008). Companies would also benefit from gender diversity at the managerial level and could help to get into new and different markets, have more creative, innovative ideas and propose more effective problem solving (Ellemer, 2014). All these elements, together with a better understanding of complex demands and cultural differences in global markets thanks to a gender-diverse leadership will mean improved financial results (Ellemer, 2014; Fernandez-Mateo & Kaplan, 2020).

3.3.2.8 For this study: Perspective on the Queen Bee Phenomenon

The reasons why the Queen Bee Phenomenon is part of this project refers back to one of the objectives, that is to understand how women position themselves in the working environment and how culture affects them. In this specific case, culture is linked to two concepts. From one side, the culture of the organisation and the presence of gender biases can be seen as the reasons why Queen Bees appear. On the other side, it is also important to

look at national culture and the stereotypical idea of solidarity and sisterhood of women, who are not allowed to compete with one another (Ellemers, 2014).

The idea is, firstly, to challenge the general acceptance of the label *Queen Bee* as it is discriminatory itself (e.g.: Derks et al., 2016; Derks et al., 2011; Mavin, 2008). In addition, to analyse the unquestioning acceptance of the Queen Bee concept as an appropriate framework to understand women's behaviour (Mavin, 2008). The final goal, in the festival environment, is to, then, critique the use of this label to describe this phenomenon and to focus on how companies could ensure that everyone in the company, regardless of gender identification, might improve the general environment and financial outcomes and this idea that employees belong to a specific gender will be overcome (Derks et al., 2011).

Finally, as it was already mentioned for the *Glass Cliff Phenomenon*, the aim is to supersede the idea that women should be the ones to blame, but rather to move the scope of the problem and, instead, focus on what it could be done to improve the situation.

3.3.3 Role Congruity Theory

Women struggle to achieve leadership roles, and, still today, despite gaining further positions of power in companies, leadership has been predominantly a male prerogative in many business settings, and especially those who are stereotypically men-lead (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Women who want to achieve a leading status face several issues. These can occur both before getting the job, and during the hiring process; but also later, when holding a leadership role (Derks et al., 2016). Those issues are caused by stereotypes around women and their lack of the necessary characteristics to be good leaders. This is provoked by the traditional idea of what a good leader is like: aggressive and powerful. These skills have been for long considered to be masculine features. Women leaders, on the contrary, are assertive and communal (Yaghi, 2018a).

The continuous idea that there is a lack of qualified women has created a pipeline problem. Researchers first justified the scarcity of women leaders. They proposed studies showing how women prefer to be occupied with family responsibilities, such as staying at home and taking care of the children and the elderly. Moreover, women were shown as not having the right motivations and training to maintain those high-level positions at work (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The literature on women leadership has finally changed direction and those justifications have been put aside. Researchers have started to investigate the issues women face in societies and in the organisations. Being women is not seen as the obstacle to their own career advancement anymore (Derks et al., 2016). The *Glass Cliff Phenomenon* (e.g.: Ellemers, 2014), and *the Queen Bee Phenomenon* (e.g.: Arvate et al., 2018) are some of the proposed issues women leaders must face, and which have been analysed previously.

Role Congruity Theory will be analysed in the following section. Specifically, there will be an introduction to the theory and its explanation. Following that, an overview of the prejudice that builds on the Role Congruity Theory will be presented. Attention will be also given to gender roles and how those influence the presence and success of women leaders.

3.3.3.1 Role Congruity Theory: The origins

The Role Congruity Theory was introduced by Eagly & Karau (2002). This theory says that the positivity towards a leader comes from the alignment of the desired and required qualities of the leader with the features that are stereotypically ascribed to the candidate (Brown et al., 2011). To understand this theory, it is critical to underline how a leader's use of power will indicate whether she or he is considered as effective. There are two different uses of power: cooperation and competition. On one side cooperation is when egalitarianism and power are employed to benefit others with less power (Aicher & Samariniotis, 2011). On the contrary, competition emphasises an unbalanced struggle for superiority. Gender stereotypes, as remarked before, determine which method will be used according to the gender of the leader: women are thought to be more cooperative, while men are considered to be more aggressive (Aicher & Samariniotis, 2011).

Eagly and Karau (2002) then suggest another level of the theory: the Role Congruity Theory of prejudice towards women leaders. Specifically, based on this concept, women will be evaluated less favourably than men as leaders because of the stereotypical belief of men being better leaders (Schock et al., 2019). The theory of prejudice therefore evaluates gender roles and their importance in promoting behavioural differences between the sexes (Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006). The Role Congruity Theory predicts how people will perceive women's exercise of power. In particular, there are two dimensions in which women face discrimination when holding a leadership role. They are both seen unfavourably as potential leaders, but also evaluated as less effective in leadership positions (Aicher & Samariniotis, 2011). At the basis of the Role Congruity Theory is the idea that women are seen as incongruent with leadership because they do not meet leadership role expectations, as they lack toughness and competitiveness (Brown et al., 2011).

Moreover, a woman who would display agentic feature would be considered less desirable because by doing so she fails to conform to the female gender role which expects her to be communal (Schock et al., 2019; Luong et al., 2020). On one side, women fail to be good leaders because they lack those agentic characteristics which, if showed, would fail them to be *good women* because they are not expected to behave in this way (Schock et al., 2019). In both cases, they would be evaluated negatively. Moreover, the perception of leadership as masculine not only modifies the concept that followers have of the leader. Women will often feel less confident and comfortable in leadership positions compared to men (Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006).

Finally, the Role Congruity Theory says that when the *injunctive norms*, that is the belief on how men and women should behave, and the *descriptive norms*, how men and women actually behave, are congruent then individuals will be seen as more favourable. For example, a woman with a subordinate role. When those norms are not congruent, then an individual will be seen less favourably. The example here is a woman behaving in an agentic way as leaders do (Yang et al., 2020). The theory suggests that prejudice against women leaders

varies with the amount of incongruity between the leadership role and the gendered role of women, which increases in men's organisations (Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006).

3.3.3.2 Behind the Role Congruity Theory: Social Role Theory

The Role Congruity Theory has its basis on prejudices and stereotypes towards women. Specifically, prejudices can come from the relations that people see between the features of the members of a social group and the requirements of the social roles that group members occupy or would like to occupy (Hoyt et al., 2013). Following this, it can be said that this theory can be applied to any group that aspires to take a role that traditionally does not belong to them. It will depend on the qualities that are requested in the specific leadership role (Brown et al., 2011).

The Role Congruity Theory is an advancement of the Social Role Theory (Eagly, 1987b). This states that there is correlation between the types of action people engage in and their inner dispositions (Eagly & Karau, 2002). The descriptive aspect of gender roles creates in perceivers' correspondent inferences from the observed behaviour of men and women to their personal qualities. These are the qualities needed to complete commonly activities performed by women and men in their typical social roles as well as the personal qualities that people believe are necessary to undertake those activities (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This is where gender stereotypes come from: the observance of individuals in sex-typical social roles. It is important to underline that this observation can happen in daily life as well as in media (Senden et al., 2019). Once gender stereotypes are observed, they are then shared in society and then legitimised through cultural consensus (Chizema et al., 2015). When they get established and accepted by the community, these attributes become desirable and admirable for each sex, bringing even more consensus on gender roles. Society will, then, equip men and women by undertaking extensive socialization to promote personality traits and skills to facilitate them to perform their role (Chizema et al., 2015).

The Social Role Theory requires an understanding on the way men and women respond differently during social interactions, the categorization of what is communal and agentic (Eagly, 1987b). The communal sphere is described as a concern for the wellbeing and welfare for others, warmth, selflessness, and kindness (Eagly & Carli, 2003). These characteristics are traditionally linked to women as holding family and caretaking roles (Senden et al., 2019). This association should not be mistakenly seen as positive, because they are used to justify women's continued acceptance of their traditional social roles (Glick & Fiske, 2001). And furthermore, they also undermine women's perceptions of competence and power (Jost & Kay, 2005).

The agentic sphere is, on the other hand, task-oriented and defined by independent, masterful, ambitious, dominant, self-confident, and assertive decisions (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Men rank higher than women in this dimension (Eagly, 1987b) and thus they are expected to occupy managerial positions and jobs with higher status (Senden et al., 2019). Even if societies have become more industrial, the demands for childbearing still prevent women from entering the paid economy or force them to accept part-time positions. Men are, on the contrary, free to develop skills and advance in their careers. And, in addition, they can invest time in acquiring greater resources and power (Schneider & Bos, 2019). Women who have internalised traditional beliefs on how they should act, would aspire less to gain board seats, compared to those with no traditional role orientations who would be more inclined to achieving board appointments (Chizema et al., 2015).

Gender roles are central to understand the issues women face and how society is built. In the next section, the critical link between gender roles and the Role Congruity Theory and what happens when these are not matched will be further explained.

3.3.3.3 Behind the Role Congruity Theory: Gender Role Theory

To further understand the Role Congruity Theory, gender roles need to be discussed, but before analysing them, it is essential to make a distinction between sex and gender. Sex

reflects biological differences, while gender is a socially constructed notion (Gupta et al., 2009). Gender can be described as fluid, politically relevant identities, conventions, values, and practices conceived of as masculine and/or feminine. It is possible to examine how the concept of gender has changed over the life cycles and how the societal definitions of what is male-stereotypical and female-stereotypical adapt over time (Schneider & Bos, 2019). As Ritter (2008) underlines gender is not only a politically relevant category. It can be seen as a process by which researchers can analyse in what ways structures and institutions are also gendered and, therefore, have implications for men and women. The way women and men build their own gender interrelates with political life, which is, itself, gendered (Ritter, 2008; Deutsch, 2007).

Gender roles are consensual beliefs about the attributes of women and men (Gupta et al., 2009). The consistency between biological sex and gendered roles is expected and rewarded and it starts from a young age in children (Schneider & Bos, 2019). Kids observe gender roles at home and incorporate them in their growing up: their parental share of household tasks; the toys they play with, the books they read. They see their mum spending more time at home, taking care of children and being the first one in giving up on her job when needed (Diekman & Eagly, 2000). When children are assigned male at birth, then they will adopt agentic traits and roles because they observe men doing so. While girls, by observing women, will have more communal traits and roles (Wood & Eagly, 2012).

Moreover, people are encouraged to adopt gender roles by socialisation. A socialisation of gender roles would suggest that women and men generally act respectively in communal and agentic ways (Lester, 2008). This means that women and men who embrace the female and male gender role are more likely to have behaviours, personality traits and attitudes consistent with the respective diffuse gender roles, contrary to those who do not see themselves as a man or as a woman (Wood & Eagly, 2015; Schneider & Bos, 2019). It is important to indicate that not every man and woman identifies with the diffuse gender roles associated with his/her biological sex. Those variations occur because of the changing gender roles over time in societies. Individual's experiences with the interaction between changing

societal norms and the socialization processes, and the specific behavioural expectations of men and women based on their biology will also affect the variations (Wood & Eagly, 2012). The results are known as *cross-typed*, a person who possesses personality traits associated with the other gender; and *androgynous*, those who have personality traits of both sexes (Schneider & Bos, 2019).

Social roles refer to the socially shared expectations that apply to those who occupy a certain social position or are members of a particular social category. Gender roles describe qualities and behaviours believed to be desirable for each sex (Eagly & Karau, 2002). To refer to social role theory, as explained by Cialdini and Trost (1998), there are two key norms: the *descriptive norms* and *injunctive norms*. The first ones, the descriptive norms, can be seen as what the psychologist would describe as the stereotypes of group members. They are the perceptions of which behaviours are typically performed. The injunctive norms add a prescriptive element which is not traditionally included in the stereotype construct. They refer to people's perceptions of what behaviours are approved or disapproved, accepted or unaccepted by others (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Gender role can be seen as the collection of both of these two norms associated with women and men. People believe that each sex has typical traits and behaviours (Eagly & Karau, 2002). This belief becomes stronger after observing people in sex-typical roles. Men in higher status roles, the breadwinner, and women as homemakers, with lower status roles (Schock et al., 2019).

Analysing and combining gender role theory and leadership, a follower would have expectations both based on beliefs on the gender and on leadership (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Gender role theory can be also found in organisational and working settings, creating an implicit background identity (Ridgeway, 2001). Consequently, when people think of a woman as leader, they will combine largely divergent expectations; while when men are leaders the expectations combined are highly redundant (Eagly & Karau, 2002). When a leader behaviour is seen as violating injunctive norms of the female gender role, then the women leaders will be evaluated less favourably by those who endorse traditional gender roles, because they are violating their gender role (Eagly & Karau, 2002). They are seen as more hostile, more selfish,

bitter, and less rational, logical, and objective, compared to successful men. As example Margaret Thatcher, the former British Prime Minister, was labelled *Iron Lady*, *Her Malignancy*, *Attila the Hen* (Adler, 1996).

Prejudice towards women leaders will be enacted in two different forms. On one side, there will be a less favourable evaluation of women's potential to be leaders, because it is something that stereotypically belongs to men. On the other side, there will also be a less favourable evaluation of the actual leadership behaviour of women, because this behaviour in women is considered less desirable- compared to men (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Specifically, the latter prejudice comes from the injunctive norms of gender roles: the activation of beliefs about how women should behave. When women leaders do not exhibit communal and supportive behaviours, but would rather show agentic ones, then they can be negatively evaluated, even if successful leaders (Aicher & Samariniotis, 2011).

This consequence above explained is known as the *double-bind*. This defines a situation in which woman's options and her choices expose her to a sort of penalty (Aicher & Samainiotis, 2011). It could be thought that agentic women leaders would overcome prejudices and difficulties. However, quite the opposite, women with clear-cut leadership abilities can be seen as insufficiently feminine, rejecting them as leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2003). The descriptive stereotypes about women might present more agency in today's women leaders, but the prescriptive stereotypes would still require women to avoid show too much agency (Senden et al., 2019)

The Role Congruity Theory helps to understand the *double-bind*, by underlining how female leaders will face discrimination and prejudice because these positions are associated with men and male traits (Aicher & Samariniotis, 2011). Role Congruity Theory is a consequence of gender roles, their stereotypes and prejudices learned at an early age by kids and present in every aspect of social life. In the next section, some ways to overcome them and to act against the lack of congruity of women as leaders will be presented.

3.3.3.4 Solutions to Role Congruity Theory

The Role Congruity Theory can be applied to men as well, when they acquire positions which are stereotypically associated with women, for example as care givers or nurses (Paustian-Underdahl et al., 2014). Stereotypes about women and men, as it happens for other stereotypes of social groups, are easily and automatically activated (Eagly & Carli, 2003). There are many circumstances that favour the application and activation of stereotypes, even when these are not applied or activated to bias judgments of individuals (Kunda & Spencer, 2003). Beliefs about the gender and the leaders are both reflected in the perceptions of the individual leaders. Therefore, it is likely that judgments of women leaders manifest a sum of the agentic traits connected with leadership roles as well as the communal traits associated with the female gender role (Heilman, 2012).

It is important to remember that historically leadership has been constructed as primarily a masculine enterprise, and therefore many theories of leadership have focused on the desirability of stereotypically masculine qualities in leaders (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Stereotypically women qualities of cooperation, mentoring, and collaboration were not considered as relevant or essential in a leader. However, the situation has changed, and now in working environments, and increasingly in contemporary organisations, those skills are fundamental to leadership as well (Eagly & Carli, 2003). In addition, as Bem (1974) underlines, agency and communion should not be seen as two ends of a bipolar continuum but rather exist as independent categories. Bem (1974) observes that in most individuals, both feminine and masculine characteristics are present to some degree.

One possible solution would be for women to carefully blend agency with communion, as previously mentioned *androgynous*, as a way to avoid devaluation and to both conform at the expectation of leader role and female gender role (Eagly & Carli, 2007). Women with agentic features will have a backlash effect, caused by showing counter stereotypical behaviour (Johnson et al., 2008). Some authors (e.g.: Eagly & Karau, 2002; Schock et al., 2019) have suggested that a solution to prevent the incongruity between women and leadership would

be for women to adopt a more agentic way of leading but remaining communal. According to Schock et al., (2019) women need to temper their agency with communion to mitigate the counter stereotypical impression they would otherwise make. In this way they will avoid devaluation and enhance their likelihood of being seen and accepted as a leader. This behaviour has been seen to provide the gender role that is more appropriate for facing demands of contemporary societies, and to limit the discrepancy between being a woman and a managing a company (Bem, 1974). Moreover, this has been suggested by other studies, which have shown how leaders who are perceived as androgynous have also the highest ratings of being effective leaders (e.g.: Kark et al., 2012).

In suggesting being androgynous as a possible solution for women to challenge discrimination, it is essential to avoid assuming positions towards the problem of gender inequalities that are too simplistic. The idea that women's leadership style suits more contemporary organisations given that they are more collaborative, and empowering does not have enough fundamental studies and research behind but could also be seen as an *easy fix* which does not really solve the problem at its roots (Paustian-Underdahl et al., 2014). What is crucial is not only gender difference in leadership but when and why there may be gender differences in perceived leadership effectiveness.

3.3.3.5 For this study: Perspectives on Role Congruity Theory

The aim of this research is to analyse the issues, such as the Role Congruity Theory, that women might face in festivals when achieving leadership roles in festivals. However, the goal is to open leadership roles regardless of the gender of the future leader. This is to go over the binary idea of gender, which only sees the stereotypical division between man/woman, and it does not embrace other variables (Mooney, 2020). Gender roles are social constructions, which then manifest in stereotypes and bring issues for women leaders. Being social constructions suggests that stereotypes linked to gender can be broken down. This can happen with genuine social change, with occupational and domestic work segregation

weakened, and the consequently change of perspective and perception of women and men roles (Chizema et al., 2015).

Following this part, another issues women face will be discussed: the Token Theory. Then, in the next sections of this research, feminist movements will be analysed to see how this social change can happen and how women have organised themselves to gain their rights and break down stereotypes.

3.3.4 Token Theory

Leadership is a complex issue, as it takes into consideration many different aspects: societies, cultures, working environment, and so on. It has a long history, and it is in constant development (Northouse, 2018; van Esch et al., 2017). Since women entered the working world with management roles in 1970, researchers have started studying and analysing the matter of women as leaders (e.g.: Morrison & Von Glinow, 1990; Phillips & Imhoff, 1997; Young & James, 2001). At first, the goal was to present studies that could explain why women were not being offered leadership roles. Mostly it was because they were not seen as capable and skilled as men, without the attitude, aspiration, and interest to become managers (Hoyt & Simon, 2018). The perspective has changed, the issues that hinder women from achieving higher work positions are not seen as caused by women themselves, but from external situations, prejudices, and gender inequalities (Stroh et al., 1992). The discussions around the topic of women and leadership are current, taking different stands and perspectives and contributing to the richness of its study (e.g.: Bechtoldt et al. 2019; Glass & Cook, 2016; Kulich et al., 2015; Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006

Some of these issues women leaders face in the workplace have been raised and studied for long time: *Queen Bee Phenomenon* in 1973 (Staines et al.), discussed in section 3.3.2, and *Token Theory*, discussed in section 3.3.4, which was initially discussed in 1977 by Kanter. Others have been presented more recently, as *Role Congruity Theory* in 2002 (Eagly & Karau). Much has been done to understand reasons and ways to overcome those issues. Token

Theory has been a source of great discussion since it emerged as a topic (e.g.: Kanter, 1977; Zimmer, 1988; Young et al., 1982) and still is today, as it has created multiple perspectives and thematic positions (e.g.: Strohine & Brandl, 2011; Joecks et al., 2012; Cook & Glass, 2018; Kurt Yilmaz & Sürgevil Dalkiliç, 2019).

The Token Theory will be now analysed in the following section as the goal of this research is to understand whether this problem is present in women leaders working in festivals. Firstly, the origin of the theory presented by Kanter will be discussed. Then how token women react in the workplace will be presented. Further on, an overview of critical mass theory and its connection with the *token theory* will be explained. Finally, critics to Kanter's theory, more current approaches and the perspective taken on this study will be evaluated.

3.3.4.1 Token Theory: An Introduction

The term *Token* used in reference to the minority of a group working in an organisation has been introduced by Kanter in 1977 and it has been used in different contexts. Derived from the term tokenism, token may refer to someone who is permitted entrance to a group, but not full participation. Someone who potentially has all the formal requirements for belonging to a group. However, she/he does not have the auxiliary features, in particular sex, race and ethnicity required to be part of that specific group (Kanter, 1977). In sociological literature, *token* is used to describe people, who are usually women or a minority, who are hired, admitted, or appointed to a group because of their difference from other members. In a way, they are used as *token*, as evidence, that the group or company does not discriminate against such people (Zimmer, 1988). For the purpose of this research, it is acknowledged that the term *token* can refer to any minorities, but here this research will take into consideration specifically token women.

A *token woman* can be defined as one of the few women in a predominantly masculine working setting (Yarram & Adapa, 2021). Specifically, when women belong to the skewed group, often treated as representatives of their category, as symbols rather than individuals.

They have been chosen by the organisation so that they can show they have someone belonging to the class they represent (Young et al., 1982). A token woman will be recognised by two elements. First, that she is in a setting where women are rare. Second, that she will take on a set of behaviours, beliefs, and attitudes of a token woman (Laws, 1975), which will be further discussed in section 3.3.4.3.

Token Theory refers to women whose efficacy is limited because of their numerical representation. By being a scarce number in the company, they will experience stronger visibility, performance pressures and negative evaluation bias (Holgerson & Romani, 2020). Moreover, their presence often brings the dominant group to strengthen the boundaries between the in-group, those who have a better relationship, and out-group, the outsiders, those who have no social exchange (Kanter, 1977; Wright, 1997; Dionne et al., 2014). This leads the in-group to exaggerate the differences between the out-groups. Tokens, therefore, fear to go over those boundaries and violate existing norms, limiting their efforts to advance organisational change (Cook & Glass, 2018).

As mentioned in the introduction, the concept of token to describe women as the minority working in a company was introduced in the late 1970s by Kanter (1977). In the next section, a brief overview of Kanter's work is presented.

3.3.4.2 Token Theory by Kanter

Kanter presented her theory in 1977, when she wrote about the experiences of women who were breaking into the male-dominated field of sales (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). As mentioned previously, the topic of women and leadership started growing in interest in the '70s, when more women were working and were achieving relevant job roles (Hoyt & Simon, 2018). Kanter was interested in analysing the matter of relative numbers, and of proportion of interactive social types. This came from an initial analysis completed by Simmel (1950) who argued that numerical modifications effect qualitative transformations in group interaction. However, his work was mostly focussing on the impact of absolute numbers.

According to Kanter (1977), four types of tokens can be identified depending on the various proportional representations of kinds of people: *uniform*, *skewed*, *tilted*, and *balanced* groups. *Uniform groups* are a homogenous group of people of only one kind of person, one significant social type. *Skewed groups* are those where there is a larger presence of one type over another, the usual ratio is that the minority group counts for 15% of the total (Joecks et al., 2012). The dominant type controls the group, and its culture is labelled as the dominant one. It is in this group that Kanter uses the term *token* to describe the minority group. They are often used as representatives of their category, more like symbols than individuals. If the absolute size of the skewed group is small, tokens can also be solitary individuals or *solos* (Zimmer, 1988). In *tilted groups*, the distribution is less extreme, the minority members can potentially be allies, can form coalitions, and affect the culture of the group. Finally, a *balanced group* is when there is a balance between majority and minority, each one taking turns to potentially be the subgroups, regardless of the type (Kanter, 1977).

Kanter's (1977) interest focuses on the second group, the *skewed group*, which at the time of her study, represented the majority of working situation in organisations in which the numerical distributions had traditionally favoured men (King et al., 2010). In this group, the dominant type, for example men, controls the groups and its culture. The minority, the few are for example women (Joecks et al., 2012). The choice of the term *token* to describe the minority is carefully chosen. *Tokens* are not only people who differ from other groups members. They can also be identified by ascribed characteristics (such as sex, race, religion, age, etc.) or other characteristics that bring a set of assumptions about their culture, status, and behaviour (Zimmer, 1988). These are also known as auxiliary traits, and they do not differ from other people in terms of the ability to do a task, but in terms of the above mentioned secondary and informal assumptions (Kanter, 1977). Moreover, as *tokens* are alone or virtually alone, they will be in the position of representing their ascribed category to the group, whether they choose it or not (Kanter, 1977). They will never be another member, but, quite the opposite and still today 30 years later, they will always be hyphenated members: women-engineer, as an example. Someone can become a token by simply being the first one

of their kind to enter a new group (Kanter, 1977). The dynamics of tokenism will bring two conditions. First, the token's social category is physically obvious, as it could be in the case of sex. Second, the token's social type is not only rare but also new to the setting of the dominants (Kurt Yilmaz & Sürgevil Dalkiliç, 2019).

Kanter's (1977) theory that emerges from her research states that individuals who belong to a social category that is underrepresented in particular contexts will face negative experiences, such as increased visibility social isolation. The importance of such theory lies in the fact the prior research, and most explanations for gender inequality relied on the implication that there was something inherently different about women that accounted for their inferior career status (Hoyt & Simon, 2018). Kanter's (1977) token theory emphasises the importance of organisational structure and context, highlighting critical workplace gender equity issues (King et al., 2010).

How women react in working conditions that outline them as tokens is very important. Therefore, it will be analysed in the next section.

3.3.4.3 Token women in organisations

Kanter's (1977) research is based on the analysis of women entering for the first time the male-dominated field of sales. In that situation, token women were evaluated partly based on their physical appearance and needed to work harder to have their achievements noticed. Moreover, gender differences were constantly highlighted and exaggerated. Because of this, not only did token women have these pressures and negative evaluation, but they were also aware to avoid putting the dominants group into a bad light (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011).

According to Kanter (1977), there are three different situations in which women tokens may be found: visibility, polarisation, and assimilation. *Visibility* is when token women stand out compared to the dominant group. Women, therefore, will feel that their performance is

under the constant scrutiny of the dominants. They will feel an added pressure to perform extremely well (Zimmer, 1988). Although *visibility* can potentially have positive results in organisational settings, for example opportunities for promotion, this does not happen for token women. They will experience more pressures and will repress their emotions (Ryan et al., 2012). They will either overachieve or they will try to avoid calling too much attention on themselves (Cook & Glass, 2018).

Polarization or exaggeration of differences is, instead, the second reaction. An individual who belongs to the dominant group will be aware of both commonalities with and differences from the token members. Therefore, these differences will be overly exaggerated, by the application of generalizations or stereotypes at the harm of the *tokens* (Kanter, 1977). Co-workers and superiors view and judge their women colleagues with reference to gender stereotypes. These gender differences are consistently underlined and highlighted and, thus, exaggerated (Bratton, 2005). A token's reaction is to either accept their position as an outsider, or to strive to become an insider, with no possibility to become one. The outsider will be isolated from the dominant group and excluded from any informal interactions fearing ostracism (King et al., 2010); while the insider exchanges the support of other tokens for that of dominants (Zimmer, 1988). As such they are determined by what is referred to in leadership theory as in-group, the insider, and out-group, the outsider (Holgerson & Romani, 2020; Kanter, 1977; Wright, 1997; Dionne et al., 2014). In a men and women situation, gender enhanced boundaries and remark differences between men and women. This brings women to feel rejected by their male counterparts and to feel disconnected from the few other women who are also part of that organisation (Joecks et al., 2012).

Finally, there is *assimilation*, or the tendency for dominants to distort the characteristics and behaviours of tokens to fit their stereotyped images of the token category (Zimmer, 1988). When tokens are only a small proportion of the group, it is easier to distort the perception of the token (Kanter, 1977). In these situations, it is easier for tokens to conform to such expectations and prejudices than fight them (King et al., 2010). As Bratton (2005) points out, token women minimise gender differences, do not try to achieve leadership positions, or try

to take credits for their own accomplishments. As Kanter (1977) describes it, they try to blend into the dominant men's culture avoiding the risk of being noticed.

Token women do not only struggle with being *tokens*. They are also highly visible, their physical appearances put shades on the skills they have for the job. Moreover, they have the burdens of the consequences that their actions and behaviours might have on other women in the company (Kanter, 1977). Kanter also classifies the gendered expectations and, thus, the stereotyped role induction. This means that the dominant group can incorporate tokens, but they preserve their generalizations about the tokens, giving them stereotypical roles. These roles are of *mother*, *seductress*, *pet*, and *Iron Maiden* (King et al., 2010), and they typify the experiences of tokens (Young & James, 2001). According to Kanter (1977) these roles offer women acceptable, professionally approved leadership positions in man-dominated companies (Baxter, 2012). However, at the same time, they serve to subordinate women's professional identities to be judged based on their gender rather than their achievements as leaders. These roles should be seen as constraints, which have detrimental effects on their working career.

A token woman might feel that she needs to become the *mother* of the dominant group, of the group of men. Men will expect women to be sympathetic, good listeners, and ready to give them the comfort they need (Kanter, 1977). If the mother role is safer compared to the others, the seductress or pet, the Iron Maiden, this does not mean that it is a detrimental role for women. They will be rewarded by men for their support in personal matters and not for job issues. A mother is expected to be accepting, non-critical, and emotional, and not task-orientated, independent, and critical (Zimmer, 1988).

The *seductress* can be described as an objectified view on women whose primary aim is to serve sexual needs of powerful men, it has an element of sexual competition and jealousy (Baxter, 2012). It is important to underline that the idea of being a seductress is purely a perception and has nothing to do with the woman, who herself may not be consciously

behaving in a seductive way (Kanter, 1977). Usually, a man would act as a protector towards the seductress, by rescuing her from the sex-charged features from the rest of the men. By doing this, other men will resent not winning the prize and will condemn the woman to gain a place she does not deserve, creating tension within the company (Zimmer, 1988). By other women colleagues she is seen as dangerous as she is someone who takes advantages of her physical appearances with men, to gain influence. A source of threat to all the colleagues, and therefore someone who is better not to become friends with and not to take example from (Baxter, 2012). This behaviour towards a woman colleague, seen with suspicion and untrust can be linked to the *Queen Bee Phenomenon*. This refers to the gossip and harsh comments about senior women by other women (Derks et al., 2016), as has been analysed in section 3.3.2.

The role of the *pet* is given to women who are perceived as non-threatening, as a mascot for the men colleagues who cheers from the sides and is never in the centre of action (Lewis & Simpson, 2012). When she shows competence, she is treated as extraordinary and unexpected. She is believed by her men colleagues of not being capable of acting on her own or being a proper grown-up (Kanter, 1977).

Finally, the *Iron Maiden*, the most powerful and stereotypically masculinised role. An unnaturally virilised woman, who speaks and behave aggressively and who is described by her colleagues as scary, mean, tough, bullying (Baxter, 2012). She finds herself alone, because she is believed not to need any help, and being joked about by both men and women colleagues for her lack of femininity (Kanter, 1977). This is interestingly similar to how the Queen Bee is described, as seen in section 3.3.2.1. Queen bees are women leaders who present and act more like a man, by being aggressive and tough. Second, they will physically and psychologically distance themselves from other women in the workplace. And thirdly, they will enact the previous elements by endorsing and legitimising the current gender hierarchy, finding herself alone and with no support (Derks et al., 2016). When women behave in ways which are not traditionally seen as proper of their gender, they are then negatively labelled, either as the Iron Maiden or as the Queen Bee (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Cuddy, 2015).

Kanter's theory, as seen, dated from 1977, when women, in the Western world, were starting to enter leadership positions in the business sectors. Much has changed throughout the years, women have now more power in companies. However, the theory is still valid and current despite the major improvements and conquests in the work environments (Baxter, 2012; Cook & Glass, 2018). Criticisms and a revisit of Kanter's (1977) theory have been suggested and researched, and this is what will be covered in the next part. Kanter's theory remains an essential study to refer to, but it is also important to analyse the new points of view and studies done on the topic.

3.3.4.4 Criticisms to Kanter's theory

Kanter's theory is an essential theory in understanding the dynamic, difficulties and challenges women leaders encounter in the job environment (Zimmer, 1988). However, since Kanter's ideas were proposed, scholars have started to conduct investigations to understand better the experiences of tokens (King et al., 2010). In this section, we will focus on three critics moved to Kanter's Token Theory: numerical representation (e.g.: Stroshine & Brandl, 2011), social context (King et al., 2010) and the importance of gender (Yoder, 1991).

3.3.4.5 Numerical representation, social context, and the importance of gender

In Yoder's (1991) review of the research on tokenism, the author underlines some of the most important theoretical developments in the theory as well as some of the major criticisms to Kanter's work. One of the main elements which is criticised by Yoder is Kanter's fixation with numerical representation (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). According to Kanter (1977), groups which consist of less than 15% experience stress, isolation, and pressure. Kanter does not take into consideration a key element which is the ability, the skills, and the experience of the individual. A more comprehensive study should take account the case where a token is more

capable than her dominant counterpart (Alexander & Thoits, 1985). Moreover, an increasing number does not necessarily mean that women will not be seen as tokens (Zimmer, 1988).

The second issue is that Kanter did not consider a central element which is the social context in which women she studied were working (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). Social context is important, and one of the most influential aspects on women's working conditions is the fact that they are women. In Yoder's (1991) opinion there should not be an emphasis only on the numerical minority of the women. The consequences Kanter (1977) attributes to numerical skewedness could be seen as the result of sexism towards women because of their gender and not because of their number (Yoder, 1991). In a society where men have predominantly positions of power and prestige, women workers can be seen as a threat. Therefore, women are being isolated, and made visible in organisations because of the current power structure, rather than a matter of number (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). A validation to Yoder's (1991) position is that men in numerical scarcity do not experience the same treatment. Quite the opposite men token generally do not encounter barriers (Gustafson, 2008), and they will be assigned special tasks and assignments (Williams, 2013)

Ryan et al. (2012) make a similar criticism to Kanter's Theory as Yoder (1991). Tokenism by number is not sufficient for causing the negative experiences of tokens. It is essential to consider the social context in which tokenism might happen (Alexander & Thoits, 1985). The importance that social status plays when entering a working environment is not to be underestimated (Williams, 2013). As Yoder suggests (1991) men entering women-dominated working environment do not share the same negative consequences. This is because they bring together the privilege associated with their dominant social status (Cognard-Black, 2004). Moreover, a man, as the only representative of his group, might be seen as the leader by the majority of the group, women. This happens because such context activates status-related gender stereotypes with which the man is perceived as the leader (Ryan et al., 2012). Here, the stereotypical social status becomes an advantage, despite the scarcity in numbers. Men will achieve administrative jobs and have more chances to be elected as officers in professional organisations (Zimmer, 1988).

There is another element that Yoder (1991) takes into consideration when analysing Kanter's Theory. Kanter (1977) examines women who work in gender-inappropriate roles, at the time she conducted her research. However, Yoder (1991) underlines how the issue is not concerning the type of job a woman decides to do but the risk of becoming *double deviant* (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). This term refers to women who are deviant because they look for a job which belongs to men. Women are few and are entering a job environment they do not belong to (Laws, 1975). The resistance they face when they enter those occupations can be connected again to their gender. Kanter (1977) acknowledged that gender is a master status, that affects almost every interaction. However, according to Yoder, Kanter minimised the gender her research subjects belong to when discussing the negative effects (Yoder, 1991). If the negative aspects of tokenism regard only women, then it can be said that it has its roots in sexism towards women (Yoder, 1991).

Social identity theory helps to understand this situation. Men gain high positions regardless of how many they are, while women would not support their other in-group members. It can be described as the desire of the women to distance themselves from a negatively valued in-group. Distancing themselves, enhancing their own social identity, and almost escaping the fate of their gender will be done at the expense of their fellow in-group (Doosje et al., 2002). Social identity theory is based on the idea that individuals use their group membership to positively enhance themselves. However, when the group brings negative aspects, such as lower status, then belonging to the group is not seen as positive anymore. Women, for example, will feel compelled to improve their social status (Ryan et al., 2012).

There are two different courses of action that women might take. The so-called social mobility takes two forms: individual or collective (Ryan et al., 2012). The former refers to an individual's attempt to leave or dissociate her/himself from the in-group, as an attempt to improve their own social identity. The latter, social creativity and social change are meant to improve the status of the collective in-group as a whole. Research has shown that individuals will first focus on individual strategy to then move to collective ones (Wright et al., 1990). Tokenism makes the individualistic social-identity strategy likely to take place because

opportunities for tokens in-group will be limited (Ryan et al., 2012). Consequently, however, the success of few tokens could encourage female tokens to distinguish themselves from other in-group (Wright et al., 1990). Moreover, a token making it into the higher status group is rare. To reach such a status, women will invest more time for their individual success, rather than the advancement of the whole group (Ryan et al., 2012).

3.3.4.6 For this study: Perspectives on Token Theory

Token Theory, despite its criticisms, remains a fundamental theory when it comes to understand women working conditions as recent studies demonstrates (e.g.: Kurt Yilmaz & Sürgevil Dalkiliç, 2019; Holgersson & Romani, 2020). Taking the original theory as the basis, some of the criticisms are believed to be important when considering if women are downplayed as tokens in festival organisations.

One element that has been indicated several times when describing and understanding the other issues women face when achieving leadership positions is the social context. This was not taken into consideration by Kanter in her analysis, however the benefits of social supports from supervisors or colleagues on the working performances have been proven to be beneficial (Ryan et al., 2012).

Moreover, another central aspect is the need to avoid simplistic solutions. Kanter suggests that a solution for the difficulties experienced in the workplace by women is to introduce gender balancing (Stroshine & Brandl, 2011). Increasing the number of women working in a company, without addressing and finding solution to sex attitudes and prejudices will not solve the problem (Zimmer, 1988). This concept will be explored more in detail in section 3.5, which considers Gender Quotas. Gender balancing can be achieved with increasing numbers, with quota policies, but alone is not sufficient. Social, structural, and cultural changes within the companies are also needed in order to overcome discriminations and prejudices (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019).

To make a change for women and their working condition, it is important to understand the relation existing among women, work, the institutional system, and society itself. Without a change in the broader society, the number of women working for a specific company will never be enough to break through the sexual discrimination and the idea of women as tokens (Zimmer, 1988). This is one goal of this research study. That is, to understand the issues women face when achieving leadership positions, but also to understand the system where these challenges happen.

In the following section, the focus will be on some of the obstacles that hinder women's career: the impostor syndrome, and motherhood.

3.4 The effects of gender stereotypes on women's career

In these first two chapter of the literature review, the concepts of masculinity and femininity as two cultural concepts, based on norms, values, behaviours patters, were greatly discussed (Ackerly & True, 2010; Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017; Ayman & Korabik, 2010). They were previously explored when discussing the roles of power and leadership, in section 2.2.3, and when considering some of the issues women experience in achieving leadership roles, in section 3.3. The gendered biased mental process that distinguishes between the two and what can be associated with the idea of masculinity and femininity are grounded with culture (Due Billing & Avelsson, 2000). In relation to leadership, for example, the workplace is usually seen as masculine because the qualities of power and authority are seen as naturally owned by men (Malvin, 2008; Xion et al., 2022).

Gender is a form of human variation that is susceptible to cultural generalisation as a primary category to frame social relations (Ito & Urland, 2003). By categorising people in prior understanding of what male or female is slightly different meanings and behaviours will be then associated to them. These shared culture beliefs are also known as stereotypes. Eagly

and Karau (2002) define gender stereotypes as the commonly held belief on how the majority of people typically see men and women. Difference between one group to another does not imply necessary inequality, however, through a variety of social processes, people will be put in a higher and lower status group. Men will be seen in the higher group, being agentic and proactive; while women will be in the lower group, more emotional and reactive (Ridgeway, 2009). A company that is misogynist and macho, that does not consider women able to be good leader, and that does not actively work against the inequalities would make it hard for the woman on top to be able to make a change (Derks et al., 2011). Some of those issues can be unfair treatment, discrimination in selection and recruitment, absence of cooperation, mentoring and training, to name a few. All of this would impact the woman's performance (Dersk et al., 2011).

The concept of masculinity and femininity and the importance gender plays in everyday life can also be understood as gender is one of the primary frames to socialise. People in society relate to one another sharing common knowledge, that is the cultural knowledge that people assume everybody knows. Systems for categorizing and defining what is around us are based on contrast and differences. People make use of shared principles of social difference that can be used to categorise and make sense of one another (Ridgeway, 2009).

Culture and society impact women, and the perception women have on themselves. The impostor phenomenon and its consequences on women's career will be discussed in the following section.

3.4.1 Impostor phenomenon

The impostor syndrome, or impostor phenomenon, is when people achieve a position, such as a leadership position, and consider to be there just because of luck, and not because they deserve it. They feel as if they are frauds or "impostors", and they have fooled others into overestimating their abilities (Feenstra et al., 2020; Bechtoldt, 2015). The term impostor

phenomenon was coined by Clance and Imes (1978), who discussed high achieving women who experienced intense fear of failure. The impostor syndrome is the term that is usually used in public discourses (Feenstra et al., 2020). This phenomenon has been usually linked to women and members minority ethnic groups; however, it can happen to both genders (Bechtoldt, 2015). In the past this phenomenon was studied at individual level, trying to understand why the individual felt that way (Bravata et al., 2020; Rohrmann et al., 2016). Recently, the context and social structures that create those impostor feelings have started to gain importance in understanding this phenomenon (Feenstra et al., 2020). For years women have been told that they do not deserve to be in the managerial room so that they also do not believe it anymore. It has been demonstrated that there is a connection between those groups, and the impostor syndrome to negative stereotyping, as it happens with women (Feenstra et al., 2022). It is believed that men possess those leadership skills, as being assertive and agentic, while women lack them and cannot be appropriate leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002). These stereotypes directly or indirectly will make women feel insecure, out of place or not even worth to try to apply for the job as they are not a good fit for it (Heilman, 2012).

Studies have underlined that generally men have more self-confidence and feel more optimistic on how they perceive themselves and in relation to their career (Kirkwood, 2009; Koellinger et al., 2006). This goes back again to how culture and society see women, and how this influences the way women see themselves as well. The socially constructed expectations on genders, previously discussed in section 2.2.3, work as a filter on how people associate and interpret information (Mooney, 2020; Ackerly & True, 2010; Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017). This, ultimately, contributes to the impostor syndrome and women questioning the validity of their contributions and their achievements, as well as their talents and skills (Crawford, 2021).

3.4.2 Motherhood

According to the Scottish Government (2022), maternity leave can be up to 52 weeks, while paternity leave is either one week or two consecutive weeks' leave. Eligible employees can also take unpaid parental leave to look after their child. In the UK, shared paternal leave was introduced in 2014, and it makes 50 or the 52 weeks of maternity leave transferable to the other social or biological parent (Atkinson, 2017). However, the initial division of length of leave between mother and father reinforces the gendered roles, the expectations of the woman to be a natural caregiver (Mitchell, 2022).

Maternity and motherhood can become obstacle in women career development (Grandey et al., 2020; Ma et al., 2021; Delacruz & Speer, 2023). Motherhood has been attributed by several studies as a factor that determines under-employment or unequal representation in the tourism, hospitality, and creative industries (e.g.: Dent, 2020; Ma et al., 2021). In the report by Creative Scotland (2017), women were more likely to work part time, and be the primary carers of children, with 44% respondents commenting that their gender was a barrier to their career progression. In the same report, it was pointed out that men in the sectors are more likely to work in senior roles and to earn more. This was explained by the fact that they are less likely to be the primary or sole carer of children, only 9% of men described themselves as this, compared to a 57% of women.

Pregnant employees and working mothers experience the so-called maternal wall phenomenon, which embodies the different forms of discriminations and biases against them at the workplace or when trying to enter the workforce (Williams, 2004; Delacruz & Speer, 2023). Pregnant women are judged before and after having a baby. Pregnant employees are seen as more emotional, and less job dedicated. Moreover, some colleagues believe that they will not return to work their baby's birth (Fox & Quinn, 2015; Delacruz & Speer, 2023). Women returning to work also face several challenges, especially since the professional model of careers is a male model, with the belief that the worker will devote completely to their careers, working extremely long hours and with no hinders from their personal life (Webber

& Williams, 2008; Acker, 1990; Leuze & Strauß, 2016; Arun et al., 2004). This takes place in the event industry as well, where long unpredictable, and unsociable hours characterise several roles of the industry, especially at management level (Dashper, 2013). Therefore women, after the maternity leave, to adjust to childcare, might have to downgrade their position if the managerial role requires a full-time commitment, or if they feel that the job might require working hours which do not fit well with childcare (Dashper, 2013). Moreover, women with children are also not considered for promotion, and the time spent at home after the birth is a gap in their career and professional life (Soumya & Deepti Dabas Hazarika, 2021).

On the other side, however, working mothers are seen as less caring towards their own children compared to stay-at-home mums (Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). Pregnancy is seen as the embodiment of femininity, which is incongruent with the workplace, stereotypically seen as masculine (Masser et al., 2007). Because of the hyper sexualization of women's bodies, breastfeeding is also a difficult topic and a difficult action to do for women upon return to work, causing embarrassment and negative reactions (Grandey et al., 2020). Work schedule is also not thought for mothers, with office hours clashing with kids' nursery and schools' pick-ups (Webber & Williams, 2008).

Women might even select jobs which are at a lower pay, but more compatible with care (Cukrowska-Torzewska & Matysiak, 2020). Part-time roles are one of the solutions women adopt when returning to work, experiencing stressful schedule among work, childcare, and housework (Webber & Williams, 2008; Kellerman & Rhode, 2007). Women are usually the ones in the couple who take on part-time roles, and not men (Brandth & Kvande, 2016; Bielby & Bielby, 1989; Lott, 2020). Heterosexual couples with small children usually see the man as the breadwinner, who, with the highest salary, will continue to keep his full-time job. With the high costs of childcare, the woman, who usually earns less, takes up the decision to go part-time to be able to look after the child (Young, 2019). This change from full- to part-time comes with a series of repercussions on women's careers, such as career gaps, no access to trainings and working opportunities, such as promotions and managerial roles, increased gender inequalities and gender pay gap, to name a few (Webber & Williams, 2008).

3.4.2.1 Motherhood and the pandemic of Covid-19

The pandemic of Covid-19 had different impacts on women and men. Despite not being able to know at the moment of this study the future effects and consequences of Covid-19, in the past two years -2020-2022, women have been greatly suffering during the lockdowns (Mooi-Reci & Risman, 2021). This has included reducing their working hours, spending less time on paid work and more on household responsibilities compared to the men (Hjalmsdottir & Bjarnadottir, 2021; Qian & Fuller, 2020; Bulog et al., 2022), who were also less likely to be fired or laid off (Dias et al., 2020). The impacts of the crisis have not been equally shared (Mooi-Reci & Risman, 2021).

Research demonstrates that gender inequality did not decrease during the pandemic, and while it is true that in heterosexual couples, the man would be more likely to share household chores, women still had most of them. And in addition to this, they also had a higher percentage of the work on home schooling their children while schools were shut down in March 2020 (Mooi-Reci & Risman, 2021; Pereira, 2021).

Gender inequalities worsened during the pandemic, as working women had increased responsibilities as the main care provider, both for children and the elderly, and as an employee who was expected to do the same job, but from home (Xue & McMunn, 2021). Working from home, telecommuting arrangements, made the boundaries between work and home blurrier, leaving mothers more vulnerable to multitasking and work disruptions (Lyttelton et al., 2022; Yildirim & Eslen-Ziya, 2021). This is known as the double burden or the second shift, and during the lockdown this became an increasing demand from both the work and the family at the expenses of women (Yildirim & Eslen-Ziya, 2021).

The pandemic of Covid-19 has led to flexible working becoming a reality for many employers. Flexible work arrangements refer to work options that give the opportunities to the

employees to customise the temporal and spatial boundaries of the working day, allowing them not to be in the office 9-5 (Greenber & Landry, 2011). It has been shown that flexible working can bring positive aspects, such as a better work-life balance (Lott, 2020). The future of home office is still unclear, but several discussions around the benefits and repercussions of it have emerged (E.g.: Islam, 2022; Lott, 2020). One important aspect to consider is that home-based work is generally done by women, which is indicative that these work patterns are considered suitable for women (Islam, 2022).

3.4.2.2 Freelancer mothers

In the context of Edinburgh's festivals, freelancers should be taken into consideration, as they greatly contribute to the success of these events. In UK, in 2022 had 3.1mn jobs roles in the creative and cultural industries, of which 989,000 were self-employed, which is 32% of the total (House of Lords Library, 2023; Creative Industries Policy and Evidence Centre, 2022). Studies have discussed how women often choose freelancer work. One the reasons why women choose to work as self-employed is the possibility of greater flexibility that this type of employment offers, allowing mothers, the prime caregiver, to spend more time with the children (Gimenez-Nadal et al., 2012; Lombard, 2001; Arai, 2008; Caputo & Dolinsky, 1998). There is, however, a lack of data on this self-employed and freelance workforce, in terms of how the data about them is collected, on their impact on the industry, who a creative freelancer is and how to define the creative industries (Panneels, et al., 2021). The Covid-19 crisis underlined both the lack of available data on these matters, but also the importance that freelancers have for the creative industry in Scotland (Patrick & Elsdon, 2020).

In the present study, participants were asked to discuss how society and culture affect their working conditions, in line with the third objective of this research. The goal was to see whether they have experienced issues such as the impostor phenomenon, or if being a mother and working in the Edinburgh Festivals is challenging in achieving leadership positions. In the next section, gender quota policies and how they affect leadership roles and women's working conditions are discussed.

3.5 Gender Quotas

Leadership is a rich and fascinating topic, which is constantly developing and transforming, as the above analysis has outlined. After examining the history of leadership, past and present, old, and new styles, and women leadership history and issues women might face throughout their career, there is another element to take into consideration. One of the research objectives is to understand how society and culture influence and impact women's working conditions. Therefore, it is essential, with the aim of giving a comprehensive overview of leadership, not only to look at how researchers have studied leadership and its relationship with women, but also at what institutions and society have done for the matter. Gender quotas is a policy that has been introduced to support and help women reach more leadership positions.

Around the world, the limited number of women in leadership roles is evident (Mensiklarbach & Seierstad, 2020). In response, further political representation and roles in government are required (Ferrari et al., 2018). One response to the current imbalance is gender quota policy. This is a tool used by institutions to tackle this issue and provide support to women to achieve leadership roles and increase from a numerical point of view (Mensiklarbach & Seierstad, 2020).

In the following section, quota policies will be firstly introduced and explained. Then, a description of gender quotas and their typologies from a selection of countries will then be provided. Attention will be given to the positive elements of gender quotas as well as to the criticisms and concerns that their introduction has raised. Finally, ways to make gender quotas more efficient will be suggested, as studies have shown that gender quotas alone will not change the situation in an impactful way for women (e.g.: Terjesen et al., 2015).

3.5.1 Gender Quota - An introduction

Women are underrepresented among top leadership positions, and this is a worldwide problem; even in countries where women participate more in the labour market, still only a minority reach higher positions (Ferrari et al., 2020). According to the World Economic Forum (2022), worldwide there is still a 31.9% average gender gap that needs to be closed globally. This is similar to the EU, where the gender gap is 31,4% (EIGE, 2023a). Only 36% of senior private sector's managers and public sector's officials are women (World Economic Forum, 2022). So, despite some progress over the years, this gap remains substantial. Only a few countries are approaching parity. Further, the World Economic Forum (2022) claims that it will take another 136 years to vanish completely.

Gender quotas have been proposed from a political, legal framework, "as a way to accelerate the process towards economic gender equality and to promote women's empowerment" (Ferrari et al., 2018, p. 1). The concept of gender quota is political. In the EU, for example, the European Commission issues a Directive that urged companies to increase the number of women in boardrooms, given the slow advancement of women in top tiers, making this requirement a policy reform (Nekhili et al., 2019). While the idea was suggested in 2012, it was not possible to reach an agreement with some of the EU Member States. However, the European Parliament has managed to present a new EU law on gender balance on corporate board, accepted by all State Members. This law states that companies must have 40% of the underrepresented sex among non-executive directors or 33% among all directors by 2026 (European Commission, 2022).

Specifically, these policies require that a specific amount of women or men make up a minimum share of a group, list, or an institution. Gender quotas for women determine a number or percentage for the nomination of women to join an organisation (Mensi-Klarbach & Seierstad, 2020). The reason why gender quotas were introduced is to support and help women overcome obstacles to their appointment for higher roles. These obstacles can be, for example, cultural stereotypes that hinder women to be selected for higher job roles (Hughes

et al., 2017). They are seen as a tool to accelerate women's access to leadership positions by increasing the supply of and the demand for women leaders (O'Brien & Rickne, 2016).

Gender quotas are one of the most important political developments of the contemporary era and have attracted increasing interest in understanding their consequences (O'Brien & Rickne, 2016). Some studies have focused more on their effectiveness in increasing women's presences (Mensi-Klarbach & Seierstad, 2020). Others have documented their influence on the representation of women's interests (Beaman et al., 2009). In addition to this, there has been an examination of the symbolic effects of quotas, including their impact on women's career ambitions and political participation and engagement (O'Brien & Rickne, 2016). Part of the interest shown is to be linked to the importance given in achieving gender equity in societal and political leadership and in firms (Chizema et al., 2015).

3.5.2 Types of gender quotas

Quota policies for gender have increased in their significance, and if in the 1970s only a few numbers of countries had them, now they exist in more than 130 countries all over the world. There are several types of gender quotas that are used today, and they are usually distinguished by looking at two dimensions. One concerns the political aspect, and it is about the stage of political recruitment process that the gender quota targets (Dahlerup & Freindenvall, 2008). The second factor concerns their enforcement. There are two different types of quotas: *mandatory* and *voluntary* (Nekhili et al., 2019). As the political element is not relevant for this study, the second dimension of gender quota, which is important for organisations and companies, will be considered and discussed.

Mandatory quotas are divided into two kinds: *soft* and *hard*. A *hard quota* refers to a binding tool with which companies that do not have a gender-balanced board or fail to achieve the required number or percentage of women in the board of director will face legal sanctions. For example, companies will not remain listed on a stock exchange, or they will go through a forced dissolution (Nekhili et al., 2019). A *soft quota*, on the other hand, is not binding. A

company that does not present a gender-balanced board can continue to operate, only facing warnings, recommendations, and reports on the causes of noncompliance, or by receiving tax rebates and public subsidised for compliance (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019).

An example of a *hard quota* is Norway, which was the first country to introduce board gender quota legislation in order to change the long-standing male dominance in the corporate world (Ferrari et al., 2018). In January 2006, they approved a legislation that mandated to have at least 40% of each gender on the boards of state-owned and public limited companies by January 2008 (Nekhili et al., 2019). An example of a *soft quota*, instead, is Spain where the quota does not have negative consequences for companies when they fail to meet the target. *The Spanish Gender Equality Act of 2007* was a way to encourage companies and the government may give preference to firms that follow its guidelines (Verge, 2010).

Several other European countries have, followed. In 2010, Iceland passed a law on board gender quotas, with 40% on the boards of all companies with more than 50 companies, which needed to be followed by new companies (Axelsdóttir & Einarsdóttir, 2017). Italy passed a law in 2012 requiring gender balance, 40%, among the nonexecutive directors of the largest companies (Ferrari et al., 2018; Bianco et al., 2015). Non-compliant Italian firms can be fined, dissolved, or banned from paying directors, with a progressive warning system with monetary fines that culminates in the eventual removal of the board (Bianco et al., 2015). From 2016, over 100 companies in Germany agreed to comply with a statutory 30% quota for women for all new supervisory board appointments, requiring board seats to be left unfilled if qualified women cannot be found (Holst & Kirsch, 2016). Scotland in 2018 created the *Gender Representation on Public Boards Bill*, with the target for public boards to have 50% of non-executive members women (The Scottish Parliament, 2023).

Results of *hard and soft quotas* are varied. In Norway, for example, *hard quotas* have been very effective in increasing the representation of women on boards (Wang & Kelan, 2012). In Italy, the number of women on boards among the largest listed companies increased

significantly, and that was possibly motivated by strong penalties for non-compliance (Mensi-Klarbach & Seierstad, 2020). In Spain, instead, where *soft quotas* are rather used, and the institutional context is similar to that in Italy, the gender target has not been met (Mensi-Klarbach & Seierstad, 2020).

Voluntary reforms, on the other hand, are non-binding or self-regulatory diversity requirements. Examples of countries that adopted voluntary reforms are the United Kingdom, Australia, and the USA (Mateo de Cabo et al., 2019). A *voluntary reform* provides guidelines on diversity and expects companies to either comply with those or to give justifications for non-compliance (Terjesen et al., 2015).

Taking Australia as an example, the government added a number of diversity policies in the national code of corporate governance for listed firms (Beauregard, 2018). These require companies to disclose their diversity policy, their gender diversity objectives as well as their progress towards achieving the set objectives. Furthermore, they are also asked to show their hiring processes of the board, the proportion of women in board and executive positions, as well as the proportion of women employees in the company (Beauregard, 2018; Nekhili et al., 2019). In 2010, the percentage of women on Australian companies' boards was around 8%, which increased to 31.5% in large Australian companies by December 2018 (Nekhili et al., 2019). It is an interesting example of the effectiveness of *voluntary reforms*. The representation of women on boards has increased without the need of using any binding or quota legislation, but solely to comply and explain principles (Terjesen et al., 2015).

On the opposite side, the United Kingdom, that is also based on non-mandatory recommendations, a self-regulatory approach, did not see the same improvements. In 2011, Lord Davies proposed a voluntary approach rather than gender quotas based on mandatory reforms (Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, 2011). *The Davis Report* made a set of ten recommendations and one of them expected that *FTSE 100* (The Financial Times Stock Exchange 100 Index) boards would increase the proportion of women to 25% by 2015

(Department for Business, Innovation & Skills, 2011). This increase was based on the data of 2010 with 12.5% of women in the board of directors of *FTSE 100* companies (Women on Boards, 2020). However, results were not aligned to what they expected. It was revealed that there was only a 17% increase of the proportion of women directors; 6% of *FTSE 100* firms were still based on all-male boards, around 40 companies refused to set any targets and many other firms declined to disclose their gender diversity policy (Chandler, 2016). These findings reveal how the experience of *voluntary reforms* of the United Kingdom was very different compared to Australia, and present further evidence of the imbalance women face around the world.

The main difference between *mandatory* and *voluntary reforms* is that the former provides a quicker response towards gender inequalities, while the latter provides slower, but still possibly significant, improvements to women board representation (Terjesen et al., 2015). However, there are arguments against and for *mandatory* and *voluntary* board gender diversity. Firstly, *mandatory reforms* increase the number of women directors in a shorter period of time, compared to *voluntary reforms* (Nekhili et al., 2019). Secondly, mandatory gender diversity reforms improve the decision making of the board, with more diverse opinions of the board members being considered (Smith, 2014). However, a negative consequence of mandatory reforms is that they can potentially support multiple directorships for existing women directors given the lack of availability of qualified women (Seierstad & Opsahl, 2011). The authors support this statement with the findings on the Norwegian mandatory board diversity reforms. This has increased neither the number of female board chairs nor the percentage of female director, despite the number of women holding multiple directorships has increased significantly. Norway's *golden skirts*, as the Financial Times called them, refers to a few women who have become more prominent and powerful as a result of the gender quota law (Seierstad & Opsahl, 2011).

So, in conclusion, *mandatory quotas* can bring effective top-down changes to the gender diversity in business organisations (Wang & Kelan, 2012). On the contrary, with *voluntary approaches* to see outcomes might require disclosure requirements regarding the gender

diversity of boards of executive officers. This could create some pressure on listed firms to hire more women, since their representation is positively associated with firm reputation (Piscopo & Clark-Muntean, 2018).

3.5.3 Negative elements of gender quotas

The introduction of gender quotas has brought several criticisms, concerns and negative elements that are important to mention in order to fully understand quotas and their efficacy. The issues that will be taken into consideration in this section are different. First, attention will be given to underline how quotas can become a tool of discrimination themselves towards other genders (see: Browne, 2014). Then, how quotas could potentially bring negative effects on women, rather than the hoped support. On one hand, they could even more remark the lack of skilled women requested by gender quotas (e.g.: Wang & Kelan, 2012). On the other hand, they could draw even more attention to women as the minority group of the company who has achieved positions, not for merits, but purely for the quotas (O'Brien & Rickne, 2016).

One of the first issues that needs to be discussed is how gender quotas usually refer specifically to the category of women. Browne (2014) states that rather than call them with the general term of *gender quota* they should be called instead *female quotas*, to be more precise. This is an interesting consideration because it brings back to a stereotypical distinction between men and women which does not leave space to any other gender (e.g.: nonbinary gender) which has been discussed previously (Mooney, 2020). By having *female* quotas, then the quotas themselves can be seen as a discriminatory tool towards other genders which do not belong to this dichotomy male/female. This argument brings another critical point to make about which group, among those that are known to be experiencing discriminations, should be protected and, thus, eligible for affirmative action, for quotas (Hughes et al., 2017). All groups that have suffered discriminations and social injustice should be eligible to receive the same support. By providing quotas specifically for women, then the

group of women becomes a discriminatory group towards any other gender or minority experiencing inequalities (Browne, 2014).

Gender quotas are a controversial topic. From one side, they have been advocated as a way to achieve a gender-balanced representation in higher positions in a company. On the other side, they have opponents, they argue that they violate meritocracy, with costly consequences (Ferrari et al., 2018). For instance, with gender quota, there will be the risk that people will be selected for a professional job not because of their merit or their skills, but they will be chosen because of their physical or social features (Mensi-Klarbach & Seierstad, 2020). By doing so, there will be a reduced talented pool within institutions and companies and the risk is to give positions to non-optimal candidates (Browne, 2014).

To this respect, one aspect should be explored. When high-skilled women cannot be found and appointed, quotas might act as backlash and reinforce negative stereotypes. For example, the idea that women are less skilled compared to men because they invest less effort and time in their careers (Bertrand et al., 2019). And the idea that the underrepresentation of women is not due to discrimination but is the results of women's choice not to dedicate themselves to the career, but focus on motherhood (Ferrari et al., 2018). This is even more highlighted in societies that hold traditional gender role attitudes and believe in a clear division of labour. Men are responsible for the economical sustain of the family and the society, while women must be concerned with taking care of people and children (Seierstad & Opsahl, 2011).

These differences in societal roles between men and women is found in social role theory, which has been discussed in relation to Role Congruity Theory, specifically in section 3.3.3. The social role theory explains the social perception that men are more assertive, competitive, and agentic, while women traditionally occupy caretaking roles, having communal behaviours (Chizema et al., 2015). Such stereotypical perceptions are shared by individuals in a society, acquiring cultural consensual. Applying social role theory in the

context of the workplace and in the boardroom, it is more common for women, compared to men, to hold positions at low levels in hierarchies of authority and status and are less likely to be at the highest levels of organisational hierarchies where agency is expected (Koenig et al., 2011).

Furthermore, as Wang & Kelan (2012) point out, there is the possibility that gender quota will also lead to hire a large number of inexperienced women who have been offered the job because the company needs to reach a certain required percentage. There is the risk of promoting less-qualified individuals who are very likely to perform poorly (Ferrari et al., 2018). Mandatory quotas could underline even more the issue of *token women directors*. Token Theory, analysed in section 3.3.4, refers to women who are chosen as leaders, but without real decisional powers or expected outcomes (Zimmer, 1988). This theory states that the efficacy of women in a company will be limited by their scarce numerical representation. Consequently, token women will experience a higher visibility, more performance pressure and negative evaluation bias (Cook & Glass, 2018; McDonald et al., 2004). Quotas will force organisations to hire women simply by virtue of their gender, as a way to adhere to the reforms imposed to the company, rather than for the skills and knowledge of the women (Choudhury, 2015).

On this matter, there would be consequences on the chosen women as well. Regardless of their merit or not, competency, or not, women with senior roles will risk being stigmatised by the mere presence of quota policies. They harbour negative assumptions in the form of sexism and sex-based inequality. In this way quota policies would bring back the very problem they are meant to solve and address (Browne, 2014). Quotas will undermine the achievements of the successful minority who have reached senior positions thanks to their own merits (Murray, 2010). In regard to this argument, O'Brien and Rickne (2016) talk about *social stigma*. This occurs when a majority group assigns negative and stereotypical attributes to minority group member. The lower-status group, in this situation women hired through gender quota, will be subjected to active marginalisation by the dominant group. The authors discuss the issue of social stigma within the political context, but it can be applied in other

working situations in which women will find difficult to make their opinions heard and might experience being bullied (O'Brien & Rickne, 2016). The core of the threat of stigmatization lies in the assumption that those women have been promoted at the expense of more meritorious men. Women are, then, described as they have not earned their place or are less competent than their non-quota counterparts (Murray, 2010).

Despite the critics done and the negative elements indicated and described in the above section, quotas have the potential to be an effective tool to improve gender equality. However, it has been demonstrated that gender quotas need to be used in association to other elements, which will be presented in the following part.

3.5.4 Effectiveness of gender quotas

Quotas are an important tool, especially when there is an absence of networks to help women climb the corporate ladder. Demonstrating that gender quotas are effective is methodologically challenging. Women's representation might increase over time, regardless of the quotas (Bianco et al., 2015). In political parties, the success of the quotas might be determined, in part, by how successful the parties with strong quotas are at gaining seats (Hughes et al., 2017).

In France and in Spain, for example, quotas have led to either no or very small changes in representation for women (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019). Norway, as seen before, the world's first country to introduce a 40% corporate board quota, has seen an increase of women directors from 24% to 40% (Hughes et al., 2017). However, quotas had very little discernible impact on women in business beyond its direct effect on women who made it into the boardrooms (Bertrand et al., 2019).

However, gender quotas are a very important tool to break stereotypical division of labour by sex, where men usually retain top positions and women are found at the bottom of such

hierarchies. This division is pervasive across economic development levels, political system, and diverse religious, social, and cultural environments (Seierstad & Opsahl, 2011). Quotas can provide the initial step up that women need to break this cycle. By doing so, quotas would also help overcome business prejudice and will expose talented women in position of power (Bertrand et al., 2019). Moreover, quotas would move corporate leadership recruitment in a more egalitarian direction (Hughes et al., 2017). The social fairness aspect of gender quota and gender diversity within the boardroom has showed to be reflected both in the presence of more women on boards, but also in a change in the under-representation of women in leadership positions, which has been positively impacted (Wang & Kelan, 2012). Moreover, talented women executives need mentors and sponsors to help them climb the ladder, however, men colleagues can be reluctant to support young women. A gender quota, then, can break this cycle by placing women on top and they can turn to be mentors for future women leaders (Wang & Kelan 2012).

One of the criticisms towards gender quotas is that they bring costs and expenses to companies as they are forced to hire women. Ferrari et al. (2018) undertook a case study of Italy, a country with very conservative gender culture, that ranks poorly in Europe in almost all gender statistics (Profeta et al., 2014). With only 47% of women participating in the labour force, Italy has one of the lowest values in Europe (Bianco et al., 2015). However, in Ferrari et al.'s (2018) study, it was found no evidence of significant costs, neither for stock market returns nor for the performance of firms (Ferrari et al., 2018). The introduction of gender policy, *quota rosa*, as they are called in Italia, was seen as the only possible way to begin the process towards gender equality. And quite the contrary of these expectations, not only there were no costs, but positive effects on financial indicators (Ferrari et al., 2018).

Several studies have demonstrated how including women at higher roles in companies is beneficial for the company itself (see: Nekhili et al., 2019). There is a body of studies that underlines the positive aspects of having women on boards. They highlight how women, with better communication skills, outperform men in jobs where communication with several people is required (Schubert, 2006; Nekhili et al., 2019). Moreover, women, when making

decision take ethical considerations more into account. They are more risk-averse and conservative than men and prefer to be careful against losses by not taking extreme risks (Sapienza et al., 2009).

Another argument in favour of the adoption of gender quotas is their effectiveness as a tool to equalise opportunities in specific areas where women face systematic barriers to discrimination or stereotypes (Ferrari et al., 2018). These policies could lead to a redistribution of jobs, positions, contracts in favour of women, allowing, then, a fair distribution of roles (Holzer & Neumark, 2006). Moreover, when women who benefit from quotas are largely qualified and skilled to perform the tasks they are appointed to, the benefits will no remain within the group of women, but they will spread to the entire economy. Through quotas, the masculine monopolistic power can be broken down, a power which does not lead to an equal outcome but also neither to an efficient one (Ferrari et al., 2018). Quota policies will make use of the full range of talent available, incorporating more diverse perspectives and life experiences, creating greater innovation, higher productivity, and better working conditions (Hughes et al., 2017). The perspectives are enlarged, the pool of talent and qualification are diversified, and the shareholders are better represented (Ferrari et al., 2018).

3.5.5 Gender quotas and power structures

Gender quotas alone, however, are not the unique tool that can enhance women working conditions and job offers for higher roles. Studies have shown that it is important to build a critical mass of advocates and alliances to promote gender quotas and accompanying measures to attain parity should be considered by the administration (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019). As Eagly and Karau (2002) state, the fact that gender roles are a social construction that are manifested in stereotypes, suggests that they could be broken down only by genuine social change. Such social change could see, for example, occupational and domestic-work segregation challenged, changing the perception of women and men roles with an inclination to equality.

A mere change in formal institutions, for example adopting quotas, does not necessarily mean that the informal norms and practices will change as well. The literature on the topic has stressed the importance of disrupting these entrenched informal power structures that have kept women out of positions of power (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019). Gender quotas are adopted with the aim to target decision-making positions that are among the most resistant to women's equal inclusion and suggest paying greater attention to the dynamics of resistance and backlash to quotas (Hughes et al., 2017).

Gender balance and imbalance are strongly influenced by specific cultural and political histories and ideologies of the particular national political contexts. Institutional contexts are recognised for their importance in understanding the success or failure of quota policies in boards and politics. It is important to understand the extent to which the country shows an attitude favourable or against gender equality (Mensi-Klarbach & Seierstad, 2020). As Terjesen et al. (2015) state, gender equality, women's labour participation and gendered welfare state provisions are all considered to be relevant precursors to quota policies. Moreover, the existing equality achievements within a country can also affect the acceptability of quotas as a strategy for wider equality. When considering quota policies is then essential to acknowledge various factors and the overall degree of equality in the national institutional context.

Specifically, two elements are fundamental to consider. First, the history of equality initiatives. Cultural changes take time and the countries' paths and points of introduction, the history of feminist movements, the policies and the actions towards gender equality will affect quota policies and their acceptance (Mensi-Klarbach & Seierstad, 2020). Secondly, political support. This is also essential when introducing quotas, as a way to mitigate gender inequalities, not only when they are introduced, but over time. Support to such policies will need to be constant (Terjesen et al., 2015). When quotas are introduced on a nation's political

agenda, it will be hard for politicians to oppose to them in public as they do not want citizens to see them as sexist (Chandler, 2016).

There are examples that underline how the political and cultural context play an important role in how gender quotas are effective. In the Scandinavia situation, political parties' and women's organisations' strategies were fundamental to raise women's political representation and increase women parliamentary representation of women together with gender quotas (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019). In Iceland a similar situation took place. After Iceland's economic crisis, pre-existing values, knowledge, and behaviour were all put into discussion, stimulating a serious discussion on gender quota legislation, that was, then, approved by the Iceland Parliament (Axelsdóttir & Einarsdóttir, 2017).

Taking social role theory again in discussion, discussed in section 3.3.3.2, it could be said that societies develop gender role attitudes, and people conform to such expectations in how they behave at work and at home. If social institutions change, then gender role attitudes may follow. In societies where social institutions place or facilitate less emphasis on traditional gender roles, they are likely to see equalities or near equalities of opportunities by both men and women and vice versa (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Finally, if we were to accept quotas as an effective mechanism to change the small numbers of senior women who might be offended by them, as Browne (2014) has analysed it, is disproportionate to the overall gains. Moreover, it might be that the more women present in the corporate context the less degrading labelling would occur. Gender quotas can be effective, but alone are not enough to challenge the hierarchy and stereotypes attached to a culture, they can only be the first steps toward gender equality and balance.

This overview of gender quotas highlights an element that will be taken into consideration in this project. These policies are considered a very useful tool that should be used by

governments to help and support women achieve higher roles. However, the importance of culture and political institutions to make an effective change in societies towards gender equality should not be underestimated. Without a national change, stereotypes and gender imbalance will not be overcome. This is the reason why the next chapter is dedicated to feminist movements. This can be a helpful way to understand what the current working situation of women is and how women organise themselves to reach gender equality.

3.6 Summary

This chapter takes into consideration women leaders and leadership, both core elements of this research. In particular, it looks at issues that women might face when achieving leadership positions in organisations, as well as obstacles that might hinder their career, and finally it presents an overview on gender quotas. This chapter is strictly connected to Chapter 1, where the definition of leadership and leader, the concepts of femininity and masculinity, and the influence they have in how leadership is seen and studied, were discussed.

The chapter begins with a brief overview of the history of women leadership and how the subject has been approached by researchers (Hoyt & Simon, 2018; Kubu, 2018; Eagly & Carli, 2003). The chapter discusses the gendered roles of leaders and how stereotypes influence how leaders see themselves and how followers see leaders (Wood & Eagly, 2016). Women are stereotypically seen as communal, good with listening, caring towards others; while men are seen agentic, that is aggressive, competitive, and independent (Eagly et al., 2003; van Engen et al., 2004; Wood & Eagly, 2016). This discussion is relevant to this study, as one of the research objectives is to understand how culture and society influence women and their working conditions. This gendered way of looking at women and men is relevant in Chapter 4, which develops around feminism, and in Chapter 5, where gender inequalities will be discussed.

The chapter continues by taking into consideration four issues women might experience when holding leadership and senior positions. Specifically, the Glass Cliff Phenomenon (Glass &

Cook, 2016; Kulich et al., 2015; Bechtoldt et al., 2018; Ryan et al., 2016; Ellemers, 2014); Token Theory (Cook & Glass, 2018; Zimmer, 1988; Young et al., 1982), Queen Bee Phenomenon (Vial et al., 2016; Derks et al., 2016; Arvate et al., 2018; Harvey, 2018; Ellemers, 2014), and Role Congruity Theory (Paustian-Underdahl et al., 2014; Aicher & Samariniotis, 2011; Garcia-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006) have been analysed. The reasons why specifically these four issues have been chosen for this study is because these issues emerge in a company when its culture is sexist, with gender stereotypes, and gender inequalities happening and not appropriately addressed (Derks et al., 2011).

Gender stereotypes impact women leaders and how their power and role are perceived by the followers (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Two obstacles that hinder women's career and that are caused by gender stereotypes and expectations are discussed in relation to leadership. The impostor phenomenon makes women doubt themselves and their capacities (Feenstra et al., 2020; Bechtoldt, 2015; Clance & Imes 1978; Bravata et al., 2020). Motherhood is also an obstacle as it might cause women to have career gaps and to choose part-time roles to be able to fit the caring responsibilities (Grandey et al., 2020; Ma et al., 2021; Delacruz & Speer, 2023, Williams, 2004).

Finally, the chapter discusses gender quotas, the different type of quotas, and their benefits and criticisms. Gender quotas are an answer to the low numbers of women in political roles, as well as leadership roles in corporate organisations (Ferrari et al., 2018). They were initially introduced to help women overcome obstacles, such as gender stereotypes, and be selected for senior positions (Hughes et al., 2017). While gender quotas have many positive aspects, there are also several criticisms that need to be taken account of. On one side, they reinforce the stereotypes that women do not have those skills required to get senior roles and are in need of help and support from the policies (Wang & Kelan, 2012; Browne, 2014). Gender quotas are against meritocracy and put companies at risk of hiring unexperienced women just because they have to hire them, as they are women, especially with mandatory quotas (Ferrari et al., 2019). On the other side, women in senior positions might be stigmatised, contributing to more sexism and gender inequalities (Browne, 2014). If the reasons behind

the scarcity of women in leading positions are not fully explored and understood, gender quotas alone cannot be the solution. Gender stereotypes, maternity leave gap, the responsibility of the elderly and children as a prerogative of women, the difficulty of balancing the work with the housework load, are all aspects that need to be considered (Browne, 2014; Murray, 2010). Gender quotas can make a change in the career of women, as they are already doing (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019), but alone are not enough to make the impact required (Seierstad & Opsahl, 2011; Hughes et al., 2017).

One element which can be found throughout this chapter, and which is key to the study itself, is the gender expectations which affect women working conditions and the cultural organisations. This can be seen in the four issues analysed, in the way women act as leaders and followers see them as leader, the obstacles that hinder women's career, and in the effectiveness of gender quotas. If the cultural organisation does not change, tools such gender quotas cannot be effective because of the resistance of people working in the company that will see women being leader only because of the quotas and not because of their skills and capabilities (Seierstad & Opsahl, 2011; Hughes et al., 2017). When gender stereotypes are in place, women leaders will see either as in a contradictory position because of their gender not being suitable for leadership roles, as the Role Congruity theory explains; or too masculine and not feminine enough, as the Queen Bee Phenomenon says.

The aim of this study is to understand the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions; and the reasons that underpin this situation. Therefore, these two first chapters present an important overview and discussion, that support the data collection and the analysis and elaboration of the data findings.

Chapter 4: Feminist studies and Movements

4.1 Introduction

As presented in Chapter 1, this research aims at gaining an understanding of the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions; and the reasons that underpin this situation. In this chapter the focus is specifically on feminism movements and patriarchal societal structures. These elements together provide an overview of the structures of society and how these affect women, and the way women are seen.

The Women's Movement has been one of the "biggest things that has ever taken place in the history of the world", said Millicent Fawcett, leader of the British campaign for women's suffrage, in 1913 (Hannam, 2007, p. 1). It has been an important and controversial matter globally since the eighteenth century. Feminism is a cultural and a political movement (Hannam, 2013). Its aim is to make injustices visible and explain them in organisations, in societies as well as underline behaviours that are gender-differentiated (Ackerly & True, 2010).

Women's leadership was analysed Chapter 3, where one of first questions investigated by research of the time was around the ability of women to lead (Derks et al., 2016). Following this, some of the literatures focused on women's willingness to work, as they were perceived as being more concerned with family matters (e.g.: Yaghi, 2018a). In leadership studies women have, for a long time, been seen as opposite to men. Men were the patriarchs, who took care of the economic aspects of life, while women raise the children (Hoyt & Burnette, 2013).

Feminist movements, across all their various perspectives and positions, have been essential in fighting for women's rights. Feminist activities and scholars have also played an important role in many aspects of public life, such as in politics, in the fight for better working conditions

and primary rights (Cullen & Fischer, 2014). The importance of women's movements is connected to the subject of this study, women. The epistemology chosen, as well, feminist research, is founded in the feminism of the third and fourth waves (Van der Tuin, 2009).

The chapter begins, with an introduction to the history of women's movements and its waves. Feminism, power, work, and society are the topics presented here. The contemporary problems and issues feminists face will also be discussed. This will aim to better understand what the situation for women is now alongside the perspectives and positions of women working in arts festivals, Then, the chapter will focus on the power and meaning of feminism has. The chapter will continue by considering society now, and its patriarchal structures. The literature review is drawn from early feminist studies to more up-to-date journal articles.

4.2 Feminism: A definition

“Simply put, feminism is a movement to end sexism, sexist exploitation, and oppression”
(hooks, 2000, p.1).

Providing a definition of what feminism means is difficult. The concept itself has been heavily debated amongst academics and the general public since its inception as a social movement (Carrino et al., 2022). Moreover, cultural, and socio-political contexts, together with individuals' experiences, demographic, and exposure to feminism, all affect how feminism is defined and whether women choose to identify with the movement (Swirksy & Angelone, 2016). Feminism and feminist identity have several different meanings (Kelly, 2015). There are those who either champion as feminist and identify themselves with feminism causes; as well as those who fully reject, or hesitate in being labelled as, feminists (Carrino et al., 2022). Some see feminism in positive lights, striving for intersectionality, equality, and celebrating women. Others, instead, see it in a negative light, and label feminists as men-haters, extreme, and self-serving people (Anderson, 2009; Suter & Toller, 2006). There is a stigma around the term feminism that, especially after the second wave, has been associated with extremism,

almost negating the original intention of the movement, to promote equality (Ruiz, 2018). Some consider feminist women as masculine and feminist men as feminine. Feminism challenges the traditional ideas of sexuality and gender (Carrino et al., 2022). This has influenced women, but not only, to shy away from self-identification with the movement (Swirsky & Angelone, 2014).

Women with previous exposure to feminism, or feminist ideologies, usually have a greater sense of collective identity with feminists; while those with less exposure are more likely to have negative terms when describing a feminist (Suter & Toller, 2006). Some women also do not want to be associated with the movement, as they believe they do not need it to succeed in their job and family matters (Renzetti, 1987). There are numerous negative connotations linked to feminist movements. These originated with the second wave, which acted as a barrier to self-identifying as feminist (Hosking et al., 2017). Among these negative stereotypes, there is an idea that feminists are less physically attractive than non-feminists. They may be seen as men-hating, militant lesbians, and are often associated with communism and radicalism (Kelly, 2015).

Feminism is often linked to equality and acceptance, and the ability to create a platform for discussing sexism and sexual harassment. It is also, however, a way to view the world and understand society (Hosking et al., 2017). The feminist movement attempts to fight oppression and share documentation of the historical oppression of women. Further, it aims to improve the condition of women with empowerment, education, and respect to all groups and gender. It embodies an active criticism of traditional intellectual pursuits, while embracing new traditions (Swirsky & Angelone, 2014; Acker et al., 1983). Feminism has become a prominent topic in recent years, and due to the use of social media to share information, many young people identify with the movement. Technology has created new ways of doing activism, alongside supporting, and facilitating the political engagement of young women (Jackson, 2018). This will be analysed discussing the fourth wave in section 4.4.5.

4.3 The terms: Feminist waves

The categorisations of the feminist *waves* and their classification into first, second, third and fourth has been adopted as a historical narrative. It is also used as a way to describe the different generations of women who have actively fought for gender equality throughout the years (Cullen & Fischer, 2014). The origins of the wave metaphor are to be seen in the Irish activist Frances Power Cobbe. She used this term in 1884 to refer to social movements more generally (Cullen & Fischer, 2014). The waves approach has been widely criticised, and the debate over what a feminist wave is continues. There is an open discussion over the second and third waves, while a growing number of feminists identify with the fourth wave (Hague, 2016).

The term wave has itself generated confusion and received criticism. It is argued that the word implies different movements (Dean, 2009), or a new feminism that has broken with the previous one (Winch et al., 2016). However, the term wave does not mean a separate and distinctive moment. On the contrary, the idea of the wave describes continuity and change in feminism. It is not a clean break, and that is why *wave* is preferred to *generation*. The waves are formed on what was already there (Cullen & Fischer, 2014). As Dean (2009) suggests, feminism is a complex phenomenon similar to waves, and are characterised by disturbance and sudden movements. Parry and Fullagar (2013) have suggested the term *ripple* instead, as feminist ideas ripple and interconnect, rather than simply have a linear movement as the formation of a wave. Other critics have suggested other metaphors, such as the *river*, which allows for continuity, as well as differences, characterised by the multiplicity of local streams, well representing the feminist movement (Laughlin et al., 2010). Moreover, the metaphor of the wave does create exclusivity. Some scholars have, unconsciously or not, given light only to some form of activism of certain historical actors, in particular Western middle-class White women (Laughlin et al., 2010).

In the present study, the term *wave* will be used, acknowledging that they are not representative of all feminist movements, with their differences. It is important to avoid associating a wave with a few prominent figures who become then figureheads and solely

representatives of that wave. The wave as a metaphor is used by scholars who consider that its meaning recalls its aim which is to include every individual, every small-scale collective action, in an attempt to remark the collective movement that feminism is (Evans & Chamberlain, 2015). When the wave is analysed, then multiple identities are included, it should not be seen with a one-dimensional perspective (Evans & Chamberlain, 2015).

The first wave of feminism spanned from the mid-1800s until the twentieth century. Its goals were to emphasise the intellectual capabilities of women and to fight for their access to education and participation in public life (Parry & Fullagar, 2013). The second wave developed in the USA, UK and in many other European countries in the 1960s and 1970s. Then, the third wave, referred to feminist activism from the late 1990s and into the 21st Century. In recent years the fourth wave has been introduced (Dean & Aune, 2015). The emergence of a new wave does not mean that a previous one has ended or that they must be in contrast. This attitude of being against the previous wave has characterised many feminists, creating confusion over the waves. However, the intersections between the waves are important and create space for rigorous and healthy debates (Evans & Chamberlain, 2015).

4.4 The history of Feminist Movements: Feminist waves

4.4.1 First wave

The first wave is possibly the easiest to define and to chronologically locate. In the USA, it started in the 1840s, when the Women's Movement was yet to be formed. The goal, formed by the suffragette agitators, was to fight to get women the right to vote (Vickery, 2018). Sarah Moore Grimké (1838), who was a U.S. abolitionist, advocate, and activist for women's suffrage, published *Letters on the Equality of the Sexes and the Condition of Woman: Addressed to Mary S. Parker, President of the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society*. This piece is considered to be one of the earliest books written in the US, by a woman for the woman question (Kotef, 2009). There is an even earlier book than Grimké's, that is usually overlooked. *Vindication of the Rights of Woman* was written in 1792 by Mary Wollstonecraft, and by many this is considered the beginning of modern feminism (Sanders. 2001).

4.4.2 Second wave

The second wave is a bit more complex, it originated in the late 1960s. The focus was to achieve equal pay and the right for women to make choices on their own bodies. There was increasing attention to sexual liberation, with the aim to end the oppressive gendered double standard (Baumgardner & Richards, 2000). Abortion, sexuality, and equality are some of the issues the second wave feminists draw attention to (Shugart, 2001). They underline inequities around paid employment, unpaid household labour, and childbearing (Parry & Fullagar, 2013). These are the years when the debate around leadership and women began in the academic literature, as discussed Chapter 2 and 3. Questions around the ability of women to lead, their role in a working company rather than staying at home taking care of the children were raised at this time (Hoyt & Simon, 2018).

The second wave faced some criticism, as it was considered to exclude ethnic minority women, young women, women who did not identify as heterosexual, men, and people from lower socioeconomic environments (Parry & Fullagar, 2013). The second wave has taken the experience of White, Western, middle-class women to be the experience that all women share (Hague, 2016). For these reasons, this wave has been described and perceived by some feminists as ideologically rigid, divisive, and judgmental (Snyder, 2008). The second wave is also fragmented, with several groups within the movement itself. Specifically, there were radical-libertarian feminists; radical cultural feminists; classical liberal feminists and welfare liberal feminists, to name a few (Evans & Chamberlain, 2015).

4.4.3 Post-feminism

The term post-feminism came from the media in the early 1980s. It has been used to indicate a happy liberation from what it was considered to be an outdated feminist movement, but also to describe the paradoxes and contradictions in the representations of women. The celebrations of 'girl power', in the media culture, was alongside the intense scrutiny of women from the public (Banet-Weiser et al., 2020). Because of the prefix *post*, it was described as

against and in rejection to the previous feminist movements. However, *post* only means *after in time*, but not a rejection (Gamble, 2001).

The term has been used by most of the popular and academic discourse as a term that signifies the end of feminism, its total rejection of its relevance and necessity (Braithwaite, 2002). Post-feminism has seen many criticisms. It has been described as a backlash against feminism, a term used to refer to historical shift, the time that came after the second wave. This suggests an alignment with other post movements, such as poststructuralism, postmodernism and post-coloniality (Gill, 2016). And finally, it suggests connections with the third wave, although it should not be confused with it (Gillis & Munford, 2004).

There are many issues that post-feminism arises. However, it should be noted that post-feminism has been interpreted in a positive way by very few authors. For example, it challenges the second wave assumptions (Lewis, 2014). The term *post* means a change and ongoing transformation, but not a rejection of feminism. Then post feminism can be understood as another step in the evolutionary movement of feminism, characterised by an engagement with multiplicity, heterogeneity, and variety (Gillis & Munford, 2004). Post-feminism highlights how the breadth of feminist issues is greater than in previous waves, but it is not against feminism (Braithwaite, 2002).

A series of authors have, however, underlined several issues with post feminism. Here, concern is on how the cultural discursive strategy of post feminism contributes to hindering organisational change towards gender equality, diversity, and inclusion (Lewis et al., 2017). This is an important aspect of the present study as it focuses on leadership, and issues women face as leaders in the art festival sector. Understanding post-feminism is relevant to this PhD research, to effectively assess the working environment in Edinburgh in arts festivals.

The claim that post feminism negatively impacts women's working conditions and gender equality in organisations is based on five issues that arise when discussing the topic. These will be briefly discussed here and are: the rise of moderate feminism; the reconfiguration of femininity; the notion of choice; and the emphasis on individualism and the aversion to radical interventions (Lewis, Benschop & Simpson, 2017).

Firstly, moderate feminism is a shift from a collectivist spirit with mutual struggles among women, towards empowerment of individual women. Moderate feminists also distance themselves from a general critique of gendered inequalities and the male dominance (Lewis & Simpson, 2016). The solution for gender issues is left to the individual woman who needs to find herself a way to overcome them (Lewis et al., 2017).

Secondly, one important characteristic of post-feminism is the reconfiguration of *femininity*. This means that there is a fusion between femininity, meant as the traditional beauty, motherhood, and sexual relations, with feminism, which is the individualism and choice that are traditionally seen as masculine (Carlson, 2011). The balance between these two sides is not to be understood as the adoption of an androgynous style. This is when women are asked to create an integrated presentation of themselves as agentic, the masculine side; and communal, the feminine one (Lewis et al., 2017). It is, instead, a careful calibration embracing masculinity and femininity. Women have to manage their relationship to the extremes of control and individualism, with care and tradition (Cairns & Johnston, 2015). The consequence of this requirement is that women need to enact feminine practices, such as beauty or motherhood. This brings the power in favour of men and masculinity, because post-feminist women cannot shed their gender (McRobbie, 2011).

Thirdly is the element of individualism. Interventions in organisations with the goal to work on gender equality are usually aimed at women (Benschop et al., 2012). These have created some critics for their targeting only women, rather than focusing on organisational processes. That is, the system of gender inequality would not be questioned, giving women working in

that organisation the task to fix the issue (Ely & Meyerson, 2000). The idea is that women should be the active subject towards gender inequalities through, for example, self-help books for career women, usually based on middle-class White women. These training and development programs are built on the post-feminist ideas that women should follow the masculine norms in order to create the ideal career life (Lewis et al., 2017). The issue here is that these interventions do not consider the gendered system or how leadership is masculine. They put the responsibility on women who have to take control in order to avoid failure (Rottenberg, 2014).

Fourthly, there is the post-feminist notion of *choice*. Choice is a key element not only to post-feminism, but also to neoliberal feminism. The basic idea of choice is that everyone is free to make whatever choice they want. Choice feminism claims that every choice a woman makes is feminist so long as it is authentically free (Thwaites, 2017). The problem of choice feminism is that not all free choices contribute to change organisations. If every choice is equal, then there is no capacity to discuss against one form of action and decision making over another. The criticism here is that choice feminism seems to be a choice for women who want to justify themselves and to feel more comfortable with their choice to stay within the system of male dominance (Ferguson, 2010). The absence of women in positions of power, for example, is not because there is a lack of individual choices. Quite the opposite, there is a systematic exclusion of women to reach higher positions (Thwaites, 2017). The glorification of choice shades the politics of choice. However, feminist scholars have always underlined that social structures enable some choice while obstructing others. One of these is how women's qualities have always been underestimated (Lewis et al., 2017). The issue the feminist choice rises is that one should ask who is in power and who can really make a choice. The free choices that choice feminists make are not really free but are established by a powerful elite: men (Thwaites, 2017).

Finally, post-feminism may hinder the organisational change with its aversion to radical interventions. And regarding this issue, quota policies are the subject. Post feminisms are against preferential selection, specifically with quotas. The importance of quotas and the

need to have more than just a quota to overcome gender inequalities have been greatly discussed previously in section 3.5 (e.g.: Hughes et al., 2017; Terjesen et al., 2015). Quota policies have been introduced to increase the number of women in positions of power. As this has been already pointed out, this is not enough (e.g.: Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019). Numerical evidence does make immediately visible the inequality of women. However, this does not go beyond providing numerical indicators of inequality to challenge less visible unequal structures and norms of male domination and female marginalisation (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017). When gender is also discussed in terms of numbers, and sex as a social category, it becomes too easy to target and trace, risking of providing too simplistic evidence of only one aspect of the reality of inequality (Hughes et al., 2017). Issues of gender that are more complex, which concern less tangible gender norms and structures, are left on the side (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017). Quotas can be a start of a change. Alone, however, are not enough to put an end to gender inequality, and gender stereotypes. Nevertheless, rejecting gender quota completely is not a solution (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019).

Post-feminism can create a climate in which women actively distance themselves from quotas, as they see them as the excess of feminism. This connects with moderate feminism as well, as mentioned previously (Lewis & Simpson, 2016). Feminist principles of quality, agency and empowerment have all become taken for granted. Post-feminist women, therefore, refuse to be selected because of a quota rule. They want to be chosen because of quality and not the gender. Quotas are seen for women who are weak, with no talent or strength to make it to the top by themselves (Lewis et al., 2017).

4.4.4 Third wave

The third wave of feminism is more difficult to identify (Thwaites, 2017), as it highly differs around the world (Charles & Wadia, 2018). It started in the early 1990s in the US. The term itself was introduced by Rebecca Walker in 1992 who declared “I am not a postfeminism feminist. I am the Third Wave” (p. 86). It emerged in the context of a political backlash against

feminism, where young American women were rejecting the cultural dominance of post-feminist (Aune & Holyoak, 2018).

Walker's (1992) comment also underlines a distinctive position against the existing frameworks of the second wave of feminism (Cullen & Fisher, 2014). The third wave reflects different streams whose goal is to aspire greater inclusivity, foregrounding queer and non-White issues, as means to move away from White middle-class hegemony (McRobbie, 2009). The second and third waves differ because the feminists of the second wave see the third as individualistic and selfish, while the third wave describes the second as being exclusive (Finley & Stringer, 2010). Second wave feminists were perceived by the third to be prescriptive and exclusionary White middle-class feminism of a previous generation (Aune & Holyoak, 2018). Moreover, there was the opinion that second-wave feminists were against anything that was different: female against male, Black against White, oppressed against oppressor, good against bad. The third wave, on the contrary, aimed at anyone, including men and transgender, regardless of gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality (Aune & Holyoak, 2018).

In the UK, the third wave started almost a decade later than in the US. It did not emerge in reaction to a previous wave, but to a culture of post-feminism. Gendered inequalities were made invisible by neo-liberalism's agenda of choice (Dean, 2012). Therefore, new manifestations of feminism emerged to build the third wave. Specifically, there were: public conferences; national issue-based campaigns addressing important topics such as harassment, pornography, and sexual violence; local groups in towns, cities, and universities; internet activities through blogs, webzines, Facebook group, Twitter, and YouTube. These examples underline how the third wave in the UK is organised in small groups that work together on issues where they find common ground (Aune & Holyoak, 2018).

Third wave feminists can generally be characterised by five features. They aim for plurality and inclusivity; they also highlight the personal narrative, and self-determination. Further, gender equality and sexual freedom are increasingly important, as well as popular culture

(Parry & Fullagar, 2013). The feminists of this wave reflect a deep commitment to addressing the difficult and complex relationship between patriarchal social relations, cultural representations, and structure (Kinser, 2004).

Intersectionality is also a key feature. This term can be described as “the way in which any particular individual stands at the crossroads of multiple groups” (Minow, 1997, p. 38). It is a concept attributed to critical race theorists, specifically to Crenshaw (1991), who rejected that the notions of race, class, ethnicity, and gender are essentialist and separate categories. Instead, by using the term intersectionality the interdependence and interconnections of all these categories are remarked (Valentine, 2007). Intersectionality is particularly important, as both in the first and second wave, there was a divide between White women and women of colour, and the movement’s focus was to achieve equality for middle-class White women. Information about Black feminist achievement was presented incorrectly, for example as occurring after the gains of White feminists or even completely ignored (Brewer & Dundes, 2018).

Finally, an important element of the third wave, which can be found in the fourth as well and plays an essential role to this PhD study, lies in its epistemology. Feminist epistemology from the third wave on has moved away from the idea of creating classifications. The third wave is based on relational, non-dichotomous social practices and thinking (Van der Tuin, 2009). Nelson (1993) discusses the terms unreal dichotomies and non-exhaustive oppositions which were used to describe feminist philosophical categories or phenomena that seem mutually exclusive in the second-wave feminist epistemologists. Not all dichotomies can be considered exhaustive, and paradoxes and complexities should be more deeply assessed and understood (Nelson, 1993). Feminists of the third wave deny the existence of an autonomous male and/or female subject, as gender is an effect of historically and socially specific discourse and performance (Ackerly & True, 2010). Gender as a social construct is a topic that has been previously explored in detail. The overcome of the distinction between masculinity and femininity is a core element of the present study.

At the beginning of this section, it was indicated that the third wave should not be confused with post-feminists. This is because, the essential difference between the two is how the third wave can propose a position in which past feminisms can be both celebrated and criticised. Post feminism, on the contrary, presents itself as over the past, disconnected with what has been done previously (Gamble, 2001). This reminds the importance of using the term *wave*, not as a clean break, but a development of what was already there (Cullen & Fischer, 2014).

4.4.5 Fourth wave

The fourth wave is still new, and it comes predominantly from the dialogues and discussion on social media platforms, specifically X⁶ and Instagram (Evans & Chamberlain, 2015). The digital culture is what differentiates this wave by the previous ones (Charles et al., 2018). It is said to have appeared around 2010 with the #MeToo Movement starting in the United States and gaining widespread attention at the beginning of 2017, with Harvey Weinstein, film director who was reported for sexual harassment and assault (Jones & Wade, 2019). The Me Too movement was originally coined by the Black activist Tarana Burke in 2006, and it was a campaign aimed to give voice to the survivors of sexual violence from marginalised communities (Maricourt & Burrell, 2022). The Me too (2023) and #MeToo are different, the first is a movement, built on activist work, while the latter has been mediated and consumed in public discussion (Maricourt & Burrell, 2022). The fourth wave feminists make important use of the Internet and social media, both to teach, spread and share feminists' contents and fights. They also help people find resources about feminism and political movements (Charles & Wadia, 2018). The fourth wave has been used to capture the specifics of new forms of feminist activism that have emerged largely online (Munro, 2013).

Moreover, there is a culturally dominant stereotype of what feminists are in the UK: angry, unhappy, and not easy to get along with (Charles et al., 2018). This has now changed and the shame of being a feminist has become pride. This pride is first involved in identity

⁶ Previously known as Twitter.

transformation at a personal level, and then it contributes to a feminist collective identity (Charles et al., 2018).

There are many young women who identify with feminism. They are active members, taking direct action and demanding social norm change. They challenge the status quo, place decisions in their own hands, and decentralise power. They are also rejecting traditional leadership model and are against the oppressive structures and patriarchy that are present in organisation and groups. They are calling for a feminist leadership (Sinclair, 2014; O'Malley & Johnson, 2018). The literature on this topic is scarce, but this approach could be described as a collective leadership, discussed in Chapter 2, with participatory decision-making models, power sharing, and using consensus, empowering, and emphasising the importance of diversity and collective action (O'Malley & Johnson, 2018; Shaed, 2018; FRIDA, The Young Feminist Fund & AWID, 2016). The focus should be on gender and power dynamics, masculinised frameworks, with the goal to create egalitarian environments (Chin, 2004; O'Malley & Johnson, 2018). These are all core elements and will be assessed in sections 4.5 and 4.6.

Young people, in general, consider gender equality important for them. The UN Women's HeForShe movement, whose goal is to unite men and boys in support of gender equality and women's empowerment, conducted a global poll together with the TEAM LEWIS Foundation (2022). The findings indicate how Generation Z⁷ is the generation more concerned about gender equality. This comes after economic opportunity, LGBTQ+ problems and climate change. 66% of Generation Z believe that gender equality is a central issue, compared to 51% of those who are 65+ (TEAM LEWIS Foundation X HeForShe, 2022).

⁷ People born between 1996 and 2010 (Un Women (TEAM LEWIS Foundation X HeForShe, 2022)).

There are different organisations and activities within the fourth wave, which will be briefly described. UK Feminista is part of this new wave of feminist activism in the United Kingdom (UK Feminista, 2023). It was founded in 2010 and it is a leading feminist organisation. They make use of the Internet and social medias to reach young women interested in feminist topics and who are looking for an online community (Charles et al., 2018). Moreover, they use these tools to raise the profile of feminism, and to mobilise young women and men into a range of political activities. They try to challenge its negative stereotypes, such as that feminists are always angry, hairy and men hating (Charles & Wadia, 2018). It can be seen as a network that provides resources, organises events, and creates spaces where activists come together. Other example of feminist groups and activist movements are: The Everyday Sexism Project and Engender. The first is a website which collects sexist experience from all over the world, to create awareness on the issue (The Everyday Sexism Project, 2021). Engender is a Scottish feminist policy and advocacy organisation striving for equality, equal access to power and resources, making sure all, men, and women, are safe (Engender, 2023). All in all, the fourth wave is characterised by intersectionality, humour, and scepticism of feminist intellectualism (Dean & Aune, 2015).

4.5 Feminism, power, and political decisions

Feminist movements are still significant today and are effective in the ways, and the power with which they shape the political, social, and economic aspects of societies in Europe. Few areas of contemporary political, social, and cultural life have remained untouched by feminism (Dean & Aune, 2015). Feminism is a transnational social movement which has impacted politics, protests, and resistance (Hawkesworth, 2006). Specifically, feminism has encouraged a change of perspective. It has also tried to contest gender-blind analysis of social movements (Krook & Childs, 2010). Feminism has underlined the tendency to consider gender as an add-on variable and not as a constitutive characteristic of a social movement (Kuumba, 2001). Moreover, it fights the tacit assumptions that the standard activist is male, White, able-bodied, and heterosexual, as a political entity it aims to overcome patriarchal structural discrimination and oppression and dynamics. These affect women within the family, communities, and at a societal level (Dimitrova et al., 2020).

Thinking about the history of feminism and the waves, as previously presented, it could be said that feminism has been one of the most enduring and successful social movements of the past 50 years. However, the surge of the right in many countries has led to a backlash against feminist gains (Dean & Aune, 2015). Many authors have claimed that the economic crisis, neoliberalism, a post-feminist cultural climate have created an inhospitable environment for feminism (Klatzer & Schlager, 2014; Lahye & de Villota, 2013; Lombardo, 2017). Western and Central Europe with an increasing in right-wing voters have mobilised resentment against migration, praising nationalism and racial homogeneity. The state has been also trying to reorganise the productive and socially reproductive sphere, by, for example, promoting anti-abortion organisations (Rodríguez et al., 2018).

However, despite that, since 2008 feminism has undergone a resurgence (Redfern & Aune, 2013). There are many new forms of feminist anti-austerity politics, and new forms of radical activism with a strong feminist presence and interventions. Some examples are transnational sexual politics such as *FEMEN* (2021), *SlutWalk* (2019), and *Pussy Riot* (2015) who achieved global visibility. In addition to several forms of mobilisation around the objectification of women in media, the violence of men against women, and women's exclusion from positions of power. It can be claimed that feminism is still influential and relevant (e.g.: Cochrane, 2013; O'Keefe, 2014; Nazneen & Okech, 2021).

Feminist approaches to political analysis have explored how power relations are gendered. They reproduce gender norms and biases that create hierarchies between women and men (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017). Moreover, feminist approaches have also showed how politics includes gender issues which were once considered to be personal. This thinking brings a personal commitment to the political project of gender equality. For feminist scholars this means that they link theory and practice in their daily work (Celis et al., 2013).

This leads to an interesting discussion around power and what it is meant by it. Power cannot be confined only to the study of people who find themselves at the top of the hierarchy. Traditionally, power, in political science, has been conceptualised in three different faces (Weldon, 2019). The three faces correspond to how some people have the agency and ability to dominate other people. The first is the most intuitive, and it concerns the ability to change other people's behaviour in respect of a specific matter. This is connected to decision making (Dahl, 1957). The second face of power regards the power of controlling the agenda, the background conditions so that specific issues are never argued or raised. It has to do with the non-decision making (Bachrach & Baratz, 1962). Finally, the third face deals with manipulating others to make them believe that what you want to do is also what they want to do (Weldon, 2019).

Feminists move beyond the third face as someone who holds power over others and see it more as a relationship. According to feminists, power is something that flows through everyone by virtue of their social identity and institutional position. And at the same time, people can also be silenced by the same social positions in other situations (Lloyd, 2013). Women activists and feminists disrupt the system of power. They make use of a collective power of those considered to be at the bottom of the hierarchy. This becomes a critical dimension of empowerment, which raise consciousness about the collective power of non-compliance (Weldon, 2019). Finding ways to challenge gender bias in everyday life has been called as everyday politics. What feminists do is to overcome the social structures that make the privileges of the advantaged groups seem to have by default (Mansbridge, 2001). Challenges to structures of power to be effective need to be collective. They work at a macro level, which, then, transform a multitude of individual actions (Lloyd, 2013).

These challenges are known as *empowerment*. This, for feminists, is a multi-dimension process which concerns civil, political, economic, social, and cultural participation and rights (Weldon, 2019). Women's empowerment, specifically, can be found in the discourse around gender equality. Empowerment has been defined as "a re-distribution of social power and control of resources in favour of women" (George & Kuruvilla, 2020, p. 4). It includes control

of resources, that can be physical, intellectual, financial, and human, control over ideology, values, options, beliefs, and attitudes. It also includes control over societal resources, such as education, political power, and employment; and household resources, such as income, health, decision making, health, nutrition (George & Kuruvilla, 2020). Empowerment for feminism is a collective action, that encompasses both the individual level dimensions of increased agency, as well as the efforts to secure the societal conditions that make individual agency possible and meaningful (Weldon, 2019).

Finally, to understand gender in relation to politics, it is foremostly important to consider other aspects. First, gender needs to be understood within the wider societal structures. This allows the understanding of domination and inequalities that are structural (Mavin, 2008). Secondly, gender needs to be studied as a complex socially constructed relation between masculinities and femininities. The focus here is about considering women and men, their roles, and interdependent relations (Mooney, 2020). Thirdly, epistemologically, gender structures are socially constructed and at the same time considered real (Van der Tuin, 2009). Science and language are thought to be able to describe the reality of those social structures and to provide access to them. This means that gender approaches address social structures, family, labour or political institutions, and the gender norms they produce (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017).

4.6 Patriarchal society

4.6.1 Patriarchy

The term patriarchy has gained attention in recent years. It was often associated with the work of Crenshaw (1991) but was also central in the work of Black feminist anthropology (Ortner, 2022; Crenshaw, 1991). It is now used in mainstream media, popular feminist publications, such as *Ms Magazine*, and it can be found on boards and t-shirt at feminist marches (Hill & Allen, 2021).

Patriarchy has a variety of definitions as a concept, although not exclusively in feminist research (Beechey, 1979). It has been used among social scientist to refer to a system where men ruled societies and were head of the household (Walby, 1989). Interestingly, when this term was used, the domination of younger men who were not head of the household was as important as that of women. It is only with radical feminists, that how men dominated one other lost importance (Walby, 1989). Patriarchal domination shares its ideological foundation with racism, sexism, capitalism, and other structural forms of oppressions (Dimitrova et al., 2020). Patriarchal hierarchal arrangements manifest differently across societies and history. There are patriarchal relations at the micro level, such as families, interactions, organisations; as well as at the macro level of government, bureaucracies, law, and market (Ortner, 2022). Feminism is seen as a threat to both men and women who adhere to the rules of the patriarchal society. Feminism makes men feel unsafe, as one of the key principles of feminism is that gender relation are power relations, and to let women advance, the power men hold must be reduced (Ruthig et al., 2016). This is the same for women who identify and endorse traditional gender roles and may see feminists as trying to undermine their gender identities (Gundersen & Kunst, 2019; Suter & Toller, 2006).

Patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices in which men oppress, exploit, and dominate women. This means that there is no biological determinism, and that not every man is in a dominant position and all women in a subordinate role (Walby, 1989). There are different levels of power dynamics in a patriarchal system, and it cannot be simplified as oppressed and oppressor, but instead men and women hold different types and amounts of power (Hunnicut, 2009). Age, race, sexuality, religion, historical location, and nationality all mediate the gender status, giving to men and women a different amount of social value, power, and privilege (Hunnicut, 2009).

As mentioned at the beginning of this section, the term patriarchy has come back into use, following several criticisms in the 1980s, and after being an essential concept for the Women's Liberation Movement (Beechey, 1979). These criticisms were aimed at the universal quality of the theory of patriarchy, and its failure to address different women's experiences across

class, race, and sexuality (Hill & Allen, 2021). Other issues were that theorists could not agree on an historical cause of women oppression, and how heavily it relied on the concept of women and men as distinct, raising questions on what a woman is (Beechey, 1979; Hill & Allen, 2021; Pollert, 1996). This has some conflicts with the idea that materialist feminists have, which is that bodies are all socially constructed (Hill & Allen, 2021). The fundamental issue with this theory is the fact that it does not consider and does not properly deal with the intersection of race and class, with a limited discussion on who fit or do not fit into the social category of woman (Hill & Allen, 2021).

New retheorisation of patriarchy is done in feminist research on domestic and sexual violence (Mahadeen, 2015). There is also a re-evaluation of the variety of patriarchy, underlining the gendered nature of violence, taking into consideration men's position in relation to other men, and considering class and race hierarchies, although questions on this matter remain (Hill & Allen, 2021). Moreover, society now is seen as something that is constantly shifting, and fluid, and therefore the idea of patriarchy has also changed. From being used as a universal term, now it is considered as something that also shifts, with the potential to underline the different forms of men's domination (Hunnicut, 2009).

4.6.2 Toxic masculinity

Recently, there has been an increase in the usage of the term toxic masculinity among feminist movements (Waling, 2019). Toxic masculinity was coined in the 1980s used to describe a militarised, authoritarian masculinity by Shepherd Bliss, under the Mythopoetic Men's Movement⁸ (Harrington, 2021), which insisted that men and boys are angry because

⁸ The mythopoetic movement emerged alongside other strands of the men's movement in the 1980s. The therapeutic aim was to reconnect men with their inner masculine energy. They painted themselves as a "pro-male" movement, and its masculinity politics can be characterised as non-feminist rather than anti-feminist (Maricour & Burrell, 2022)

of the increased feminisation that denies them access to their authentic and deep masculine nature (Maricour & Burrell, 2022).

There is no universally accepted definition on what toxic masculinity means, although it is generally used to describe a collection of norms, beliefs, and behaviours associated with masculinity that are harmful, not only to women, men, and children, but to society (Sculos, 2017). Some of the behaviours considered as part of the toxic masculinity are the tendency towards or glorification of violence; emotional detachment; paternalism towards women; misogyny; sexism; heteronormativity; entitlement to sexual attention from women, objectification and infantilisation of women, to name a few (Sculos, 2017; American Psychological Association, 2018). Moreover, toxic masculinity is considered the cause of aggressive and predatory heterosexual behaviours, which lead to domestic and sexual violence committed by men (O’Dea et al., 2018). It is also responsible for men’s suppression of emotions, which can bring to mental health issues; and the engagement of men in political and physical violence, and homophobic practices (Waling, 2019; Corbett, 2001).

Toxic masculinity is reinforced in society by several factors that take place every day in how men and young boys socialise, at the macro and micro levels, that influence behaviours and beliefs (Bird, 1996). It is strictly connected to a patriarchal society, where men are thought to be the strongest, to be the ones who financially provide for the family, where the real idea of man is linked to virility, and where feminine traits are seen as weak (Parent et al., 2019). Toxic masculinity is also linked to the concept of the dichotomy between male and female, as discussed in section 2.2.3. Toxic masculinity is reinforced in the environments where the traditional masculinity is observed, and for children it becomes a learned behaviour, looking at how their parents interact with each other and others (Rivera & Scholar, 2020). For example, when boys play with toys considered masculine, such as Lego, and are forbidden to play with feminine toys, such as Barbies. This is caused by the tendency of parents to model and teach gender roles to their children, encouraging them to gender conformity (Halper & Perry-Jenkins, 2016).

The term was obscured throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, then was adopted by feminists since approximately 2015. They used it to characterise misogynist and homophobic actions, speech, behaviour, and violence by men, which was becoming especially spread with the #MeToo movement (Harrington, 2021). In that context, the term was used to describe the behaviour of powerful White elite men. This is in contrast to earlier applications of the term, which tended to be applied to marginalised men, such as men in prison (Kupers, 2005), low-income, under-employed men; lacking the figure of a father who could provide them with a mature masculinity role model (Harrington, 2021).

Toxic masculinity has now spread in popular culture, commentators, and feminist scholars; however, it is important to briefly underline its merits and risks (Flood, 2022). On one side, the term questions how stereotypical masculine norms shape men's treatment towards other people, other men, and their health. It is also more accessible and more easily understood than other scholar terms, such as hegemonic masculinity (Harrington, 2021; Flood, 2022). It is also used to remark the harm done to both men and women, making men feel less defensive than they are towards other terms, such as patriarchal masculinity. However, it also carries some risks. It can make feel men attacked by its suggestion that all men are toxic, or it can be used in an overly simplistic and generalising way (Flood, 2022). It also takes away the responsibility of men for their actions of violence towards women, blaming an abstract, vague entity, the man, the toxic (McCarry, 2007), a social construct (Banet-Weiser & Miltner, 2016). Finally, it often does not consider the diversity and intersections that masculinity has with other forms of social difference, and that male violence is not the same everywhere, with no considerations of space, place, and time (Waling, 2019). The same that has been argued for the term patriarchy (Hill & Allen, 2019).

4.7 Summary

This chapter takes into consideration feminism and feminist movements, exploring the meaning feminism has, the different waves, and the power it holds in society and politics.

Moreover, it analyses two central concepts in feminist discussion, especially nowadays, patriarchy and toxic masculinity. It is interesting to notice how the three terms, feminism, patriarchy, and toxic masculinity, are all difficult to define as they are influenced by society, the historical time, the individual experiences and perception of the world, but also race, sexuality, and class.

When exploring feminism, women and men either proudly label themselves as feminists and feminist activist, or completely reject the term (Carrino et al., 2022). Some women do not want to be associated with the movement as they believe they do not need it in order to win their battles, while other are fully supporting the feminist fights, striving for intersectionality, celebrating all women and battling for equality (Carrino et al., 2022). The categorization of waves, and the classification of the first, second, third and fourth wave have generally been adopted to underline how each wave does not have a clear ending, but intersections between waves are also important (Evans & Chamberlain, 2015).

Feminism as a movement is still significant today, and it has impacted the political, social, and cultural life (Dean & Aune, 2015; Hawkesworth, 2006). It explores the gendered power relations, and gender norms and biases that cause hierarchies between men and women (Kantola & Lombardo, 2017). Empowerment is a collective phenomenon for feminists, which is strongly linked to the discourse around gender equality (Weldon, 2019; George & Kuruvilla, 2020). Empowerment is both an individual goal, as well as a societal one, to improve societal conditions so that the individual's agency is possible and meaningful (Weldone, 2019).

Finally, patriarchy and toxic masculinity are two concepts which have been brought back to use by feminism. Both terms do not have a universal definition, as it is for feminism: external factors greatly impact their definitions (Hill & Allen, 2021). Patriarchy is now used to describe men dominance, exploitation, and oppression of women (Beechey, 1979). In this context, toxic masculinity can be explored. The term refers to a series of behaviours, such as misogyny,

and sexism. This is harmful not only for women, children, society in general (Sculos, 2017), but also for men as well, causing mental health issues (Waling, 2019).

Feminism plays a key role in understanding how women working in festivals perceive themselves, and how culture and society affect them as women. Taking into consideration the patriarchal society in which women live and work is also extremely important as this will have repercussion on their working conditions and their possibility to advance in their career.

Chapter 5: Arts festivals management

5.1 Introduction

The fourth and last area of the literature review for this study considers arts festivals. Arts festivals are the core of this study and Edinburgh has been chosen as the case study for this project. As discussed in this section, festivals are becoming more powerful and popular. However, despite their importance, very few studies have investigated gender inequalities and the conditions of women working in festivals. Therefore, this section aims to present an overview of the literature review of festivals, their features, and the connections of this area to this PhD.

This chapter is concerned with two research objectives. The first concerns the issues women in Edinburgh's festivals might face in achieving leadership positions, and whether they experience any gender inequalities. The second objective considers what festival leadership is and what skills a festival leader should have. This chapter is strongly connected to the previous ones. The first looked at leadership, presenting the history of some of the most researched leadership style, and a brief overview of new leadership approached. The second chapter focused on women leadership, exploring leadership issues and obstacles women might face in the career, and gender quotas. The third chapter centred on feminism, its meaning, and the role it has in society. This last chapter puts the focus on the Edinburgh Festivals but draw from the previous ones to explore event leadership and gender inequalities experienced in the tourism, hospitality, and event industry.

This chapter presents a review of relevant literature in the field of events and arts festival management. Specifically, this section starts with defining what festivals are, their origins and definitions, with a particular focus on arts festivals. Secondly, it provides an overview of Edinburgh, considered the world's leading festival city (Edinburgh Festival City, 2023b). The story of its festivals, and their economic power will be analysed. Thirdly, the focus will be on leadership and events. The studies previously undertaken on the topic of event leadership will be presented and discussed. Fourthly, festivals and their impact on social changes,

transformations and women will be stressed. Finally, gender inequalities in the event industry and in research will be examined.

5.2 Festivals: origins and definition

Festivals have been a part of people's social and cultural lives for a very long time, with some of the first festivals appeared hundreds of years ago (Falassi, 1987). Throughout history, people from all over the world, have found time for communal festival experiences and celebrations. For some time, and for some types of festivals still today, they have represented a temporary escape from everyday life (Finkel & Platt, 2020).

In the literature, there are many different conceptualisations and definitions of what a festival is. It is difficult to describe festivals in a few lines (Mair & Weber 2019). However, there is one definition that is frequently used and cited, and it is Falassi's (1987):

Festival commonly means a periodically recurrent social occasion in which, through a multiplicity of forms and a series of coordinated events, all members of a given community participate directly or indirectly and to various degrees, united by ethnic, linguistic, religious, historical bonds, and sharing a worldview. (Cudny, 2014, p. 642)

Moreover, festival spaces have been described as where the carnivalesque and liminal take place. These two terms discuss the experience that is outside the everyday life, and instead where changes, festivity, and the abandonment are the norm (Pielichaty, 2015). The origins of festivals are to be seen in the spiritual and religious gatherings and rituals, where people meet. Drink, excess, fancy dress, food, and celebrations characterised these gatherings (Pielichaty, 2015; Piccio et al., 2022). Festivals, as indicated by Getz (2018), are public celebrations in which the community holds a primary role. In cultural festivals people come together, and they share a sense of social inclusion and belonging (Laing & Mair, 2015).

It is possible to outline some elements in common that characterise a festival. Festivals are a social event, repeated, and open to the public. Further, they are held at a particular moment in time, being regular or on-off, and are developed around a specific and recurrent theme (Wilson et al., 2017). Moreover, festivals strengthen human relations, consolidate communities, and are related to human culture (Cudny, 2014; Piccio et al., 2022). What distinguishes them from other events is festivals' focus on the celebration of cultural and social dimensions, and the involvement of many stakeholders (Getz et al., 2010).

Festivals have gained importance, and they have become dominant platforms for cultural production, distribution, and consumption. They have consequently gained social, political, and economic power (Finkel & Platt, 2020). There are many different types of festivals: music, cultural, food and drink, films, arts, religious/spiritual, shopping, and multiple festivals (Gouthro & Fox, 2019).

Arts festivals are the type of festival that will be considered in this study. As defined by Luonilla and Kinnunen (2020), arts festivals are those organised by bodies whose aim is to produce unique and holistic experiences for guests and attendees. This is done through the celebration of artistic material and content, with a sense of community and celebration of being outside usual ordinary life (Luonilla, 2019). This definition is based also on Getz (1989) who refers to arts festivals as the creation of a content-driven and festival-specific product, consisting of artistic content produced and designed to support the festival's mission in a temporary festivalscape. Arts festivals are products to be consumed, at a particular time and place where the performance takes place (Luonilla, 2019). Festivals have become a popular way to consume and experience culture for individuals. There has been an increasingly rapid growth of festivalisation of culture.

Edinburgh is a very good example of the growth and the success of arts festivals. In the next section, Edinburgh as the world's leading festival city will be presented, with an overview of its history, economic power and the multitude of festivals that characterise the city.

5.3 Edinburgh: The World's Leading Festival City

Edinburgh, capital city of Scotland (UK) is the setting for this study. The city has been recognised as the World's Leading Festival City (Edinburgh Festival City, 2023b), and has been described as one of the “largest single distribution system for performing arts in the world” (Shrum, 1991, p. 356). It has a long and well-established history of staging cultural and arts festivals all around the historical city centre (Todd, 2022). The first festival hosted in Edinburgh were the Edinburgh International Festival, the Festival Fringe, and the International Film Festival (Bartie, 2013). Since then, Edinburgh's destination management stakeholders have harnessed and developed the city's festivals to drive events tourism (Todd et al., 2017). Now there are eleven annual city-based arts and cultural festivals, which reside under the strategic brand umbrella of “Festivals Edinburgh”, established in 2007. It is comprised of Directors from Edinburgh's eleven principal festivals and has a “mission to maintain and develop the value of the Festivals' and the Festival City's position locally and globally, through: development and delivery of collaborative projects and initiatives which support programme development, and leadership and audiences acting on behalf of and representing the collective strengths of the Edinburgh Festivals” (Edinburgh Festival City, 2023a). Recently released data on the economic impact of the Edinburgh Festivals (BOP Consulting and Festivals Edinburgh, 2023) shows that the 2022 festivals attracted 3.2 million attendances, generated by around 700,000 attendees. They contributed £407m in Edinburgh, and 367£ in Scotland. For reasons linked to the pandemic, the increase in net aggregate economic impact for 2022 was greater for Edinburgh than for Scotland, caused by more Scottish people taking part in the festivals as “staycation”.

The eleven festivals that are grouped under the brand umbrella of Festivals Edinburgh are: Edinburgh International Science Festival; Edinburgh International Children's Festival; Edinburgh International Film Festival; Edinburgh Jazz and Blues Festival; Edinburgh Art Festival; Edinburgh International Festival; Edinburgh Festival Fringe; Royal Edinburgh Military Tattoo; Edinburgh International Book Festival; Scottish International Storytelling Festival; Edinburgh Hogmanay. Of these festivals, seven have a woman as festival director (Edinburgh Festival City, 2023b). Edinburgh hosts other festivals, which are not grouped under Edinburgh Festivals, and in all, there are more than 20 recurring festivals in the city every year, such as

Leith Comedy Festival in October; Fringe of Colour in August; and Edinburgh International Magic Festival in July, amongst others.

5.4 Leadership in festivals and events

As assessed in Chapter 2, leadership is a complex phenomenon, which has been studied for many years, creating a large body of literature that underline how this topic is important in all aspects of life. Specific research on leadership and different business management roles have also been proposed. Tourism, hospitality, and human resources have been the subject of these studies (Bharwani & Jauhari, 2013). Leadership and event have been analysed, using various leadership style (Abson, 2021; Leigh et al., 2021; Wilks, 2015), although they have not been greatly explored yet. The subject of events often focuses on more technical parts of the delivery of events, economic impacts, attendees' motivations, and more recently sustainability (e.g.: Mair & Weber, 2019).

Some authors have, however, discussed the topic of leadership in their work. Van der Wagen (2007) suggested why leadership is essential in events. There is the need to understand and develop human capital effectively to run successful events. A good leader needs to be able to transform situations, with strong decision-making ability, and creative vision. Bladen et al. (2012) also emphasise the importance of leadership in event management. An interesting point is that the authors suggest that goal-orientated leadership would not work well in the event industry. Events usually take place in an unstable environment, and their nature is temporary and intangible. They are described also as transitory; plans and resources are in a state of flux, and the projects are either too fluid or lack fluidity. According to Bladen et al. (2012) event managers need to be engaging and involving leaders. This can be connected to the importance of the new leadership style, specifically collective leadership (De Brún & McAuliffe, 2023; Yammarino et al., 2012), assessed in section 2.4.3. Finally, Goldblatt (2008) underlines how leadership in events does not only concern with developing resources and securing logistics. Leaders need to have a greater knowledge, which includes the skills needed for long-term career success. Goldblatt (2008) focuses on six characteristics: problem solving, vision, integrity, collaboration, confidence and persistence, and communication skills.

Discussing specifically festivals, the festival leader is determined as having leadership style as charismatic (Caust, 2004; Ensor et al., 2007, 2011). In charismatic leadership, the leader provides direction and support in solving problem, while empowering followers, stressing the sense of a shared experience (Lovelace et al., 2019; Conger et al., 2000). Ensor et al. (2007), who has the Edinburgh Festivals as the context of their study, also point out the importance of a non-business orientation as important in arts festival, where leadership is essential in the contribution of the success of the event, and in ensuring creativity and innovation (Wilks, 2015). In their work on SnowFest festival, held in a rural area in New South Wales, Australia, Davies (2015) state transformational and transactional leadership styles as successful styles to be used by the leader in organising community festivals in rural areas. Followers indicated how the leader demonstrated good time management, communication, and delegation skills, while, at the same time, giving the followers the opportunity to learn, develop, and practice event management and organisation skills (Davies, 2015). This was partly also confirmed in Sisson's (2021) work, where the leadership style at an annual music festival, taking place in Costa Rica, was positively related to transformational and LMX leadership style. In particular, four components emerged in this study: charisma, inspiration, innovation and motivation (Sisson, 2021). As in Davies (2015), here as well the concept of empowered employee is underlined, resulting in them working longer with the organisation, and being content with their working environment (Sisson, 2021).

Einarsen and Mykleturn (2009) in their study of the Gladmat Festival, in Norway, identified the festival leader as being autocratic. They also identified the leadership styles of transactional, entrepreneurial, and transformational in describing the leadership of the festivals. This is contrary to Parris and Peachey (2012) who, in their study of volunteer leadership at the National Kidney Foundation Surf Festival in Florida, USA, state that the festival leader should have a moral attitude towards serve the least privileged in society. This aligns with servant leadership style (Liden et al., 2008). Finally, Jägger et al. (2009), in their study of non-profits leaders in festivals, concluded that the best way to lead volunteers in festivals is without formal power. Emphasis on direct contact, without formalisation, respect

for the volunteers' free will, and commitment to work on their potential were all key elements in this study.

Recently, there has been a growing interest, shown in particular by Abson (2017, 2021). Abson (2017) underlines the importance of studying leadership in the event industry, because this is a unique setting which needs a different set of competencies and skills. In Abson's (2017) first qualitative research on leadership, she found six key leadership practices suggested by business event managers. Engaging communication was the most prominent dimension. Communication must be effective when engaging with customers, stakeholders, staff, suppliers, and clients (Abson, 2017; Goldblatt, 2011). Secondly, event managers indicate strategic perspectives as important. They need to be able to consider the wider issues, by looking at threats and opportunities, and to balance short-and long-term goals. They must foresee consequences of decisions such as the choice of the venue, food and beverages, entertainment. This is done not only by understanding the event concept and the audience's expectations, but also the organisation's culture and vision. Third, event managers discuss the skill of critical analysis and judgment. They are part of their decision-making process. This can be connected to what Goldblatt (2008) also suggested about events as a fast-changing, highly pressurised environment. Managers need to be able to take decisions fast while creating a workable solution for everyone involved, including all the stakeholders (Abson, 2017). Fourth is the skill of resource management. The ability to understand what needs to be done. when and by whom (Arcodia & Barker, 2002). A good leader in events is seen as someone who assigns the right task to the right person with the appropriate skills. Finally, fifth and sixth skill, there are emotional resilience and interpersonal sensitivity. They highlight the importance for the manager to understand other people's feelings and emotions, and to then react accordingly, with the goal to reach the best outcome of the situation. In events, specifically, leaders need to stay calm under pressure, be able to balance stakeholders' needs and take all perspectives into consideration. Event managers usually become the focus of frustrations and anger for the rest of the team (Abson, 2017). What is interesting to remark in Abson's work (2017) is how the skills that are considered to be important for event managers are not so much technical. Soft skills and human resources are those that drive the success of an event.

In conclusion, Abson (2021) remarks how leadership in the event industry is different from other more traditional working environments. The features described at the beginning of this section show why they are so different. Events are temporary in nature, they often take place in an unstable environment, they are intangible and characterised by high staff turnover. Leaders in events need to be engaging and involving. They need to be able to work in teams, and motivate and empower others (Abson, 2021). The scope of this study is to find out more about leadership in festivals from the perspective of women. The sixth points from Abson's research (2017) will be explored with the participants as a way to understand if they are relevant, if they should change or if some other skills should be added. For women working in festivals, the skills required might be different and the aim is to define with them what leadership in festivals is.

The reason why Abson's (2017) study has been chosen is that it is interesting to see whether there is any difference between business events and festivals, and if the same skills could be applied to festival leadership or anything different is required. It is also an interest in terms of what skills are considered to be essential for people working in festival organisations.

To evaluate leadership for women working in festivals, it is important to understand what the situation for women working in the event industry in the UK is. This will be explained and presented in the following section.

5.5 Festivals, social transformations, and women

Events can be seen as catalysts for change (Abson, 2021). From one side, the organisers have the power to decide and set the agenda, decide the programme for the event, and therefore amplify key issues. Moreover, the event community also has the power to come together to bring the change. They are strictly connected to leadership, events can lead to change (Abson, 2021). From the other side, it is also true what Rojek (2013) underlines. The author considers

that events are not normally a spontaneous expression of people power. The organisation behind, the motivations to persuade and manipulate the marketplace are only some of the aspects to consider. Events are a hierarchical structure. In addition, Roject (2013) also asks a fundamental question: who runs the event and therefore has the power to do so. Abson (2021) tried to light Roject's view by claiming that events do have the power to make some good, bring people together, and raise issues to the global consciousness. This last point is key for the purpose of this study. Events can set their objectives that can go beyond just having an economic impact. They can use their power of influence, together with their reach, to lead towards social and cultural change. They are a platform for key issues, amplifying voices that are not usually heard.

Festivals have a great importance in this sense. They are widely known to bring economic and social benefits. They have a positive impact by increasing tourism, attracting additional funding for local communities, creating spending opportunities, and new employments (Wilson et al., 2017). However, there has been a new focus on their ability to deliver social and political messages (Laing & Mair, 2015). Leisure could create a social space for change, where people meet to engage with the civic and political sphere of life (Sharpe, 2008). Leisure can be seen as the attempt to generate open and public discussion about issues that are important to society, providing a space where to address them (Sharpe, 2008).

Festivals represent an opportunity for catharsis. Festivals are used to share a political point of view or to share an act of collective activism. Clear examples are the Pride Parades or the connection between music festivals and political activism from the 1960s (Coyle & Platt, 2019). These examples showcase how festivals have been used to engender social change (Sharpe, 2008). Festivals can, therefore, be a space for women to gather and meet as a collective. As feminist geographers have remarked, spaces are never neutral (Rose, 1993). In a study conducted by Coyle & Platt (2019) on feminist festivals in the UK, participants have underlined how these festivals can encourage people to understand, get aware, and be more confident with feminist politics and politics in general. Festivals can become a platform for

feminist politics and women empowerment when this is wanted and pursued by the organisers.

How this is achieved, if achieved, in Edinburgh festivals will be asked and assessed with the participants of this study. In the following and last section, the topic of women in the event industry will be presented.

5.6 Women in the Events Industry

Gender research has not advanced as it should have been in any of the sectors of event management research. Gender research does not concern only women, but it tries to understand and investigate how gendered roles for men and women are enacted and perceived. The issue is that women are seen as opposed and completely different from men, positioned only in relation to men, not as independent subjects (Mooney, 2020). However, gender processes that privilege men can be found in both tourism, hospitality, and event research (e.g.: Khoo-Lattimore et al., 2019; Morgan & Pritchard, 2018).

The symbolic gendered orders theory is a significant theory to understand how normalised social cues regulate the inclusion and exclusion of women in the workplace, giving them only subordinate positions (Gherardi, 2014). Expecting a woman to answer the phone, a man to open the door for a woman to make her feel safe, are all symbolic representation of the role women are meant to have. The more these situations are represented and replicated by senior executives, the more overt will be the resistance to principles of inclusion and gender equality (Mooney et al., 2014).

Being a woman of power in the event industry is challenging. In the United Kingdom, 60 to 70% of the event workforce is women (Dashper, 2018). This aligns with the number of event students enrolled on courses of undergraduate and master levels in the UK. 80 to 90% of these students are women (Thomas, 2017). In spite of this high number, there is a pay gap

that favours men (Thomas, 2017), and only 20% of women have senior and board positions (Dashper, 2018). Despite some people suggesting that there are no gender inequalities in the event industry, because there are many opportunities for women, the figures clearly show that this is not the case (Clayton, 2016). As it happens for other industries, gender barriers are deeply rooted and difficult to overcome.

5.6.1 Women Association and Mentoring

Mentoring is an initiative, a tool, that can contribute to empower and enable women to achieve leadership and senior management roles. A mentor is a person who offers information, guidance, and advice to a mentee. The process of mentoring consists of protection, challenge, sponsorship, and providing visibility for the mentee (Kowalski, 2019). Mentoring helps women to get feedback, support, encouragement, overcome career obstacles, and gain access to resources and information (Block & Tietjen-Smith, 2016).

Even though mentoring has been proved to be a successful way to support women and make a significant difference in their lives (Dashper, 2020), there is still a struggle to access mentors via both informal and formal process in the event industry (Dashper, 2018). One of the reasons why it is difficult to access mentoring opportunities is also because of the gender power relations and the fact that there are fewer women leaders, and it might be challenging for younger women to ask men, who are in more senior positions, to mentor them (Dashper, 2018). Another reason that can prevent women to be mentored by men is that unconsciously or consciously the man mentor might think that the woman lacks the skills. On top of this, there is the fear of gossip, perceived sexual involvement, and resentful co-workers (Elliott et al., 2006).

Furthermore, having women-only mentoring can also have negative effects. Women mentors provide more psychological support, they are seen as more nurturing, with higher level of interpersonal support (Dashper, 2019). Men mentors, instead, can bring higher levels of career development. This is more valued than emotional support as it can help advance in the

career and it fits more the way success is seen, as something rational, with outcomes, rather than engagement in interpersonal support (Dashper, 2019).

In Scotland, in 2015, Women in Tourism (WIT) (2023) was created by a group of women who worked across a range of tourism business and organisation in Scotland, who realised the challenges and opportunities for women in the sector. The association helps women connect, support, and share their best practice. If Edinburgh has a network of women specifically working in events, and if there is support for them, is a theme that will be taken into consideration during the data collection of this study.

5.6.2 Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) in the events industry

The hospitality, tourism and event academy are part of the problem of gender disadvantage, as they have failed to critically analyse and offer solution to gender inequality (Morgan & Pritchard, 2018). Reviews of gender research in tourism have showcased how most of the academic leaderships are men-dominated (Figueroa-Domecq et al., 2015). Tourism gender research has also overlooked the intersectionality between gender and other elements that contributes to explore and understand gender, such as class, age, race, and sexuality (Chambers & Rakić, 2018). Wilson and Chambers (2023) have recently presented a revised framework of gender and tourism which outline the six phases of scholarship on this topic [see Appendix 4]. The framework is based on Henderson's (1994) five-phase approach in leisure study, as well as on the work by Aitchison (2005) and Swain (1995) The first phase is the Womanless Phase, that is the invisibility of women and gender in tourism research. Then, there is Compensatory Phase, where women are added to predominantly male-defined research, where women are acknowledged (Wilson & Chambers, 2023). The Bifocal Phase, where sex differences regarding leisure and travel behaviour are highlighted. The Women-Centred Phase is the fourth one, in which women's experiences are examined not necessarily in relation to men. The fifth phase is the New Gender Phase, where men's and women's experience are taken into consideration to a broader societal context, with the aim to provide a richer picture of society. The last phase is the Critical Gender Phase, characterised with a

more critical, diverse, self-reflective, and intersectional approach. These are to be seen as active and interlinking, as the research on gender and tourism scholarship is still on-going (Wilson & Chambers, 2023).

Considering events research, many of the recent event research reviews and future research do not include gender or gender inequalities in their articles (e.g.: Pan & Huan, 2013; Mair & Weber, 2019; Dashper & Finkel, 2021) or just briefly mention them (e.g.: Getz & Page, 2016). The field of event management has also been critiqued for mainly focusing on operational and managerial matters (e.g.: Dashper et al., 2015; Lamond & Platt, 2016; Rojek, 2013; Calver et al., 2023). When EDI are discussed in papers related to event managements, this is done in a peripheral or niche area of research and often within a special issue, not seen and understood as part of the core aspects of events management research (Calver et al., 2023).

EDI stands for Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion. Equality, as defined by UNESCO (2019), is when all members of a group have the same outcomes in terms of status, rights, responsibility, and opportunities. Diversity can refer to individual and community diversity, in terms of gender, age, religion, ethnicity, and sexuality, etc. (Köllen et al., 2018). Considering the festival context, diversity also matters with whom is seen working in the festivals and with what role, who has an active role, both at the organisation level, in terms of festival staff, but also as attendees, performers and artists (Finkel & Dashper, 2020). Finally, inclusion refers, in the context of events, to spaces where a diverse audience can fully participate, where diverse voices and identities are heard, can actively take part in the planning, they are represented in the program, and can get involved in all stages of planning and delivery of the festival (Jepson & Clarke, 2013). In terms of EDI and the creative industries, the report on “Equality, Diversity and Inclusion 2020-2021” realised by Arts Council England (2022) suggest that the sector is not so diverse and inclusive. 14% of the workforce is either Black, Asian, and Ethnically diverse, only 10% is LGBTQ+, and 7% disable. For Scotland, the report *Creative Scotland- Mainstreaming Report 2019-21* by Creative Scotland (2022) shows that in 2020 55% was straight, compared to 7 % LGBTQ+, and 5% was from another non-White ethnicity.

Organisations can have EDI policies and EDI trainings in place to have the tools and knowledge to create an inclusive workplace, striving for equality, diversity, and inclusion (Local Government Association, 2023). Recently, some companies have started to have menopause groups in the workplace, organised by staff, but this is still a novelty (Beck et al., 2020). The efficacy of EDI policies, however, is limited by the quality of the policies and, sometimes, the lack of their implementations (Iyer, 2009). Usually, the opposition to EDI policies comes from the privileged group, the one in power. This group plays an influential role in implementing and making these policies effective but does not want to risk losing the power it holds (Iyer, 2022). This type of threat to their power is known as resource threat (Shteynberg et al., 2011). By applying EDI policies, the resources available, as well as the positions within an organisation, will be distributed to the members of the disadvantage group. The group in power would, then, lose such resources and consequently their status position (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005). Therefore, the incoming group, which in this study is the group of women but more broadly all minorities which are not represented in the festival organisations, will be seen as a competitive threat (Bobo, 1998).

Accessibility is a concept which is close to EDI. It refers to being able to get involved in an event, with measurements put in place to address issues of participation for those with impairments, permanent and temporary, both physical and mental, as well as class and cultural barriers (Finkel & Dashper, 2020). Research and studies on the topic of accessibility have underlined the issues around lack of accessibility in the event industry for attendees (e.g.: Bossey, 2020; Alvarado, 2022). The topic has not been explored in depth, however one of the reasons can be the pay in the industry, not only in the festival industry, but in general in the arts and charity sectors, is very low (Stoughton, 2022).

5.6.3 Gender inequalities

Sexism and gender inequalities are a consequence of gender stereotypes and are connected to beliefs around the nature of women and men and the roles they play in society. Those with power, the men, are treated with favour than those without power (EIGE, 2023b). The terms refer to those social, legal, and cultural situations where gender and/or sex cause different

rights and dignity for women and men. This can take place by an unequal access and employment of rights, as well as the assumption of stereotyped cultural and social roles (EIGE, 2023b). Gender inequalities affect most countries, and men are structurally in a better position than women (Krys et al., 2018). Culture moderates the content of gender stereotypes (Cuddy et al., 2015). Culture can be defined from beliefs, norms, values, and behavioural patterns of a specific group. It can be unconscious, deeply embedded, or basic assumptions that define the essence of a particular culture, to external manifestations that are tangible and overt (Bullough et al., 2022). To change, culture needs to be challenged or debated, and it can take long (Schein, 1992).

Research on gender inequalities in the context of events and festivals, focusing on the event organisers and event staff and attendees, has been limited (e.g.: Gisber & Rius-Ulldemolins, 2019; Ehrich et al., 2022; Platt & Finkel, 2020; Pernecky et al., 2019). While there is more on the topic of women festival goers who experience sexual harassments (Pernecky et al., 2019), as it happens in many other social sites (Jones, 2020; Baillie et al., 2022; Gisbert & Rius-Ulldemolins, 2019). Jones (2020) discussed the situation of live music events. Here, there is usually a high ratio of men employees, a lack of formal policies and leadership style, and the temporary networks of employees with hierarchies of powers differ greatly across festivals and stages within festivals. This situation, together with the lack of complaint procedures and policies, can create a workplace where men employees can perpetrate sexual harassments and bullying (Jones, 2020). The global film festival industry is also characterised by gender inequalities. Women are underrepresented in professional roles. This happens especially in those positions at higher levels with economic decision making power, and key creative roles (Ehrich et al., 2022; Loist & Prommer, 2019; Verhoeven et al., 2019).

The lack of regulation, the precarity, and high competition have been seen as reasons why privilege and inequality are exacerbated in the creative industries (Hennekam & Bennett, 2017; Banks & Millestons, 2011). This situation can increase the prevalence and the tolerance for sexual harassments, risking of creating potentially harmful spaces for women (Hennekam & Bennet, 2017), especially for those with irregular and precarious employment, and

therefore less worker protection (Arnold & Bongiovi, 2013). It should also be considered the gendered power structures, which sees the power unequally distributed in the creative industries, mainly to men (Hesmondhalgh & Baker, 2008; Dashper, 2018). To these, informal networks, which are central to develop and maintain work in the industry, are also another feature that can create toxic, and harmful working place. These networks expose people, showcasing who has the power, and potentially be discriminatory and exclusionary for others (Smith & McKInlay, 2009).

There are different forms of gender inequalities and the ones which affect the working place will be analysed here. Age discrimination; lookism; mansplaining; patronising, and sexual harassments will be assessed.

Lookism is the discrimination based on the physical attractiveness (Spiegel, 2023). The stereotype *ugly-is-bad* discusses how performances of ugly people are usually rated poorer, ugly people usually also get paid less than beautiful people. The stereotypes *beauty-is-good* remarks how beauty is associated with economic and social advantages (Spiegel, 2023). Those who demean another person, based on physical appearance, usually have enough power over the other person to put them into a subordinate role. Given that men usually have more power over women, lookism is an action which underlines once more the inferiority of women, as women are a mere object (Mason, 2021). Ugly women are criticised more harshly by men (Spiegel, 2023; Mason, 2021). Lookism is also expressed when men make comments on women's appearance in a sexualised way, as if they are just objects. Another example is when women are ridiculed by men for not removing their body hairs (Mason, 2021). Women's passion for beauty is strictly connected to the lack of personal liberty. They are required to be beautiful because they are seen, by men, as ownable objects (De Beauvoir, 2011). Women are expected to wear make-up, not to gain weight, and women of colour are asked to straighten their hair (Mason, 2021). At the workplace, women encounter the implicit demand for beauty, elegancy, and slimness (Jyrkinen & McKie, 2012). Feminist philosophy has questioned how aesthetic considerations contribute to women's subjugation (e.g.: Rhode, 2010; Sontag, 2001). Lookism intersects with class and racial prejudice. Black women are seen

as less feminine, less attractive, and more masculine (Spiegel, 2023). A well-known example is also the colour of women's hair. Blond women are often depicted as more attractive, but less intelligent and capable than brunettes. Female blondeness is also associated with sexuality (Johnston, 2010; Rich & Cash, 1993; Kyle & Mahler, 1996).

Ageism is generally the discrimination toward elderly people (Cecil et al, 2022). It can also be experienced by younger women, who might have to face more challenges or be seen as less credible than their male co-workers (Jyrkinen & McKie, 2012). Men and women experience age, ageism, and ageing in different ways at the workplace (Duncan & Loretto, 2004; Jyrkinen, 2014). Sometimes, gender, age, and lookism are experienced as a triple discrimination to women (Granleese & Sayer, 2005). Social invisibility is a recurrent theme in older women's account of their lives, for example when discussing grey hair (Clarke & Korotchenko, 2010; Ward & Holland, 2011). Older women feel unseen and invisible in the public and working life (Cecil et al., 2022), and are often described in demeaning ways (Duncan & Loretto, 2004).

Ambivalent sexism theory (Glick & Fiske, 1996) says that the prejudice towards women is different because it consists of two related ideologies with ambivalent tones: benevolent and hostile sexism (Hammond et al., 2018). Hostile sexism consists of aggressive and threatening attitudes towards women who challenge men's social power (Cross et al., 2019). It refers to the traditional prejudice characterised by disrespectful and antagonistic behaviours. These are, for example, aggression towards women (Gervais & Vescio, 2012). Benevolent sexism is characterised by condescending, kind, and paternalistic behaviours towards women. These can be helping women in tasks that stereotypically are not seen as possible for women (Glick & Fiske, 1996).

Patronising can be described as benevolent sexism. It is usually a praise done from more powerful and privileged people to less, but the reality is that that person is putting someone else down, in a way that results friendly and apparently well-intended (Jeppsson & Brandenburg, 2022). As patronising seems an act of kindness, it is harder to recognise it as

sexism (Gervais & Vescio, 2012). Patronising takes also place when members of negatively stereotyped groups receive few valued resources, and insincere praises (Vescio et al., 2005). This behaviour happens when there is a group who endorse negative stereotypes to make judgments about women and minorities. Men, in this instance, stereotype low-power women in masculine domains (Vescio et al., 2003).

Two other behaviours men can have towards women is dismissing and mansplaining. Women's voice and opinion, at the workplace, can be dismissed or downgraded by men. This can happen by men talking over women, ignored, or invalidated and attacked (Bridges, 2017). The term *maninterrupting* refers to men interrupting women when speaking (Joyce et al., 2021). Mansplaining comes from the two terms man and explaining, and it usually refers to a man explaining something to a woman, with a condescending and patronising tone, without questioning whether the woman knows it or not (Bridges, 2017; Dular, 2021). Mansplaining is linked to the behaviour of dismissing, since when a man is mansplaining usually talks over the women (Schweitzer et al., 2022). The term has become extremely popular on social media (Koc-Michalska et al., 2021). Women feel that they are unnecessarily being explained issues, caused by a mistaken perception, by men, of women's lack of knowledge (Koc-Michalska et al., 2021).

The term sexual harassment was used the first time publicly in 1975 by Farley (1978), who used it when testifying at the hearing on women and work before the New York City Human Rights Commission. It is a crucial expression of gender inequalities, and it is a form of sex discrimination (MacKinnon, 1979). Sexual harassment refers to abusive and counterproductive workplace behaviours, and unwanted sexual advances, with hierarchical power relations at their core. Some of its forms are verbal, abusive remarks, and exclusionary and marginalising behaviour on the basis of gender, with a sexual dimension (McDonald, 2012). They refer to inappropriate behaviour as well as threats of implied and explicit intimacy, promises of career advancements, as such a pay rise, in exchange of sexual favour (Pernecky et al., 2019). This is also known as "quid pro quo (this for that) sexual harassment, and refers to a person in power, such as a manager, exchanging sexual favours for career

benefits (Pernecky et al., 2019). Sexual harassment is also used to refer to experiences of emotional and physical abuse that women face at work (Grosser & Taylor, 2022). They are caused by three organisational features. The job-gender context refers to the ratio of men and women, and the gendered characteristics of the job. The workplace culture describes elements of the organisation, such as policies, taking complaints seriously about sexual harassments (McDonald, 2012). Finally, the differential worker power, which consists of higher organisational status and power, skills, and experiences difficult to replace (Jones, 2020).

Sexual harassment is a growing phenomenon in numerous industries, and in many aspects of the workplace (Fernando & Prasad, 2018; Cassino & Besen-Cassino, 2019). Women are often silenced about their experiences (Fernando & Prasad, 2018), and this has consequences on the company, with absenteeism, employment withdrawal, high staff turnover, lost productivity, low job commitment and satisfaction, cost associated with complaints, reputational damage, and so on (Grosser & Tyler, 2021). Moreover, harassment undermines women's authority at the workplace, reducing them as sexual objects, provoking mental, and psychological harm as well (McLaughling et al., 2017).

5.6.4 Gender Pay Gap

The gender pay is defined as the difference between median earnings of women and men relative to median earning of men (OECD, 2023). According to the Office for National Statistics (2022), keeping in mind that the pandemic of Covid-19 affected earnings, among full-time employees in the UK the gender pay gap in April 2022 was 8.3%, compared to 9% in April 2019. In the creative industries in Scotland, the median full-time gender pay gap in 2019 was 4.1% which became 1.1% in 2020 (National Advisory Council on Women and Girls NACWG, 2021). In 2018 Power Play⁹ (2019) conducted a statistical study into gender in Fringe-level

⁹ Power Play is an award-winning activist theatre company, they use guerrilla-style immersive theatre and data activism to fight gender inequality in UK theatre (Power Play, n.d.)

theatre. Results demonstrated that men are earning an average of 60% more than women, even though women are dominating most sectors of the Fringe. Women are underrepresented at the top of the theatre industry, as this study outlines that there are issues between the Fringe's pool of emerging talent and those owning the theatre top-level positions. The gender pay gap is evidence of how women are undervalued and under-rewarded (Power Play, 2019).

Another important element to consider on the topic of gender pay gap is that higher earners experience a much larger difference in hourly pay between sexes. After the age of 40, the gender pay gap increases significantly (Office for National Statistics, 2022), and this is because it is just before that age that women might have children. Consequently, women take maternity leave, might miss work opportunities, and career advancements, as assessed in section 3.4.2. Therefore, fewer of them will move into higher paying managerial occupations (UK Women's Budget Group, 2021). Interestingly, the gender pay gap for part-time workers is lower, only 2.8% and this can be explained by the fact that more women have part-time roles (Office for National Statistics, 2022). The reasons why women might take part-time roles more often than men in the festival sector, but more broadly in most sectors, are to raise a child, accommodate their spouse's career, or to take care of elderly family members (Gwal, 2016).

One of the reasons of the inequalities in the workplace and therefore the gender pay gap is explained by the sexual division of labour and the belief that women are not seen as suitable for certain roles (Hartman & Barber, 2020). While this is an outdated and stereotypical way of looking at women and men, this has still an impact on equality, equal pay and the gender pay gap (Milner et al., 2019). The high number of women working in part-time roles because of childcare, as previously explored, also undermines their opportunity to improve workplace skills, take part in trainings, and education (Gow & Middlemiss, 2011; Dias et al., 2020). On top of this, women working are highly educated, so, often, they are overqualified for the role they hold. They are also asked to work longer hours than what originally contracted for,

meaning that they are paid less for doing the same job of a full-time person (Gow & Middlemiss, 2011).

Another reason can be seen in the *devaluation theory*, also known as comparable worth discrimination, which is used to explain the negative wage effect of the women share of occupations (Magnusson, 2009). This theory considers the fact that women are valued less than men, and therefore everything associated with women will be valued less in society. As a consequence of this, they get the jobs which are at lower pay levels (Leuze & Strauß 2016). Despite being an interesting theory, it has, however, been criticised as nowadays there are no jobs which are only women dominated and only men dominated, and it is therefore difficult to measure whether the wages are lower because of the high presence of women (Magnusson, 2009).

5.6.4.1 Men get more career opportunities

The Gender Pay Gap is strictly correlated to the opportunities men and women get in the workplace to advance in their career (Dias et al., 2020). One of the reasons why this happens is childcare, which causes women to struggle to get promotions as they have breaks in their career or go back to work with part-time roles, as assessed in section 3.4.2. This break, or gap caused by childcare, particularly affects the dominant model of career progression, which requires linearity and continuity (Arun et al., 2004; van Osch & Schavelling, 2020). As Acker (1990) comments, discussing the theory of gender organisations, the norm for organisational structures and processes is based on the man worker's behaviour and perspectives, with his working-time arrangements. In this context, part-time roles are seen as an obstacle to the career. Overtime, travelling, and constant availability are all considered as the norm (Leuze & Strauß 2016).

In the report by Creative Scotland (2017), women were more likely to work part time, and be the primary carers of children, with 44% respondents commenting that their gender was a barrier to their career progression. In the same report, it was underlined that men in the

sectors are more likely to work in senior roles, and to earn more. This was explained by the fact that they are less likely to be the primary or sole carer of children, only 9% of men described like this, compared to a 57% of women.

Women are also usually not propense to question and negotiate raises, promotions, and salaries compared to men. The reasons why they are not proactive on these matters might be caused by social factors, such as how women are socialised not to be too pushy (Artz et al., 2018), or fear to be considered unlikable (Amanatullah & Tinsely, 2013). This goes back to how children are educated, and how parents and teachers encourage little boys to be assertive, while little girls need to show empathy and be egalitarian (Niederle & Vesterlund, 2007), as presented in section 2.2.3. These gender roles continue also when it comes to choose a job. It was noted that when there is not explicit statement that the wage can be negotiable, then women tend to be willing to work for a lower wage rate, while men are more prone to negotiate a higher pay (Leibbrandt & List, 2015).

Women suffer from backlash reactions when their behaviour is seen as too masculine, as for example agentic, or self-promotional (Amanatullah & Tinsely, 2013). Women might be seen to make fewer sacrifices for their careers, compared to men who spend less time with the family, work more hours and do more overtime. But external factors, such as the weight and responsibility of childcare on them, the discriminations they experience at work and the perception of not being the right fit to be at the top, might all influence women's decisions to work on their career (Meeussen et al., 2022). Internal choices are strongly impacted by external factors. These include how women and men are socialised, how men are traditionally encouraged to focus on themselves and work, while women are directed to focus on the family (Wood & Eagly, 2012), just to name a few that have been assessed in several sections of this literature review. The rhetoric of the choice, as in women who actively choose not to work on their career, implies that men and women have the same opportunities (Meeussen et al., 2022). And this is not the case, as it has been argued so far in this study and given the inequalities women often face in the workplace.

5.7 Summary

The last chapter of the literature review considers arts festivals management, another substantive aspect of this study, whose context is Edinburgh arts festivals. The aim of this chapter is to first define what a festival is, to provide a brief overview of the history of Edinburgh as a festival city (Edinburgh Festival City, 2023b). Festival and events leadership is considered, and then it discusses gender inequalities, and issues of EDI in the events industry, and the gender gap.

As it was essential to define what leadership and leader are, it is equally crucial to understand what festival is. Festivals have gained social, political, and economic power (Finkle & Platt, 2020). Arts festivals are the creation of artistic content, with a sense of community and celebration, outside the ordinary life (Luonilla, 2019, Luonilla & Kinunen, 2020; Getz, 1989). Festivals are important for the economic and social benefits, increasing tourism, bringing new funding for local communities and new employment opportunities (Wilson et al., 2017). They also deliver social and political messages, being a form of collective activism (Laing & Mair, 2015; Coyle & Platt, 2019; Sharpe, 2008). Edinburgh is a good example of an arts festival city, with a long-established history of staging arts and cultural festivals (Todd, 2022). The city brands itself as the World Leading Festival City (Edinburgh Festival City, 2023b), with over 20 recurring festivals in the city every year.

Chapter 2 presented an overview of the most studied leadership styles and new approaches. In this chapter, the focus is on events and festival leadership, which have not been greatly explored yet. This is a central element of this study, as one of the research objectives is to understand what the skills of festival leadership are in comparison to existing literature on the subject. Authors have underlined the importance of a good leadership in events, which differ from other working context because of the temporary, intangible nature and the unstable environment (Ven der Wagen, 2007; Bladen et al., 2012). Research on festival leadership has suggested the leader should be either charismatic (Caust, 2004),

transformational and transactional (Davies, 2015; Sisson, 2021), or autocratic (Einarsen & Mykleturn, 2009), without formal power (Jägger et al., 2009) and contributing to creativity and innovation (Wilks, 2015). Abson's (2017) paper presented six key leadership practices suggested by business event managers: engaging communication, strategic perspective, critical analysis and judgment, resource management, emotional resilience, and interpersonal sensitivity.

Gender research on the topic of women in events has not been developed yet; this the study's aim, to fill the gap in the literature on this subject. Women represent 70% of the workforce in the industry in UK, but only 20% of them have senior and board positions (Dashper, 2018). In this chapter, some of the reasons that could justify these numbers have been suggested. First, EDI are usually discussed in paper in a peripheral way, and not seen as a core aspects of events management research (Calver et al., 2023). EDI are important in festivals to understand who has access to them, who works there and with what role, whether the audience who can participate is diverse (Finkel & Dashper, 2020). A recent report showed that festivals are not so diverse, and more work needs to be done (Arts Council England, 2022).

Gender inequalities have also not been explored in depth in relation to the events and festivals sectors. Some studies have looked at music and film festivals. In the former, it was noticed how the lack of formal policies and complaint procedures, the temporary networks of employees, and the hierarchies of power which different across the festival can create a workplace where sexual harassments can happen (Jones, 2020). The latter study outlines the underrepresentation of women in professional roles (Ehrich et al., 2022). The chapter suggested a series of gender inequalities that can take place in the workplace. One the study's objectives is to evaluate what issues women face in achieving leadership positions, so it will be relevant to see whether these issues happen in the Edinburgh festival sectors. Lookism is the discrimination based on the physical attractiveness (Spiegele, 2023), where women are judged based on their appearance, as mere objects (Mason, 2021). Ageism refers to the discrimination toward elderly people (Cecil et al., 2022). Women can experience a triple discrimination with gender, lookism, and age (Granleese & Sayer, 2005). Benevolent sexism

is when men have condescending, paternalistic, and kind behaviours towards women (Gervais & Vescio, 2012). To this, there is also mansplaining, which is when men explain something to a woman, with a condescending tone, without even questioning whether the woman knows that facts or not (Bridges, 2017). Patronising, dismissing, maninterrupting are other forms of benevolent sexism (Vescio et al., 2005). Hostile sexism is aggressive and threatening attitudes towards women who challenge men's social power (Cross et al., 2019). Sexual harassments are an example of hostile sexism, and refers to verbal, abusive remarks, unwanted sexual advanced, with hierarchical power relations at its core (McDonald 2012). A type of sexual harassments is inappropriate behaviours, threats and promises of career advancements in exchange of a career advancement (Pernecky et al., 2019).

Another form of gender discrimination is the gender pay gap, which, in the creative industries in Scotland, is quite low at 1.11% (NACWG, 2021). The reasons behind this gap are to be seen in the maternity leave and childcare responsibilities, which cause women to have a break in the career and to choose part time roles, as examined in Chapter 3. Therefore, men have more opportunities to get promotions, as they have less obstacles and can focus on their career (Ackers, 1990; Arun et al., 2004). Another issue is that women struggle to negotiate salaries, and ask for promotions (Arts et al., 2018). This reluctance to talk about these aspects can be linked, once again, to gender stereotypes, the concepts of masculinity and femininity, explored in Chapter 2, and the way women grow up and socialised, directed to focus on the family and not the career (Wood & Eagly, 2012).

In this chapter several aspects of events and arts festival management were considered. They are important as they will support the analysis and discussion of the data findings in relation to the issues women working in the arts festival in Edinburgh might face, but also to assess what skills are considered to be essential in festival leadership. The other chapters of the literature review are equally important. Chapter 2 has given the basis to understand what leadership and leader are, presenting the various styles, and examining key terms, such as masculinity and femininity. This dichotomy is present in all the other chapters of the literature review. Chapter 3 takes into consideration women leadership, analysing the issue women

might face when achieving senior roles, the obstacles that hinder their career, and the value of gender quota. Chapter 4 focuses on feminism and its political power in making a change in the fight for gender equality, creating empowering environment. Finally, chapter 5 looks at the context where this study takes place. Edinburgh city, the World Leading Festival City. It presents an overview of the situation of women in the events industry, EDI policies, and gender inequalities at the workplace.

Part 3 Methodology and methods

Part 3 of this thesis presents philosophical underpinning of this study, which is feminist research. Specifically, in Chapter 6 details on the ontological and epistemological perspectives of feminist research and their relation to this study are presented. Then, in Chapter 7, the methods employed for the data collection are assessed.

The objective of this part is to explain and justify the choice of feminist research as methodology, and the research methods, qualitative, and why they are particularly fitting for the purpose of this study, its aim, and objectives. Feminist research is discussed taking into consideration the tourism, hospitality, and events management research done so far, and how quantitative research methods are still more often used than qualitative. Attention is also given to the aim of this research, and the goal to overcome sexism, gender inequalities, and engage in gender research. This means to research and understand how gendered roles for women and men are enacted and perceived in the tourism, hospitality, and event industries. Following the methodology chosen, qualitative methods were employed. The aim of this thesis is to understand and give space to the different voices and experiences of women working in arts festival in Edinburgh. Feminist researchers and scholars state that the use of qualitative methods is the adequate way to capture women's experiences in their everyday life.

Chapter 6: Feminist Research

6.1 Introduction

Methodology is a fundamental section of any research and PhD study. The methodology section consists of various elements, that support the reasons behind the research itself, the methods chosen, and the values of the researcher. In this chapter, methodology and its components of epistemology, ontology, axiology will be assessed. Then, feminist research, which is the methodology chosen, will be explained. Further on, the methods to conduct the data collection for this research, will be presented.

6.2 Literature review

The present study looked at three different areas of literature review: leadership management, feminist studies, and the management of art festivals. The analysis of the literature review has been important to understand the topics of this study and to highlight gaps in the literature itself. Moreover, the literature review supports the research aim and objectives. There are core elements, which specifically rise from the literature review, that help to understand the linkages between the literature review and the PhD's focus.

Firstly, there is not much research on event leadership (Abson, 2021; Caust, 2004; Ensor et al., 2011; Lovelace et al., 2019), even less when it comes to women leadership. The event sector has been proven to be different from other traditional working environments. As Abson (2021) has showed, events are temporary in nature, they often take place in an instable environment, they are intangible and characterised by high staff turnover. Leaders in events need to be engaging and involving. They need to be able to work in teams and motivate and empower others (Lovelace et al., 2019; Conger et al., 2000). The literature review has suggested that the new collective leadership styles could work well for leaders in festivals (De Brún & McAuliffe, 2023). Moreover, the essence of collective leadership is to open leadership roles to whoever has the skills for a particular task, being more inclusive and not gender focussed (e.g.: Yammarino et al., 2012; Zhu et al., 2018).

Secondly, four issues women face when achieving leadership positions have been analysed in the literature review: the Glass Cliff Phenomenon, the Queen Bee Phenomenon, the Token Theory, and the Role Congruity Theory. These have been chosen because they underline how these issues have been studied from the perspective that it is the fault of women to struggle as leaders (e.g.: Derks, Van Laar & Ellemers, 2016). Women have been for a very long time described as not interested in succeeding at work, being communal, kind and understanding. Women are traditionally seen as more interested in having a family, than having a managerial position at work (Yaghi, 2018a). If a woman aims at being successful, then she is seen as highly masculine and extremely career oriented, not something she should be (Ellemers, 2014). They often need to accept the gender inequalities within the organisation as they would stand alone against them. Therefore, women are described as anti-feminist and against other women colleagues, as if sisterhood between women colleagues should be natural in every woman (Derks et al., 2016). Several gender stereotypes are still strongly present in working companies and societies. Among these, the maternal wall phenomenon describes all the different discrimination and biases that pregnant employees and working mother experience at the workplace (Delacruz & Speer, 2023). These discriminations are the basis of the difficulties women encounter in the job place when leading or when trying to achieve higher positions (Eagly & Karau, 2002).

Gender inequalities are part of every aspect of our society. This means that increasing the number of women in power and in leading position can be a way to improve the situation, but gender quotas, as seen in the literature review, alone are not enough. If the culture of the organisation, and in general the mentality of our society, do not improve and change, stereotypes will remain rooted in our culture and the situation of women will not improve (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019).

6.3 Research aim and objectives

The research objectives take into considerations the finding emerged from the literature review. Therefore, this study's objectives are:

- 1) To undertake a critical analysis of academic literature in the areas of leadership theories, feminism, the management of events, and specifically arts festivals;
- 2) To undertake qualitative research to critically explore and evaluate how women festival leaders position themselves in Edinburgh's festivals sector;
- 3) To gain an understanding of how culture and society affect women in achieving leadership positions in Edinburgh's festivals sector;
- 4) To evaluate the issues faced by women in Edinburgh's festival sector in achieving leadership positions in comparison with the literature;
- 5) To understand what the skills of festival leadership are in comparison to existing literature on the subject.

These research objectives support the research aim is to gain an understanding of the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions; and the reasons that underpin this situation.

6.4 Research questions

As a result of gaps in the literature review, a number of specific research questions were identified. These are in addition of the research objectives and are vital when considering the design of the data collection. They ultimately relate to the overall aim of this research.

1. Why are there so few women leaders in the Edinburgh festivals despite being a women-dominated sector?
2. What gender inequalities take place in the Edinburgh festival sectors?
3. Is it difficult to be a mother working in the Edinburgh festivals?
4. Do women working in the Edinburgh festivals doubt their skills and capacities, do they present the impostor phenomenon? Are gendered roles enacted in the Edinburgh festivals sector?
5. Are EDI considered as important in Edinburgh festival organisations?

6. What is the purpose of feminism for women working in the Edinburgh festivals?
7. Is there evidence of one of the four issues analysed in the literature review, namely the Glass Cliff Phenomenon, the Queen Bee Phenomenon, Token Theory, and Role Congruity Theory in the Edinburgh festivals?
8. Are the six key leadership practises suggested by Abson (2017) essential in festival leadership?
9. Can festival leadership style be collective?

6.5 Methodology and its components

A methodology is the plan or strategy for how the research will take place. It describes the approaches to the research (Cohen et al., 2018) and analyses the principles and procedures to conduct an enquiry (McGregor, 2018). The methodology is the philosophical framework, the orientation, with which the research is conducted and the rationale for the specific methods chosen (O'Leary, 2004; Leavy, 2014).

A methodology is characterised by three elements (Byrne, 2023). First, the considerations about what is real, which is known as ontology (Mathison, 2005). Second, what is knowledge or what can be known, which is epistemology. Finally, the values which underpin the research, or axiology (Brown, 2006).

6.5.1 Ontology

Ontology is the theory about the nature of being and the existence. It comes from the Greek word *ontos*, which means *to be* (McGregor, 2018). Ontology is a branch of metaphysics within philosophy (Hoffman & Kumar, 2020). It describes the nature of what exists (Mathison, 2005). It is the study of the theories of being, and what creates reality (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004; Noonan, 2008). The questions at the basis of ontology are what existence is and what means to say that an object exists. Everyone has a different perception of what reality is, and therefore it is essential that the researchers are clear about their vision (Brown, 2006).

Ontological assumptions make different statements about what exists in their domain of interest. To understand it, the difference between positivism and interpretivism will be used as an example. Social reality is made up of observable behaviour which takes place in observable circumstances (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004). The former ontological assumptions make claim that the universe, and human activities are characterised by observable events. Interpretivism, on the other side, sees social reality as the product of processes created by human beings who negotiate the meaning of actions and situations. Social reality is made up of those interpretations (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004).

6.5.2 Epistemology

Epistemology is the theory of knowledge, its nature, and forms, how it can be acquired and then communicated to the others (Walliman & Walliman, 2011). It comes from the Greek term *espiteme*, which means *knowledge*, and *logos* which can be translated into *study of* (McGregor, 2018). Epistemology concerns the nature, sources, and limits of knowledge. Its central question is on what constitutes nature, what we know and how we know things (Mathison, 2005).

The view of how knowledge is affects how the research will be conducted. From one side, knowledge can be seen as objective and tangible, such as positivism (Lewis-Beck et al., 2004). Other views differ, such as interpretivism, and consider knowledge as personal, subjective, and unique (Greener, 2008).

6.5.3 Axiology

Axiology is the study of values, specifically the values of the researcher and the role they have in research (McGregor, 2018; Creamer, 2018). It comes from the Greek *axosi*, which means *value worth* (Hiles, 2008).

6.6 Philosophical perspectives in the tourism, hospitality, and event management

When considering the methodology chosen for this study, there are two critical considerations to make. Firstly, positivism, positivist ideals, and quantitative methods, have always been, and still are, prominent and dominant in the business research. This includes tourism, hospitality, and event studies. In many journals, most articles that are accepted and published are written taking a positivist approach (Mooney, 2020). Tourism and event scholarship follow the rules of the scientific-positivistic paradigms (Jiménez-Esquinas, 2017). However, qualitative methods have been proven to add greater depths, insights and understanding to matters concerning the social sciences (Hillman & Radel, 2018). An overview of some of the most used research paradigms in tourism research can be found in Appendix 5 and Appendix 6.

Secondly, there is also another element to consider when doing research in the tourism, hospitality, and event field. The way research has been conducted is mainly masculinised (Nunkoo et al., 2020; Wilson & Chambers, 2023). Not only are there still a small number of women authors being published. There are even less, when the first author is a woman, and the paper receives fewer citations, even when published in highly ranked journals (Mooney, 2020). The engagement that longer-established fields of hospitality and tourism studies have with gender theory and research is minimal, and the same is for event studies (Dashper & Finkel, 2021). Several authors have made calls for more gender-related research. This includes research that is not necessarily only about women, but also about how gendered roles for women and men are enacted and perceived in the tourism, hospitality, and event sectors (Mooney, 2020).

In recent years it has been suggested there is a need to adopt feminist and gender philosophical frameworks to support research which wants to question the underlying power structures and discourses that shape research practices, behaviour, and interactions (Dashper & Finkel, 2021). Feminist research is committed not only to identifying any gender inequalities. Its goal is also to overcome those, or part of, these inequalities (Jiménez-

Esquinas, 2017). It asks researchers to question who is in power, who has the authority to make decision and who is left overlooked in a particular context (Dashper & Finkel, 2021). Feminist research also challenges how researchers have been thinking of gender and society and how our social domains and values are structured (Jiménez-Esquinas, 2017). This is in line with what emerged from the literature review, a need to give voice to women, their experience, and their point of view. Furthermore, as underlined, gender inequalities characterise every element of the everyday life, making it difficult for women to achieve leadership positions. Feminist research aims at finding ways to overcome those, challenging the masculinised way of doing research as it has been done until now.

The relation between gender and events has not been explored in depth. Gender inequalities exist in the event sector, but they have been neglected by researchers (Dashper & Finkel, 2021). Therefore, feminist research would help advance the field of event studies, with a focus on gender and event management, which is still in need to further exploration. Given the lack of research that includes event and gender, and the presence of gender inequalities in the event industry, feminist research has been chosen as the more appropriate research methodology for the focus of this study. In the following section, then, an introduction and overview of feminist research will be presented.

6.7 Feminist research

Feminist research has a long history, which started with the first wave of feminist research, whose records of research are limited and include the work of Woolley (1910) and Hollingworth (1914). The two scholars addressed the issue of believing in women intellectual inferiority, showing that women could perform as well as men (Eagly, 2018). Women's movements of the '60s and '70s produced a larger and more complex research agenda (Ackerly & True, 2010). In politics and in research, at that time, the voices of women were not expressed, there was no interest in their experiences, and the interpretations of these experiences (Ackerly & True, 2010). Some feminist researchers started to challenge well-established theories that presented women as inferior to men (Jaggar, 2008). The way

research dealt with gender was with an assumption that women's nature accounts for their lack of status and power (Eagly, 2018).

Feminist scholars, especially in the field of psychology, showed how systemic biases and stereotypes about women were dominating the field. Women would be classified as inconsistent, emotionally unstable, weak, less productive, and intelligent than men (LaFrance & Wigginton, 2019). The reasons behind such a description of women are to be seen in the way research was conducted. Androcentric bias was the rule back in the 1960s and 1970s. Men were seen as the norm, while women were considered to be irrelevant to understand human experience. Moreover, the perspective of the research and the study of it were often of young, White, middle-class, educated, able-bodied and heterosexual men (Tavris, 1993). The present study aims to overcome this androcentric way of analysing women leadership and the challenges they face in the workplace, specifically in the arts festival context of Edinburgh. The setting was chosen given the scarcity of study on the topic of women and leadership in the event industry, and specifically in the festivals. The reason lies within the high percentage of women working in the Edinburgh festivals, yet most senior and leadership positions are held by White men (Dashper, 2018; Thomas, 2017; Freund & Hernandez-Maskivker, 2021).

Affirming that feminist research concerns only the study of women and the culturally feminine is too simplistic. The topic of the study is not new: women have been long studied and explored before in many different fields (Harding, 2008). However, the new feminist research wants to work on the same material, but with a different interpretation. This, at times, would challenge basic assumptions in existing disciplines. It is not possible just to add women and incorporate them into an established system of knowledge (Jaggar, 2008). Moreover, research has always looked at women, and femininity in contrast to men, and masculinity. As if women would exist only in relation to men. Incorporating feminist insights into an established body of knowledge would, then, require re-examining understandings of what is man and masculine (Harding, 2008). The dichotomy between male and female has been remarked several times in the literature review. A dichotomy that not only presents

women as if they exist only in relation to men. It also is based on a differentiation between gender which is socially constructed and does not exist in nature. Male represents power and strength, while female represents kindness and care (Ackerly & True, 2010).

Feminist scholars have exposed the masculinist bias that characterises methods and research in the social science (Hekman, 2007). According to Robson & McCartan (2002), there are seven sources of sexism in research. First, androcentricity, that is when the world is seen through male eyes and male research paradigms are applied to women. This was discussed in section 5.6.2, with the first phase of the revised Framework of Gender and Tourism Scholarship by Wilson & Chambers (2023) (see Appendix 4). Second, an overgeneralization of a study from men to women. Gender insensitivity is the third source of sexism, when in a research sex is ignored as a possible variable. Fourth, when in research male criteria, measures and standards are used to judge the behaviour of women, the so-called double standards (Robson & McCartan, 2022). Fifth, sex appropriateness, which is when a woman is expected to take care of children or the elderly, while the man oversees the economic sustain (Cohen et al., 2018). Familism, the sixth source, which is when the family, and not the individual, is treated as a unit of analysis. Lastly, sexual dichotomism, which is a term that has emerged multiple times in the present study. This describes treating the sexes as distinct social groups and overlooking the fact they might share similar characteristics (Robson, 2002).

The starting point of feminist research is that research should be non-sexist. Feminist scholars find that much psychological research is characterised by stereotypical perspectives on women and gender (McHugh, 2014). Sex biases can be also seen when theories or research do not give equal importance and relevance to both sexes, giving more attention to the experience of one sex (McHugh, 2014). Feminists state that the values that define the social sciences are strictly masculinist. Consequently, the experiences of women are invisible because women are not conceptualised in the scientific discourse (Hekman, 2007). The pictures of the social world created by research in the social science is not complete, without the experiences of women (Hekman, 2007).

Feminist research focuses on actively creating benefits and advancements for women, putting the gender at the centre of the enquiry (McHugh, 2014). It does so by analysing the gendered context of women lives, empowering women, exposing gender inequalities, and advocating for social change and improvement of women's social status (Cosgrove & McHugh, 2002). The goal is to empower and emancipate not only women, but also other marginalised groups, by applying feminist research findings in promoting social justice and social change (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007). Feminist research should not be labelled as research about women, but for women. It creates knowledge that can be used in transforming a sexist society (Cook & Fonow, 1990). For a feminist scholar, it is important to have knowledge of the world, of the situations and circumstances of women's lives. Only in this way, it is possible to determine what needs to be criticised, challenged, and changed (Jaggar, 2008).

Feminist research in terms of subjects has no limits. Its commitment is to produce knowledge that can be used to oppose gender injustice: a knowledge that is free from gender and biases and is not constrained by the constructions of sex and gender (Jaggar, 2008). It searches knowledge for emancipation and challenges the acceptance of the domination of men over most women (Jaggar, 2008). Feminist researchers hold different perspectives, use different methods, and ask different questions. As it is incorrect to reduce all women to one group with the same and uniform experience, culture, class, or race, the same is for feminist research (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007). Feminist research is in constant development to find new and more effective ways to reveal hidden aspects of women's live and of any other oppressed groups (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007).

There are two main contributions of feminist research to traditional research. The first one is connected to its intent to correct traditional research that neglected women or presented them through stereotypical or biased lenses (McHugh, 2014). By identifying experiences of women which also included gender discrimination and violence against women, the content of the research in most discipline has been transformed (Riger, 1992). The second

contribution is the critical analysis of research and the production of knowledge (McHugh, 2014). As previously mentioned, feminists from the very beginning, criticised the perspective that research had on women as considered as less intelligent than men, using the androcentric framework (Wiley, 1990). Feminist research aims at putting light on the distortions, omissions of research, and challenging conclusions from research findings that consider evidence taken only from narrow or small samples of populations (McHugh, 2014). Moreover, feminist researchers remark the gender power dynamics that take place in many elements of women's life, research being one of them. In doing so, feminist research shows that a gender and other contextual variables can create a bias when conducting scientific research. Bias that exists in the science which is then validated and accepted by the scientific community (Rosser, 2008). Feminist research has actively contributed the science to correct and overcome sexist and stereotypic representation of women and research that devalues women (McHugh, 2014).

There is an important element to add when discussing this second contribution of feminist research. This is the goal of exposing the invisibility of women and their incorrect representation in research. It is worth to mention the critique of feminist research towards positivism and its contribution to transform society towards gender equality (McHugh, 2014). Positivism originated in the late 1800s and it is characterised by the role of the mind which is privileged over the body, the subjective and the emotions. It gives emphasis on objective observations, and object reality (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007). In the positivist paradigm, the external or objective reality is the basis of facts and truth; the reality is pure, invariable, and universal. The methods used are often survey data and statistical analysis as a way to test hypotheses and causal relationships, to measure large-scale patterns and to produce findings which are considered to be generalizable (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007). Moreover, positivist research, according to a feminist critique, concerns the White, male dominating research community at the expense of those minority groups whose voices remain silenced (Cohen et al., 2018).

Feminists believe that feminism and science are in conflict, but there is room to be productive and transformative when implied together (Keller, 1982). In their view, value-free, neutral research perpetuates power differences. Feminist research challenges this value neutrality of positivistic social science (Campbell & Schram, 1995). And it does it by exposing the underrepresentation of women experiences and the contradiction of these experiences with the research findings (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007). They disrupt the positivist claim that there can be universal knowledge, by exposing how the positivist paradigm does not start from universality and objectivity. Quite the opposite, it starts from a privileged location within a historical, material, and social set of patriarchal power relations. To feminist scholars, knowledge building cannot be value-free, and reality is not static (Brooks & Hesse-Biber, 2007). To conduct feminist research, the researcher needs to be aware of the effects of the research on the researched and the researchers, keeping in mind that the personal experience of the research will be an integral part of its process (Cohen et al., 2018).

Feminist research understands the construction and reproduction of gender and sexual difference. Positivism and objectivity are seen as male mythology and therefore rejected (Cohen et al., 2018). The methods chosen are usually qualitative, where the primacy of women's personal experience is recognised (McHugh, 2014). Research must focus on empowering women, and it should not only be undertaken by academic experts. The dualism between subject, the researcher, and the researched object is rejected as considered artificial, as so are hierarchies in social research (Cohen et al., 2018). The connection between the private and public, and the domestic and the political is highlighted (Campbell & Schram, 1995).

Feminist research has its own considerations around ontology, epistemology, and axiology. Moreover, it suggests using certain methods when collecting data. So, in the following section a brief overview of feminist research epistemology will be presented.

6.7.1 Feminist research epistemology

Epistemology concerns the study of the answers to the question on how people can know. It is about the nature of knowledge and the justification of what people claim to know (Cosgrove & McHugh, 2002). As above analysed, from the very beginning of the expansion of feminist research in the 60s and 70s, they started to investigate the biases of research and of the mainstream research epistemology. According to them, the research methodology used did not concern gender or discussions around feminist issues (Hekman, 2007). Early feminist researchers aimed at providing a true knowledge about women's lives (Zalewski, 2003).

There are three issues that feminist scholars underline. Firstly, most of the research was produced based on men's lives and reflecting masculine values. As suggested, it could be labelled *malestream* rather than *mainstream* epistemology (Radtke & Stam, 1994). Secondly, based on the first issue, women's experiences, activities, and lives were considered unimportant and irrelevant when creating knowledge. Lastly, but still as central as the previous two, women themselves were seen as inadequate producers of knowledge (Zalewski, 2003). Summing up, feminists state that social sciences are determined by the values of the social-scientific researchers, and their values are masculinist. Therefore, women are invisible in these disciplines. Bringing feminist values into the social science is rather necessary to correct that initial bias (Hekman, 2007).

According to Harding (1987), epistemology has a central role in feminist research. Harding, specifically, identifies three feminist epistemological perspectives: feminist empiricism, feminist standpoint, and feminist postmodern position (Hekman, 2007). They will be briefly presented in the following part.

6.7.1.1 Feminist empiricists

Feminist empiricism is the least radical of the three epistemological positions. Feminist empiricists do not reject the scientific methods, but they rather use it as a way to understand

or to know the world (Hekman, 2007). They believe that through the scientific method, they will be able to discover reality. They claim that sexism and androcentrism are social biases (Zalewski, 2003). These prejudices are found also in social and political research, both when the problems or issues to be researched are identified and when the design and data collection are chosen (Harding, 1986).

Feminist empiricists suggest applying the rules of social scientific enquiry more strictly to overcome these biases of sexism and androcentrism (Zalewski, 2003). Science is the approach that allow feminist research to create value-neutral and objective data (McHugh & Cosgrove, 2004). Objectivity is accepted if sexism and androcentrism are removed with the application of rigorous scientific methods (Lafrance & Wigginton, 2019). This position is consistent with the modernist perspective, which endorses adherence to a positivist-empiricist model. This model prefers the scientific method of the natural science as the only reliable path to knowledge (McHugh, 2014).

Feminist empiricists believe that there is only a single reality that can be known, with repeated objective observations. Objectivity is characterised by being unpassionate, impartial, and disengaged. Bias is acknowledged as an element that can impact research, but it is viewed as something that needs to be eliminated or corrected (McHugh & Cosgrove, 2004). They identify androcentrism and sexism as social biases. The goal is, then, to create a feminist science that does not have any androcentric bias, and thus, more accurately, represents the world by using the rules of scientific enquiry (Rayaprol, 2016). With the application of rigorous practices, there is the possibility to create a better and more objective science (Hesse-Biber, 2012). Moreover, they want to create science that includes women in research samples, asking different questions. Questions that could bring valuable insight into the experience of women, such as motherhood, rape, and work-family conflict (Campbell & Wasco, 2000). Finally, to ensure that the impact of the researchers' values is minimised, steps should be taken. The researcher should specify the circumstances in which gender differences are found and assess how those could be made neutral (Riger, 1992). The sex composition of the group

of participants in the research could affect the behaviour, as individuals act differently depending on the presence of men or women (Riger, 1992).

Feminist empiricists start from the principle that both sexes, men, and women, have contributed to knowledge, creating a call for inclusion of women. They refuse the idea that women are inherently different and/or inferior to men (McHugh, 2014). The science that is generated by feminist empiricists is considered as *good science*, which means that it has no gender bias. By challenging the lack of study on women and the lack of women as researchers, they use scientific method in search for a greater and more inclusive objective enquiry (Rayaprol, 2016).

There has been a debate over the use of a scientific method for feminist research, in particular to overcome sexism in the field. This has seen different perspectives. Shields (1975) believes that when research compares women and men, it can never be value-free or neutral. Quite the opposite, it is characterised by presenting justification of women being subordinated to men. A different perspective is offered by Deaux (1984). Deaux (1984) believes that science methods have been used to change the belief on the differences between women and men being universal and stable. Some other scholars (e.g.: McHugh & Cosgrove, 2002), nevertheless, have been asking themselves the question on whether science is the adequate tool for feminist to study the matters of women and gender. One point of view sees the use of empirical methods as a way to represent women again in a stereotypical and distorted way (Burman, 1997).

Feminist debate that research presenting sex differences in its findings is more likely to be published and cited, compared to research that rejects the notion of differences between men and women (e.g.: McHugh, 2014, Cosgrove & McHugh, 2002). The design, the data collection, and the interpretation of certain studies are impacted by sexist bias. Sex differences is the label used to describe differences between women and men. These differences are seen as related to biology, and not to prior experiences, gender roles and the

context, as feminist argued (McHugh, 2014). Feminists consider that the questions asked by White male researchers is influenced by their positions in the world. The logic of positivism, its objectivity and value free are then challenged (Cosgrove & McHugh, 2002). Furthermore, the use of empiricist epistemology has attracted feminists for the power it brings. This is seen as a way for feminist research to enter the mainstream research with feminist agenda, using the standards of what is considered to be *good science*, namely objective and value-free (Lafrance & Wigginton, 2019).

There is a contradiction to underline in the feminist empiricism. Their use of positivist methodology does not go along with the feminist exposure of these methods as androcentric. Feminists subvert traditional empiricism, the practices, methods, and processes of the norms of scientific enquiry, that are seen as sexist, so there cannot be a claim to objectivity (Harding, 1986). Moreover, feminist empiricists claim that women as a social group are more likely to notice sexist bias than men. Therefore, they would produce more unbiased results than men (Hekman, 2007). This opposes to traditional positivism, in which empiricists believe in the irrelevance of the identity of who knows the production of knowledge (Zalewski, 2003).

However, it became quickly evident that objective truth was a way to hide prejudice. It is difficult for feminists to remain committed to mainstream methods. The question on whether the scientific method is sexist is still in feminist debates (Hekman, 2007). Moreover, there has been a call for more qualitative studies that could bring a new light into issues and matters concerning women and gender. Therefore, feminist empiricist perspective will not be employed in this study. Feminist standpoint, the second epistemology, will be explained in the following section.

6.7.1.2 Feminist standpoint

Feminist standpoint is the second epistemology, and it has been very influential in discussions of feminist science (Hekman, 2007). In contrast to feminist empiricism, who states that it is not important who contributes to knowledge, as long as the norm of science is followed

(Riger, 1992), feminist standpoints are aware of the criticism of the feminists towards science seen as sexist (McHugh, 2014). Contrary to the previous position, feminist standpoint rejects positivism and the scientific method. They reject that the researcher's perspective can be free from the research process just by following scientific methods. They are against the ideas of objective, and value-free science (Lafrance & Wigginton, 2019).

Feminist standpoint has its roots in Marx (1844), Engels (1884), and Lukács (1971) and the most prominent feminists are Smith, Hill Collins, Harding, and Hartsock (Jaggar, 2008). Feminist standpoint claims that all knowledge is perspectival, and that the social position of the knower will determine the knowledge produced. Marx was interested in the social position of the bourgeoisie. According to him, only the proletariat could achieve a true understanding of social reality (Hekman, 2007). Feminists instead are concerned with the dominance of men. According to feminist standpoint epistemology, men produce partial knowledge while members of the oppressed and marginalised groups, for example women, in their subjugated positions, can give a more complete and less distorted understanding than those who are socially privileged (Intemann, 2019).

Therefore, to understand feminist standpoint, it is essential to consider the experiential dimension of women's lives. It is also central, however, to acknowledge that the relationship between reality, knowledge, and experience present complexities. The logic of this position depends on the understanding that the dominant position produced distorted visions of reality (Zalewski, 2003). Moreover, women's lives offered a privileged vantage point for women on patriarchy and such an epistemological perspective has a liberatory value (McHugh, 2014). The feminist standpoint perspective considers women's ways of knowing as different from men's, and potentially superior. There is an awareness that women and men might see the world differently, and therefore ask different types of questions in research (Hekman, 1997).

Feminist standpoint accepts the existence of a reality but realises that the comprehension of that reality is impacted by one's position within a social system (McHugh & Cosgrove, 2004). They believe that there are central research questions that originate in women's lives that do not occur to researchers operating from the dominant androcentric framework of the discipline (Harding, 1986). Standpoint theory has showed how the traditional research has typically served the purpose of the researcher and not the researched. The experiences of marginalised people were not seen as interesting. Research has not been able to fully capture women's experiences. Male is seen as the general and typical case, while female is seen as something particular (Riger, 1992). The sexist, racist, colonialist, and heterosexist knowledge is produced by a standpoint of privilege (Lafrance & Wigginton, 2019). Motherhood, for example, became topic of investigation only with the feminist influence on social science (McHugh, 2014). The intention of feminist standpoint is to open different ways of understanding realities, from the lives of marginalised people (Lafrance & Wigginton, 2019).

Feminist standpoint views the relationship between politics and knowing as central and examines how different types of socio-political arrangements impacts the production of knowledge (Harding, 2008). Objectivity requires understanding and interrogating the researchers' subjectivity. The researcher does not speak as an authority, but as historically placed subjects, with desire and interests (Lafrance & Wigginton, 2019).

The social science knowledge system is used as a system of control and those who develop knowledge are usually separated from everyday life. Knowledge is controlled by an elite, such as White privileged men, who have no interest in understanding or creating knowledge about women (Smith, 2008). Traditional methods of science give credibility only to the dominant group's views (Riger, 1992). Taking women into consideration when doing research, including their daily lives, brings to the recognition that women are tasked with jobs men do not want to complete (Smith, 2008). Moreover, women are alienated from their own experience. They have to frame their experiences in terms of men's conceptual schemes. Their daily life is grounded on female experience, but they only have male conceptual categories with which

they can interpret it (Riger, 1992). The research has the vital role to create a social change (Lafrance & Wigginton, 2019).

There are some issues with the feminist standpoint epistemology. One criticism towards it is that having a single woman's or feminist standpoint is not possible. Not all women share the same experiences, and by assuming that this is the case it does not capture the differences among women of different racial, ethnic groups and social classes (Riger, 1992). Feminist standpoint should be able to identify the commonalities of subjugated experience among different groups, but at the same time being aware of their diversity (Letherby, 2011). Moreover, many elements individually impact the way an individual understands the world. People have multiple status identities. As an example, Black feminist standpoint should be accounted for as well, since their history, oppression and experiences are different (Rayaprol, 2016). The questions, however, are two. The first one concerns how can it be claimed that one perspective is truer than another one (Hekman, 2007). The second regards the claim of the standpoint that the oppressed groups can see and understand knowledge better. The issue is on how it can be known that their seeing and understanding of knowledge is the truest in comparison to other less oppressed groups (Letherby, 2011). These criticisms bring the idea that instead of talking about a feminist standpoint, there should be many feminist standpoints (Hekman, 2007). By doing so, however, it is impossible to talk about an independent truth, and of a better knowledge, because there will always be a different and alternative knowledge coming from a different standpoint (Letherby, 2011).

The third feminist epistemological which will be presented in the following section, is the postmodern perspective. This epistemology, contrary to the previous two, challenges the traditional concepts of truth and reality (McHugh, 2014).

6.7.1.3 Feminist postmodern perspective

Postmodernism provides a position which critiques the traditional and masculine approaches of both feminist empiricism and feminist standpoint (Letherby, 2011). The possibility of the

objective collection of facts is completely rejected, and so there is no possibility to have universal theories. Any attempt to establish a theory is oppressive (Letherby, 2011). Postmodernists see the world and its understanding as socially constructed. Consequently, they challenge the possibility of scientists to produce value-neutral knowledge (Cosgrove & McHugh, 2002). They consider any attempts to discover the truth as impossible projects. Life is multifaceted and fragmented. According to postmodernists it is challenging to recognise that there is more than one meaning for an event, as well as multiple perspectives on a person's life (McHugh, 2014). Postmodern approaches examine the social construction of theories and concepts and investigate whose interests are served by particular constructions. It requires the willingness to make explicit the implicit assumptions embedded in psychological concepts, such as identity and gender (McHugh, 2014). By doing this, researchers need to recognise that the most dangerous assumptions are those that the researchers are not aware they are making. Therefore, all knowledge is socially produced and can never be value-free, as someone's interests, as implicit they can be, are always being served (Gergen, 2001).

As mentioned previously, postmodern feminists see empiricist and standpoint feminists as making essentialist claims, they view women as an identity, as a united group. In particular, postmodern perspective underlines some issues with the standpoint feminist. Specifically, the standpoint position does not recognise that women's voices and perspectives are diverse and complex. Moreover, it does not consider how gender is produced through socialization, context, policies, roles, and interactions (McHugh, 2014). Early feminist's claims to know the truth about women's experiences have been proven to represent only one truth, the truth of White, middle-class, and Western feminists (Hughes, 2002). In addition, considering all women as part of one group has reinforced normative gendered behaviour. Viewing gendered behaviours as universal, biological in origin, or part of women as their own traits or inherent characteristics is an issue (Cosgrove, 2003). This is something that this study wants to avoid, to generalise features that women might have because of their being women. Discriminations, violence, cultural gender roles, and stereotypes are some of the cultural factors and differences that will be kept in mind while conducting data collection.

Postmodernism feminist research brings the attention to a subject which was previously hidden from public view. Specifically, the key term is *gender*, and how the relations between the sexes are in a situation-based, specific, sociohistorical context (Hesse-Biber, 2012). The issues of subjectivity and of a subject's identity are two main topics. A subject's identity includes the problem of sexual identity. However, the matters concerning the subject's self-identification are seen as national, cultural, historical, and age depending. The identity of the subject represents a fragmented phenomenon and cannot be reduced to a function (Kostikova, 2013). The word *feminine* is used to describe a new approach to the issue of the subject's identity, and it assumes a plurality of specific decisions about that identity. *Female* is not seen as an alternative to *male*, but as a rejection of alternative understandings of the notion. *Female* is a phenomenon much broader and more significant than just considering a new stage in the economic position of women and of the organisation of their household work (Kostikova, 2013).

The emphasis is not on finding one truth, but many truths, and none of them is privileged (Letherby, 2011). There is no value in privileging one specific feminine standpoint, because there is a variety of conflicting and contradictory standpoints. It is pointless to try to create a standpoint theory which can give a better and more power-neutral knowledge, given that such knowledge does not exist (Millen, 1997). Feminist postmodernism sees feminism as a tool for critical examination of epistemology, and it provides also critical tools for the examination of power and knowledge. At the same time, however, it undermines the political role of feminist research, that is to incorporate into the corpus of knowledge women's lives and gendered experience (Millen, 1997).

6.8 Epistemology for this study

In this section, the epistemology for this study will be presented, with the justifications behind it. It is of foremost importance to highlight some remarks. Firstly, the epistemologies analysed by Harding (1987) and presented here are only a part of the spectrum of all the epistemologies

that exist in feminist research. Radical feminism, Black and lesbian feminism, for example, should also be acknowledged, not as subordinate of other feminist epistemologies, but as distinct positions (Jaggar, 2008). Moreover, feminists who claim to adhere to one of these epistemologies usually encompass in their works elements of all the three (Stanley & Wise, 1992).

This study will conduct the data collection using qualitative methods and so, feminist empiricist epistemology will not be taken into consideration. Feminist standpoints and feminist postmodern perspectives both have their strengths and advantages. There are contexts in which women share certain elements and it could be said that there is one feminist standpoint. Within patriarchy, some feminist researchers have underlined how it is better to privilege a feminine standpoint, rather than dismantle it (Millen, 1997). However, at the same time, it is decisive to recognise the differences and the significance of each of the multiple identities that individuals have (Letherby, 2011). It is crucial to be aware of the criticism done towards feminist standpoint on representing women as a unified group. The main goal of a feminist research is to create some knowledge that can truly affect women and construct valid knowledge about women's material experience and situation (Millen, 1997).

Not much research has been done on women leaders in events. Taking feminist standpoint claims, it could be said that focusing only on women working in festivals in Scotland/Edinburgh could evaluate this group as a representation of all women working in events in Scotland/Edinburgh. However, it would be a mistake to believe that the outcomes of the data collection conducted in this study represents the unique standpoint of women in festivals. It represents only a partial picture of the situation of women working in festival. Despite giving interesting insights, it is not a complete overview of gender equalities in festival. The analysis and outcomes provided here could and should stand in opposition to and as a criticism to other stories/standpoints because none of them should be privileged.

This is an aspect of the postmodern position epistemology: there is not a truer standpoint than another. Moreover, the standpoint position tries to rebalance the polarisation between male and female. Postmodern perspective, instead, states that this polarisation should be broken down (Kostikova, 2013). It highlights the importance of detaching the idea of *femininity* from female and *masculinity* from males. It claims that the presence in every one of us of a component of femininity and a component of masculinity should be accepted and acknowledged (Millen, 1997). Postmodern position could seem then to be more appropriate for this study. At the same time, however, this research aims at generating a piece of knowledge, a truth based on the experiences and the voices of the women participants, which goes against the postmodern perspective's idea that creating knowledge, or a theory is oppressive (Letherby, 2011). Giving up the idea that a universal truth can be made, then the researcher needs to give up the truth that women are oppressed (Hekman, 2007). Consequently, also for the postmodern position, there are some elements that do not go well with the aims and objectives of this study.

Here the difficulty in choosing and framing the work under one specific epistemology perspective. Considering the experiences of other feminist research works, the conclusion is to find a position which is halfway between the feminist standpoint and the postmodern position. It has previously been investigated how in the work of feminist researchers, feminist epistemologies shade into one another, underlining the contradictions that arise when discussing social reality (Zalewski, 2003). Moreover, there is not a right or wrong epistemology, but just the epistemology that works better with a particular project and purpose (Stanley & Wise, 1992). Furthermore, this aligns with the position of the researcher of this project as fourth wave feminist. As analysed in section 4.4.4 and 4.4.5, in the third wave, feminists discussed an epistemology which has moved away from the idea of creating classifications, as standpoints (Van der Tuin, 2009), and deny the existence of an autonomous male and/or female subject, as gender is an effect of historically and socially specific discourse and performance (Ackerly & True, 2010). The fourth wave reiterates the importance of the intersectionality, demanding social change and the decentralisation of power (Sinclair, 2014; O'Malley & Johnson, 2018). This is also reflected in the ontology which, following what Stanley and Wise (2002) discuss, is the opposite of the masculinist ontology of seeing dualisms, for

example between the self and the other, the individual and the collectivity, or male and female. In this research, these are not treated as oppositions, but as cooperative; differences that are not biological nor essential between the sexes, but that can potentially produce different voices, resulting from culture and social construction (Stanley & Wise, 2002).

To define the position taken in this study, some elements will be analysed. This is done with the support of the study of Stanley and Wise (1992) who considered feminist fractured foundationalism, and Millen (1997) and Letherby (2011) who investigated feminist epistemology in their works.

The first one is that the researcher admits the privileged position in which she is. In fact, by being the researcher of this study, she has chosen the topic, analysed, investigated, and written the literature review, and is motivated to find out more about it. The researcher, being a woman who has some experience in working in events, also realises that her position is not objective to the topic. Nevertheless, it is essential to emphasise that individuals might not have full awareness of the systems that constrain them. Researchers have this duty and responsibility to put light to the systems.

It could also be possible to assume that by analysing women's experiences, this study is conducted in a non-objective way, leading to believe that the researcher will re-interpret these experiences and change them completely. However, the participants will always own the meanings and the constructions of meanings, regardless of the interpretations that the researcher might place upon them (Millen, 1997). It is fundamental to reinforce that the researcher does not feel intellectual superior to the respondents, but only in a more intellectual privileged position (Letherby, 2011).

The researcher, working with feminist research, is the person who makes sense of and produces knowledge claims. However, the researcher realises that these claims are just a

small portion of reality, and it is not a complete knowledge and the knowledge she creates is context limited (Millen, 1997). In claiming this, this study also recognises that some women are oppressed, but this statement cannot be true for every woman, as differences in power, authority, ways of working, organisation, cultures, and their relation to men must be considered (Stanley & Wise, 1992). Engaging with the plurality of feminist perspectives, in tourism and leisure research, it is possible to engage with a key question, to understand the extent of which patriarchy, the systemic male power, and capitalism, the systemic economic power exists in relation to the consumption, and production in tourism and leisure experiences (Aitchison, 2005). To do so, it is important to consider that social reality exists, but it is not the only one, it is constructed by the members of society, and it is composed by discussion, debates, and controversies on what this objective reality consists of.

6.9 Reflexivity

Reflexivity is one of the tools that qualitative researchers can employ to ensure rigor and quality in their work, and to determine trustworthiness (Cutcliffe, 2003). Trust, as Lincoln and Guba (1985) state, is essential in qualitative inquiry, and to generate accurate data. It is the continual internal dialogue and critical self-evaluation of the researcher's position and the recognition of how that position might affect the research process and outcome (Berger, 2015). Reflexivity asks the researcher to take responsibility for their own situatedness within the research and the impacts this might have on how the topic is studied, the data collected, and its interpretation (Berger, 2015). It is an on-going critical reflection on the researcher's biases and assumptions and how these might influence the research process (Begoray & Banister, 2010). Reflexivity is defined by Cunliffe (2016, p. 741) as "Questioning what we, and others, might be taking for granted—what is being said and not said—and examining the impact this has or might have".

In semi structured and unstructured interviews, the researcher is the instrument, as an active respondent in the research process. Therefore, attributes that belong to the researcher can potentially influence the data collection (Pezalla et al., 2012). Features of the researcher that are important include personal characteristics, such as age, gender, race, sexual orientations,

beliefs, biases, political and ideological perspectives, and emotional responses to participant (Kosygina, 2005). There are three ways the researcher can impact the research. Respondents can be more willing to share their experiences with a researcher they consider to be sympathetic and more understanding of their situation (Berger, 2015). The researcher can also be seen as more knowledgeable and helpful, with informative resources (Berger, 2015). The relationship between the researcher and the researched can also be shaped by who the researcher is. As an example, a woman might feel more comfortable discussing gender inequalities with another woman (Kosygina, 2015). The background of the researcher and the way they see the world also affect the language used, how the questions are asked, and how they shape the findings and conclusion of the study (Kacen and Chaitin, 2006). This is fundamental in feminist perspective, with reflexivity biases of power relations are being questioned (May & Perry, 2014).

6.9.1 Self-reflexivity

It is important that the researcher reflects on her roles as writer, interviewer, and creator of this project. The researcher is a woman, who have lived abroad and can speak three other languages. Language and cultural diversity are important elements when doing research, as these could impact the research process. The researcher has conducted this project in English, but it is vital to keep in mind that the language chosen influences how she expressed herself, and it is bound to specific interactional contexts and socio-cultural norms (Rolland et al., 2023; Holmes et al., 2013). In addition to this, she has previous experience in the events industry, and specifically in the festival industry in Scotland, Italy, and Australia. She has also volunteered in two Edinburgh festivals, and she has been an audience member for both on-site and online Edinburgh Festival events. Moreover, the researcher has a master's degree in Tourism, Hospitality, and Events Management and has worked at universities as tutor for events management degree, and as a researcher for the Edinburgh Festivals. Moreover, the interest in minorities and women has always been central to the researcher. She has previously explored the working situation of women living in Mexico, at the border with the U.S., and the gender inequalities they experience almost every day in her undergraduate project. Through the works of two important Mexican women writers, Rosario Castellanos

and Elena Poniatowska, the research investigated the conditions of women in the city of Ciudad Juárez. There, many women are raped, sexually assaulted, and killed. The two writers give voice to the voiceless through their poems and stories, and this idea of being the means, the instrument of those without the power to speak is something that impacted the researcher and the way she decided to conduct her PhD thesis.

The interest in women, their conditions, and in achieving gender equality is important to the researcher who considers herself to be an intersectional feminist, in line with the fourth wave. This is also the reason behind the decision to undertake a PhD candidate, not only to be able to advance in her career in academia, but also to make an impact in the lives of women working in the Edinburgh Festivals and give them a space to tell their stories. As a woman, she has experienced gender inequalities and so have her friends and her colleagues, and this will impact the perspective she has on the project. The researcher's position (Berger, 2015) can be seen from the very beginning of this study: from the choice of topic to the development of the research aim and objectives, the research design, the chosen methodology and methods.

The researcher is also aware that the interviews will have an emotional impact on her, as they might cause distress, frustration, anger, and sadness (Fitzpatrick & Olson, 2015). Covid-19 impacted this study as well. The research experienced the struggles that most people went through: the sense of loneliness, fear, the economic insecurity. During this time, self-reflexivity gave the opportunity to the researcher to question accepted beliefs and societal structures (Gattino et al., 2022), allowing a change in values, assumptions, and practices (Cunliffe, 2016). This reflective awareness (Cunliffe, 2016) has led the researcher to understand herself better as a feminist, the overall aim of this study, and the value it can have.

6.10 Summary

This chapter presents the philosophical perspective of feminist research, and how it is applied to this research. It assessed feminist ontology, and three feminist epistemologies, and the epistemology chosen for this study, in between standpoint and postmodernist.

This chapter is fundamental to the following one, where methods are discussed in relation to how this study is positioned philosophically. A brief overview of the reflexive position of the researcher is presented, in relation to feminist research and the pandemic of Covid-19.

Chapter 7: Research methods

7.1 Introduction to research methods

In the following chapter, methods chosen for this study will be presented. As described previously in the methodology chapter, this study positions itself in the feminist research. In the following part, an initial overview of the methods will be introduced. Explanations on why they have been chosen and how they fit within this study and with the methodology, the research objectives and research aim will be underlined. More details on how the data collection will take place will be also discussed.

The research approach for this study goes back to the philosophical framework, the feminist research, and its epistemology. As mentioned previously, the epistemology lies between the feminist standpoint and the feminist postmodernism. The claims done in this research represents only a partial view about the situation of women working in arts festival. However, the experiences shared by the participants represents a reality, a truth. It is considered as knowledge, despite being context limited.

The methods chosen are qualitative. Specifically, online semi-structured interviews and visual methods will be employed. Following the feminist research, quantitative methods will not be used as, for this study in particular, the goal is to provide a space to listen to the different voices and experiences of women working in Edinburgh's arts festivals. This will support the research's aim, which is to gain an understanding of the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions; and the reasons that underpin this situation. Feminist researchers and scholars claim the use of qualitative methods because scientific methods cannot capture women's experiences and everyday life in an adequate way (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008). This aligns with several authors from the tourism and event management field suggesting the use of qualitative methods in research. Despite growing in numbers, qualitative methods are still less used compared to quantitative ones, and less published (Nunkoo et al., 2020).

7.2 Qualitative Interviews: Semi-structured interviews

Qualitative interviews are defined in literature as: “a face-to-face verbal exchange, in which one person, the interviewer attempts to elicit information or expressions of opinion or belief from another person or persons” (Macconby in Brinkmann, 2014, p. 277)

For as long as it is known, people have used conversation as their main tool to gain knowledge about others. From the early twentieth century this technique has been known in social sciences as interviewing (Brinkmann, 2014). Qualitative interviews have the goal to create data, exploring how participants assign meanings to experiences and events (Johnson et al., 2019). As the name itself remarks *inter view* is an exchange of views between two or more people on a topic of mutual interest (Cohen et al., 2018). It is a flexible and powerful tool that captures the voice, and the ways in which participants see the world (Rabionet, 2011).

There are different types of qualitative interviews: structured, semi-structured, and unstructured (Brinkmann, 2014). It would be incorrect to see these as three separate and distinctive forms of interviews. As Brinkmann (2014) indicates, they are a continuum as an interview has some aspects of all the three. For this study, semi-structured interviews have been selected. This type of interview gives more control to the researcher over the topics, compared to an unstructured interview. At the same time, however, respondents have space to have their own answer. This would not be possible with structured interviews, which typically have closed questions, and a fixed range of responses to each question (Ayres, 2008). In this study, there are some specific areas and topics upon which questions will be asked to participants (Rabionet, 2011). The aim is to provide enough space to the participants to tell their stories, while being very clear on what topics need to be covered. With semi-structure interviews, there is always the possibility to bring back the focus by asking specific questions when needed (Brinkmann, 2014).

Some critiques directed towards qualitative research consider it to be too subjective (Ayres, 2008). However, it could be said that qualitative interview is the most objective method of

research when the interest lies in the qualitative aspects of the human experience. They are uniquely able to understand and grasp these features. Therefore, they are adequate to their subject matters (Brinkmann, 2014).

In-person interviews have been presented for a long time as the only correct way to conduct interviews (McCoyd & Kerson, 2006). Before the pandemic of COVID19 and the consequent lockdown and restrictions in conducting data collection, remote methods, such as telephone and Skype, were considered of inferior quality (Johnson et al., 2019). However, virtual interviews, specifically the one-on-one real-time virtual interviews, provide focused and spontaneous responses, as face-to-face interviews do (Turney, 2008). The disadvantages concern Internet reliability, and technical issues (Johnson et al., 2019), and the possibility of not being able to observe the interviewee, when they do not open their camera (Maia, 2023). Given the situation of uncertainty on restrictions in the winter and spring of 2022 and some people in events still working from home and slowly returning to the office gradually, the decision was to conduct all interviews online on Teams.

7.3 Visual methods: Photo elicitation

Images, such as visual pictures and photographs are part of everyday life. Contemporary culture is becoming increasingly visual in nature, with images in every environment (Holm, 2014; Urry & Larsen, 2011). However, academics in the tourism, hospitality and event management have been reluctant in using visual methods in research (Rakić & Chambers, 2009, 2010; Volo & Irimiás, 2021). This shows both that written text is still considered of elevated status, and an academic bias against visual methods (Feighey, 2003; Heisley, 2001). Despite this, they have gained some momentum (Matteucci, 2013; Rakić & Pernecky, 2019), and authors are asking both employing them in their research, underlining the benefits of using visual methods both in tourism and events research (Todd, 2022; Pernecky & Rakić, 2019).

“Photographs can achieve a multisensory effect, conveying complex meanings and visualising perceptions” (Balomenou & Garrod, 2019, p. 201). In social interactions, no more than 30% of meaning is expressed in words (Khoo-Lattimore & Prideaux, 2013). There is an open debate in the tourism and events research, on the use of photographs. Chambers (2012) claims, there should not be epistemological boundaries to visual research and the most important consideration is always the quality of the research. Visual methods can only convey complex, rich, and powerful meanings, being able to express sensations (Larsen, 2013). Photographs cannot explain how the world works or why something happens, as they do not give explanations or elucidate reasons. However, they bring up emotions and responses, that can be used as a stimulus to help think of explanations and then investigate motives (Balomenou & Garrod, 2019). Events, as tourism, are multisensory experiences, which require the use of all senses, and are created so that they can leave a unique memory to the senses, visual, auditory, tactile, taste and smell (Pernecky & Rakić, 2019).

Moreover, culture, as the subject of a research, is a complex concept. Visuals are central to the cultural construction of social life in contemporary Western society, where much meaning is conveyed by visual images (Rose, 2001). And despite a debate on what is more powerful and more reliable between text and visuals, as Rose (2001) comments, the visual images can be as powerful, and this is a consideration that should be acknowledged.

As for interviews, also visual methods have been criticised to be too subjective. However, subjectivity is an element of qualitative research, which researchers are aware of. Therefore, visual methods can be as valid as written or verbal data. They are beneficial to social researchers as they add a new dimension to the study, a new possibility of knowledge and experience that cannot be expressed verbally or in written words (Pink, 2006)

Visual research methods include the use of photos, videos, paintings, drawings, collages, sculptures, artworks; and any visual that can be used to understand, interpret, and produce knowledge (Pain, 2012). The way visuals are employed in research is different: visual

documentation, photographic and video interviewing, ethnographic film making, and photo elicitation, to name a few (Pink, 2006). Visuals methods can be employed in two ways. One as a means, serving a largely functional purpose, as for example to study the visual elements in an events advertising (Pernecky & Rakić, 2019). The second, the one employed in this study, is to gain knowledge, and the visual methods become orientation. As previously reviewed, they can support and help give meaning, or discuss experiences that are not easily put into words (Pernecky & Rakić, 2019).

Photo elicitation is the method that will be used in this study. It can be described as a photo or any other visual material, used in order to elicit a response during an interview (Keegan, 2008) and to provoke answers that might not emerge in verbal interviews (Collier, 1957). It allows to gain understandings and insights that could be difficult to notice using other methods, and that could even be missed (Balomenou & Garrod, 2019; Harper, 2002). The idea behind photo elicitation is to insert a photo into a research interview (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004), as elicitation used in interviews connect culture, society, history with the core definition that a person has of the self (Harper, 2002). The difference, then, between interviews that use images and text, and those with only words lies in how the participants respond to these two forms. The part of the brain that processes visual images is evolutionarily older than the one which analyses verbal information (Harper, 2002). Images, therefore, evoke deeper elements of human consciousness than words. Research that employs elicitation methods usually use photos, but it can also be done with cartoons, public displays, paintings, advertising billboards, films, and videos (Harper, 2002). Photo elicitation interviews considers the subjective meaning of the chosen images for the participants, allowing to disrupt the power dynamics that can be created during a regular interview (Clark-Ibáñez, 2004).

According to Matteucci (2013), there are four main versions of photo-elicitation, depending on who- the researcher or the participant, produces or gathers the photos. There is a further sub-distinction, then, suggested by Hurworth (2003) who differentiates between reflexive photography, photo novella and photovoice.

7.3.1 Photovoice

Photos or images taken or produced by the participants is a technique that dates to the 1970s (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016). Because its application has been uneven and fragmented, this technique is known under different names: participant-generated image (PGI), autophotography, visitor-employed photography (VEP), participatory photography, and photovoice (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016).

For this study, the term photovoice, coined in the mid-1990s, was employed as it aligns well with the feminist research's attempt of giving voice to women and their experiences (Emme, 2008). As Fairey (2017) claims, the term *voice* does not simply offer a route to empowerment, but a becoming that emerges through a complex network of human and non-human forces. The goal is to understand experiences and emotions elicited by the photos that the participants will bring with them.

Photovoice emerged from three distinct theoretical frameworks: feminist theory, empowerment education for critical consciousness, and documentary photography. What they have in common is the aim to support an action-oriented, participant-direct method (Sutton-Brown, 2014). Photovoice is when the researcher asks participants to take photos which represents a particular topic or theme, that is about for example aspects of their life and experience. Photographs can be analysed directly, with either qualitative or quantitative techniques, or they can be used as prompts during interviews or focus group. This technique not only gives more autonomy to the participants as they partly shape the scope of the research. It also empowers them to express feelings and concepts which would not be possible with only interviews (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016).

Photovoice has been used in social science research to give a voice to those who are often missing from policy, to be able to use images to tell their stories (Coffey, 2021). In the feminist research, this method originates from the feminist standpoint theory, where photo-images

were used as representation of the participant's reality. It gives centrality to the subjects of the research as able to produce knowledge about themselves (Coffey, 2021). Photos taken by the participants with the purpose of photo-elicitation interviews encourage the participants to take a more active role in the research. By doing this, it outlines what is meaningful for them to discuss in the interview and gives them more control over the interview itself (Holm, 2014). They can be a powerful mean to both gather data, as well as empowering the participants (Clark-Ibáñez, 2002). It interrogates contextually based meanings from an insider perspective as a tool to generate new insights into the socially constructed realities and cultures of our society (Sutton-Brown, 2014).

7.4 Semi-structured interviews and photovoice in this study

Interviews started to draw the attention of feminist scholars during the 1980s. They began engaging with matters of how to interview in such a way that they would be able to share their feminist goals of doing research which was non-hierarchical and egalitarian (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008). Feminist researchers challenged positivist research methods that put too much importance on objectivity and distance. From the feminist point of view, the goal of finding out about people using interviews as methods is best achieved when the interviewers intend to invest their time (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008).

Feminist have highlighted the importance of the interview not only as a place to collect data, but also a site where data is co-constructed, and meaning-making starts (DeVault, & Gross, 2012). The research interview can have strong meanings for the research participant, and therefore a place for the construction of one's moral identity or a place for resistance and healing when topics are of a sensitive nature (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008). Therefore, the interest of this study was to grasp the diversity of women's realities, their knowledge. The questions were asked to allow explore issues that are of particular interest for the lives of the participants (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

The aims of using visual methods in this study, as suggested by Matteucci (2013) is to have visual stimuli to first encourage respondents to reveal and talk about their unconscious or difficult experiences. For this study, visual methods were employed in two situations. Firstly, to ask participants to share their positive memories and situations when working in arts festival, as well as negative ones, when, for example, they have been subject of stereotypes and gender inequalities. This refers to the objective of this study, to understand what issues women in the Edinburgh Festivals might face in achieving leadership positions. Secondly, images could help women working in arts festival to describe what leadership in festival is for them, a concept that might be easier to explain with the aid of visual images. This supports the research's objective in understanding what the skills of festival leadership are. Photographs, as research data, broaden the researcher's understanding of the research participants' lives outside the research context that can be an interview. It is a useful tool to help capture data in real-life situation and incorporate them into the research (Keegan, 2008).

Furthermore, the use of visual methods, specifically photovoice, goes against the traditional distance between the researcher and the subject, an important topic in feminist research. In the power relationship between them, the researcher is the expert and considered superior compared to whom is observed (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016). The goal of this project was to provide a platform for the participants to own their stories, to decide what to share and what to tell, and by bringing the photos, they would also have an active role. In this way, the power is more balanced and given to the participant. The participants have decided what image or images to take and to use to contribute to the research that it is about them (Letherby, 2011). Several participants during the interviews have commented how the search for images has given them the possibility to reflect on their career and experience at the festivals, discussing their own positions as women and their own beliefs. Moreover, visual methods well place themselves in the argument that social categories are not natural, but rather socially constructed. These constructions can take visual forms and therefore images can help understand and reflect on the visions that they offer of social categories, such as gender, sex, race, and class (Rose, 2001).

Finally, authors have supported the idea to use more creative and disruptive approaches, such as visual methods to create impactful gender-aware research findings. These methods could provide fresh insights that can help interpret the entangled spaces of festivals (Dashper & Finkel, 2021). The combination of questions of the semi-structured interviews and visual methods allows the researcher to extend the conversation, stimulate the dialogue and trigger personal experiences and memories (Clark-Ibanez, 2004).

7.5 Summary

This chapter has presented a discussion and justification on the application of qualitative interviews and visual methods in relation to the research paradigm, feminist research, and the aim of this study. The semi-interviews (Brinkmann, 2014) were conducted online, on Teams, given the situation at the time of the data collection and the uncertainty around Covid-19 and the restrictions in place. Their choice is linked to the research objective of exploring and evaluating how women festival leaders position themselves in the Edinburgh's festival sector, by providing them a space to tell their stories (Hesse-Biber, 2007).

The choice of visual methods, specifically photo-elicitation and photo-voice is also linked to the philosophical underpinning of this study, feminist research. They can support the participants explore difficult experiences, such as gender equalities (Matteucci, 2013). Moreover, the use of photovoice goes against the distance that traditionally exists between the research and the researched, an important theme in feminist research (Balomenou & Garrod, 2016).

The combination of semi-structured interviews and visual methods allow for a more balanced data collection, where the power is given to the participants. The sampling of participants, the analysis of the data and the findings are presented in the following chapter.

Part 4 Data Analysis, findings, and discussion

The fourth part of this thesis concerns the analysis and interpretation of the findings, based on the research methods previously mentioned, semi-structured interviews and visual methods, photo elicitation and photo voice.

Chapter 8 considers the sampling of participants, and Thematic Analysis (TA), used to understand the data. The various phases of TA are explored, as well as how trustworthiness and rigour are followed. Chapter 9 presents the findings, and following TA, these are divided in themes and subthemes, which discuss the research's objectives, questions, aim, in reference to the literature review.

Chapter 8: Data analysis

8.1 The participants: Sampling approach

The participants to the data collection were women¹⁰ who had worked or were currently working at the time of the interview in Edinburgh's festivals, with any job role or number of years of experience. Using a two-stage theoretical sampling method (Bell et al., 2022), participants were initially sourced via a search on the established Edinburgh festivals websites, where contacts were publicly listed. Further initial sampling was undertaken through social media channels, including *LinkedIn*, on the Edinburgh festivals Facebook groups, the *Creative Edinburgh* website and via *Fringe Festival Connect* where details of the present study were posted. The goal was to reach women of different ages, working experiences and roles. Among them were also those who work temporarily in the festivals during the summer, those who have worked in the past before deciding to change industry, freelancers, and those who work in the other festivals taking place in Edinburgh.

In the initial email that was sent, there was the explanation of the project, and the consent form that needed to be signed to take part to the interviews, see Appendix 7 and Appendix 8. Moreover, they were also asked to forward the project to any other women who could have been interested in sharing their experience with me. The reason why the snowball sampling was used lies in the difficulty in finding and reaching every woman working in the festivals who is not a permanent core staff in one of the established Edinburgh festivals.

The snowball sampling is a useful technique to find participants, when there is not a list or other obvious sources to locate them (Morgan, 2008). In this specific case, the initial participants both served as informants about other possible participants, by sharing the project within the organisation or colleagues, but also by supplying information on how to

¹⁰ The study aimed at reaching anyone who identified as woman. To be respectful and inclusive, the researcher had a conversation with the Queer Group from Edinburgh Napier University on what terms was best to use. They suggested to use the term "woman" as it was inclusive enough.

locate other women, and on what platforms (e.g.: Facebook groups) or websites (e.g. Fringe Connect), or by forwarding the invitation email.

Despite presenting this advantage of reaching and identifying potential candidates for the data collection, it had possible limitations. The first one was the risk of having a biased subset of women working in the Edinburgh festivals. This is because any eligible participant who was not linked to the original set of informants– in this case the major Edinburgh festivals- did not have access to the study. Therefore, the study will lack of inclusivity (Morgan, 2008). The second issue to consider is the potential risk of lack of confidentiality across participants, since they would know who has taken part in the study (Crouse & Lowe, 2018). Both issues have been taken into consideration. Regarding the first one, the researcher has actively tried to search for potential participants in many different platforms, such as Facebook groups and LinkedIn search. Moreover, the limitation of the sample of participant in terms of diversity is an element of this study that was explored in the interviews with the participants themselves and will be further explored as one of the limitations of the study. For the second issue, the researcher discussed the risks connected to anonymity, and the topics of the study with Edinburgh Napier University's Business School Research Integrity Committee and Governance Department in detail. The researcher put in place different strategies in order to keep the anonymity and privacy of the participants. This will be presented in more details later on, in section 8.1.1.

148 women were contacted between March and May 2022, of whom thirty-three gave their consent to participate in the study. Of these thirty-three women, one participant was part of a pilot test. There is another participant of the pilot test whose interview was not recorded. In Table 2 below a summary of who participated with their anonymised code names, their job role and age range are presented.

Table 2: List of participants to the data collection

Participant code	Age range	Job Role	Photos/Images
Caroline (pilot test)		Freelance producer and art administrator	No
Francesca		Program manager, co-artistic director of own theatre company, board member	3 photos
Laura		Community artist, project manager, festival programmer	No
Anna		Community engagement	No
Christine		Trained actor, works in film industry and event	2 photos
Lucia		Work with festivals in academia and industry	No
Helena		Head of development	5 images
Margaret		Program assistant, art practitioner	7 photos
Jessica		Marketing officer	2 photos, 1 Instagram Reel
Rebecca		Program manager	2 photos
Kate		Director of finance and commercial	No
Juliet		Festival Director	No
Lisa		Program leader	13 photos
Paula		Development officer	3 photos
Mary		Manages venues for Edi festivals	No
Annie		Environmental Sustainability Officer	No
Liz		Director of development and marketing	2 photos
Rose		Individual giving manager	No
Nicky		Communities program director	2 photos
Reese		Production Manager show	1 photo, 1 video
Eloise		Festival Manager	No

Olivia		Programme manager	No
Charlotte		Festival coordinator	3 photos
Maddie		Production Manager	No
Emma		Festival director and co-founder	60 photos
Amelia		Marketing and communications	No
Isabella		General Manager	6 photos
Victoria		Chief Executive	No
Michelle		Festival Director	2 photos
Melanie		Head of learning and engagement	No
Lucretia		Programme Manager	2 photos
Betty		Many years of experience in the event/festival industry, festival director	No
Geri		Head of marketing and communication	No

The data collection was conducted with online interviews on Teams, including two on Zoom, which were recorded and automatically transcribed. The interviews were semi-structured interviews, with seven open questions that were asked of everyone. There was flexibility to discuss different topics depending on the conversation, the experiences of the participants and what they felt comfortable with sharing. Moreover, participants were asked to share images or photos that considered three aspects: positive and negative experiences and memories of being a woman working in festivals, and what festival leadership represented to them. The images/photos were only shared on their screen. No indications of what type of image or photo was provided, unless asked prior the interview. Not everyone had visuals, for different reasons, from time constrains to not feeling to have any right image/photo to share that could fit the project. That was not an issue as they were used to elicit a response around those topics, which was also possible without the aid of visuals.

Specifically, there was a set of seven open questions, which were around the personal experience of the participant working in the Edinburgh festivals. The interviews lasted an average of one hour. The questions can be seen in Table 3:

Table 3: Interview questions

Q1. Could you introduce yourself, tell me a bit about your work, your role in Edinburgh festivals? Do you have caring responsibilities?
Q2. Thinking of the image/images you are sharing with me, what positive experiences can you tell me about being a woman working in the festival industry in Edinburgh?
Q3. Would you say women who work in festivals in Edinburgh experience difficulties in the workplace? Could you tell me what are these difficulties for women working in festivals? Do you have examples of gender inequalities you would feel comfortable to share with me and any pictures/images you would like to share?
Q4. These are the six skills considered as essential for event managers in a study conducted by Abson (2019). What do you think the skills required for leadership in festivals are? Do you think these skills are adaptable in festivals as well? Think of the image you have chosen.
Q5. Does feminism have a role in your life? Would you consider yourself a feminist?
Q6. Time has changed: we have experienced turbulences, difficult situations, changes, and instability. How do you think the festival industry has been adapting and transforming? How has this time and these changes affected you?
Q7. What do you think the future for women working in arts festival look like?

The semi-structured interviews finished the first week of June 2022, when it was noticed that the topics and themes were similar and no new information was given, therefore saturation was reached. The interviews transcriptions were automatically done by Teams and only needed some polishing and checking to make sure they were correct; an example of interview can be found in Appendix 9. This was done by the researcher after every interview. The raw data consisted of more than 33 hours of transcriptions, together with 110 photos, 1 Instagram reel, 1 short video, and 5 images that had been shared by 16 participants during the interviews. The function of the photos was to elicit responses and discussions. Photos will not

be shared in Chapter 8, the data findings, as most of them were very personal, representing special moments with their children, with colleagues, or moments of personal struggle.

8.1.1 Ethical issues

Ethics are central to research practice. They are the application of ethical standards, and moral principles, especially when working with human subjects. Issues of creating harmful situations to the participants, avoiding exploitation of research subjects, confidentiality, how the findings will be used, and the nature of the study should all be carefully considered (Leavy, 2014). As this research involve the contact with human individuals, it was necessary to follow ethical standards. This study is based on the Edinburgh Napier University's (2018) Code of Practice on Research Integrity. Moreover, to comply with Research Integrity, the Business School Research Integrity Approval Form was accepted in March 2022.

In compliance with the Edinburgh Napier University's (2018) Research Integrity standards, some steps were followed. First, participants were sent clearly communicated information about the project from the research. They were first sent an invitation using Novi Survey, which contained two documents: the participant information sheet, with a general overview of the project, detailing the role the participant has in the study, and the Research Content Form, which participants had to sign before the interview took place. See Appendix 8 and Appendix 9. The goal was to provide clear and detailed information, so that the participants could make an informed decision whether to take part. Following the university guiding principle that research should be conducted with "honesty, rigour, transparency and open communication, care and respect [and] accountability" (Edinburgh Napier University, 2018, p. 2). The participants were also informed that they could have withdrawn at any time. To be able to participate in the interview, they were asked to send the consent form with their signature.

Secondly, the issues of confidentiality, transparency, and anonymity were considered, from an ethical perspective. Despite some of the participants be willing not to be anonymous, the researchers through various strategies must make sure that the participant's identity cannot

be identified (Ogden, 2008). This was specifically done to avoid putting the participants at risk, maintaining their safety, given that some of the issues assessed could provoke debate and scrutiny (Gordon, 2019). Therefore, for this study, full anonymity was chosen given the sensitive information shared during the interviews. This was achieved in two ways. Firstly, photos were not published in this thesis, but only shared on the screen of the interviewee. The researcher took time after each interview to take notes on what the visual represented to be able to add this piece of information in the discussion of the data, before deleting the recording. The reason why this decision was made was to both keep with ethical requirements of the research, but also to respect the trust that the participants have given in this research. Many of them have shared private and intimate moments with their family, or vulnerable pictures representing difficult situations, and they have done so knowing these pictures will not be published. To be consistent, also images from Google have not been included in the discussion chapter. Secondly, all participants' information was anonymised. Their original names were replaced with a pseudonym name, and their age was put in as a range, as seen in Table 2.

Finally, in terms of confidentiality issues, accessing rights to material were also taken into consideration (Padgett, 2008). They were greatly discussed with Edinburgh Napier University's Business School Research Integrity Committee and Governance Department in detail, so that all collected data met the university's Research Data Management Policy (Edinburgh Napier University, 2015). The interview took place and were recorded on Teams and Zoom, and photos and images were only shared on the participants' screens. As soon as they were finished, the researcher downloaded the transcript, which was checked against the recording. All names of venues, festival organisations, colleagues, and any other data that could refer to the Edinburgh festivals and be associated to the participants were deleted. The video was deleted right after, while the transcripts were securely stored on the Edinburgh Napier's V:Drive, The consent forms were also saved in another folder of Edinburgh Napier's V:Drive, secured with a password.

8.2 Pilot study

A pilot study is recommended in any research to understand the appropriateness of the design of the research and the chosen methods (McHugh, 2014). Pilot studies have several different purposes. They can assist in determining the type of site to investigate; they can support an analysis and understanding of the sample or interviewees; or they can benefit the research doing interviews by developing interviews skills and underlining possible issues (Schreiber, 2008). Moreover, conducting a small pilot test gives the time to adjust the questions, and make change and improvement before starting the data collection (Schreiber, 2008). Specifically for this research, the pilot study helped understand how long the interview would take; issues in relation to ethics and anonymity; the use of images/photos during the interview and the consequences of the quality of the interviews when images and photos were not brought by the participant.

The pilot for this research consisted of two phases. The first one, mock interviews were conducted with PhD colleagues of different genders and from different field of research to see whether the questions could be easily understood, and if the way and the flow of the interview could work. The second phase consisted in conducting the data collection to a small pool of candidates. Two interviews were conducted, one was not recorded – as per desire of the interviewee, and one was recorded. Both participants were women who have been working in the Edinburgh festivals for quite a long time.

Both interviews were very beneficial. First, the seven questions appeared to be all relevant to the study, and the conversation expanded over the questions asked, providing interesting insights, as well as suggestions on what other topics could be asked and explored. Moreover, both participants did not have any pictures/images to share. This was an initial concern for the researcher, but as the images were meant to be used to elicit a response, it was decided not to share any other images (e.g.: chosen by the researcher) to avoid any possible biases in the participants' responses. The questions without the images could be answered without any issues.

8.3 Data analysis – Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis (TA) is a qualitative method that can be used for a wide range of epistemologies, research questions, sample sizes and designs (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). Several authors have indicated how this method could help investigate deeper themes, such as social meanings, investigate the power relations, and give value to the voices of the oppressed population (Kiger & Varpio, 2020; Clarke & Braun, 2017). It is a method that allow to identify, analyse, organise, describe, and then report repeated themes and patterns that have been found in a data set (Nowell et al., 2017).

As Walters (2016) points out, however, TA was relatively uncommon as a tool for interpreting written texts in the field of tourism research and has become increasingly popular only in recent years (Esfehani & Walters, 2018). Thematic analysis has the value to unpack the inherent cultural meanings in written text, and the ability to investigate richer, deeper, and more nuanced understandings of the data set (Hannam & Knox, 2005; Esfehani & Walters, 2018). Walters (2016) also claims that thematic analysis can be useful particularly for the interpretation of both written and visual text.

TA has a long history, dating back to the 1970s when Gerard Houlton, philosopher of science, was credited with its invention (Braun et al., 2019). The term can be found before that, however. In the 1930s TA was used to describe the analysis of musical scores, and in the 1940s to describe a method to investigate mass propaganda (Joffe, 2011). Moreover, TA has often been used interchangeably with *content analysis*, underlining their shared history, as TA could be seen as a methodological evolution from quantitative content analysis (Braun et al., 2019).

As the name thematic analysis suggests, this method is based around themes. A theme is a patterned meaning or response that derives from the data. It is an abstract entity that brings meaning and identity to a recurrent experience (Nowell et al., 2017). They are the smallest

unit of analysis that presents important characteristics of the data that can be potentially relevant to the research aim (Clarke & Braun, 2017). Researchers can identify themes regardless of the number of times a particular idea or concept linked to that theme appears in the data set. Its importance is not connected to the frequency (Kiger & Varpio, 2020).

Some of these themes will be identified a priori, but they will be then changed and added while the researcher reads the text and more data is analysed (King, 2004). This happens especially with semi-structured interviews. Some of the themes will be anticipated in the data set because they were explicitly included in the data collection by the researcher (Ayres, 2008). This procedure is not a simple summary of the data collection. On the contrary, TA identifies, interprets fundamental features of the data, driven by the research questions (Clarke & Braun, 2017).

The themes can be identified with two different approaches: inductive and deductive. The first one is when the themes/codes derive from the research's data. The themes are data driven; they might not correspond to the exact questions asked to the participants, but they are constructed inductively from the raw information (Boyatzis, 1998). They might also not reflect the researcher's own interests and beliefs (Clarke & Braun, 2017). The latter, the deductive approach, refers to when a pre-existing framework, theory, or other research-driven focus can identify themes of interest. In this specific study, both approaches have been used.

The questions asked and the themes that were identified are both deductive and inductive, as the questions were based on the literature review and previous research conducted on the topic. Q4, which is about festival leadership, is based on Abson's study (2019) on leadership and event managers, and therefore, it refers to pre-existing research. These make use of the deductive approach. However, the questions were open-ended, and the participants shared and consider experiences which were not strictly linked to the questions asked by the researchers. Often the participants spontaneously talked about personal experiences that felt

important to share, presenting new areas of discussion that the researcher did not consider before. The themes that derive from those data have been identified with an inductive approach.

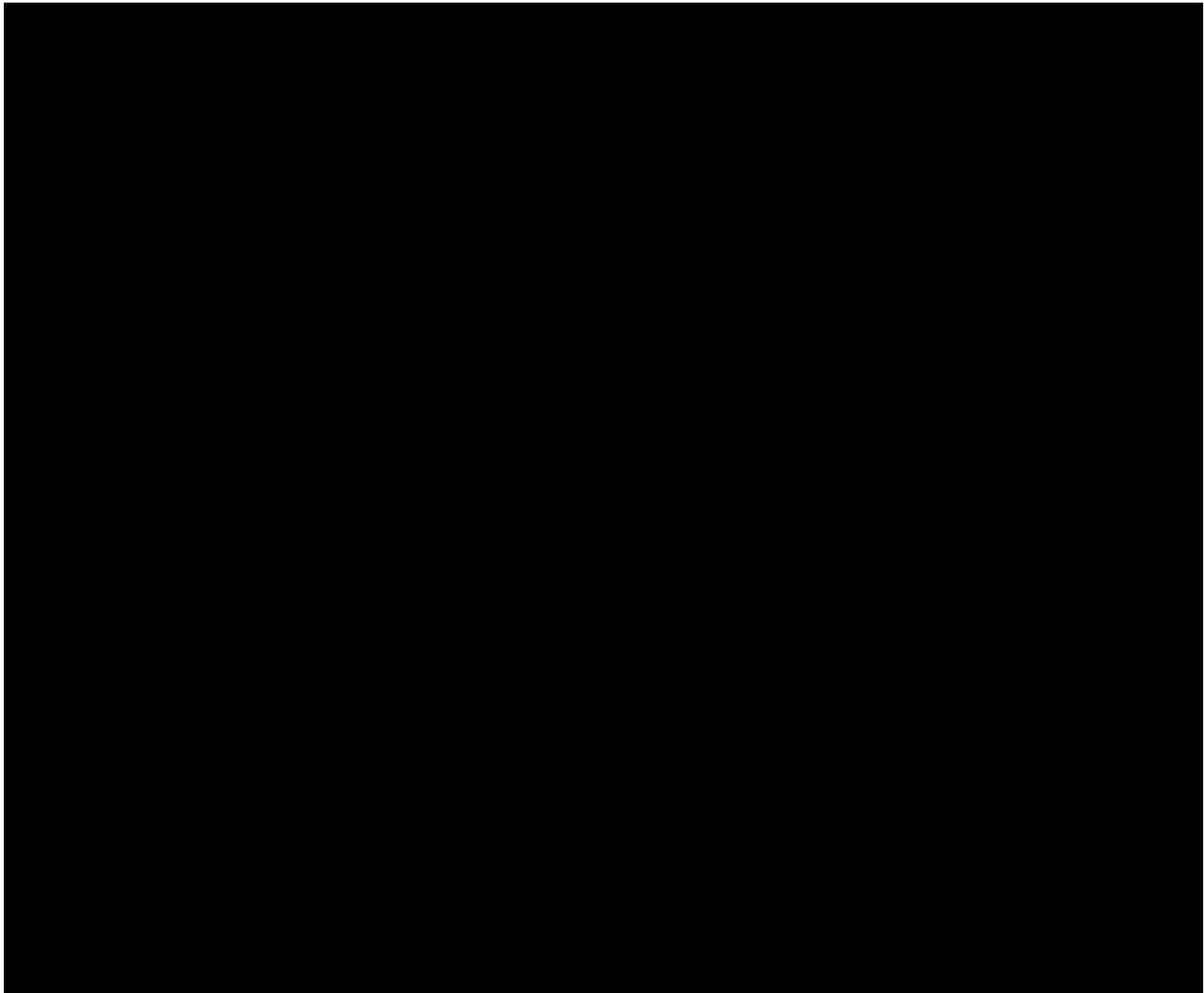
One of the advantages of using thematic analysis in this study is that it provides a very detailed, rich, and complex account of the data. Moreover, it allows to present and examine the several different perspectives of the participants, showing similarities, common elements, but also differences. Finally, it also helps present large data set in a clear and organised way (Nowell et al., 2017). TA is a powerful and appropriate method when the researcher's aim, as it is for this study, is to understand thoughts, experiences, and behaviour across the data set (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). TA allows the researcher to determine themes in different ways, as what is fundamental is the consistency in how the analysis is done (Nowell et al., 2017). For this study, Miro board¹¹ was used, with the creation of multiple tables to store data, make connections between the data, and code the data.

There are different ways to conduct thematic analysis (e.g.: Joffe, 2011; Attride-Stirling, 2001). However, the most widely adopted is the one outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) who present a method of analysis which consists of six steps. What is important to note is that the thematic analysis suggested by Braun & Clarke is not a linear process with distinct steps (Nowell et al., 2017). Data collection, data analysis and report writing are often interrelated and could occur at the same time. It is a reflexive and iterative process which evolves and develops over time and requires the researcher to go back and forward between the steps considering new data or new emerging themes (Kiger & Varpio, 2020).

¹¹ Miro board works as a sort of whiteboard where post-it notes can be added, deleted, edited, and moved around. Connections between codes and themes created with TA can also be easily made with arrows and lines (Miro Board, 2023).

Some of the steps of TA are not unique to this method, but they are similar to phases of other qualitative research. These six steps will be briefly explained in Table 4.

Table 4: Description of the six Phases of TA



Note. Adapted from “Using thematic analysis in psychology”, by V. Braun and V. Clarke, 2006, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>

Step 1: Familiarizing yourself with the data

The first step requires the researcher to immerse in the data, to become familiar with the depth and breadth of the content (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The reading of the data needs to be active, searching for patterns and meanings (Nowell et al., 2017). This can be time

consuming, especially for a large data set, but it is vital not to skip any parts. During this phase, the researcher can start taking note or writing down ideas to which they will go back later (Esfehani & Walters, 2018).

For this specific study, this involved listening to all the interviews one time, and then going over them again to check and correct the transcripts generated automatically by Teams. As the interviews were listened to a few days after they were completed, the researcher started writing down ideas at this time on how the research was evolving and what themes were specifically being investigated.

Step 2: Generating initial codes

Once the researcher has familiarised themselves with the data, understands, knows what is in the data and what is important and interesting about it, then the second step begins (Nowell et al., 2017). This phase involves generating initial codes. Coding is the systematic creation of meaningful labels attached to specific segments of the dataset (Terry et al., 2017). A code should be well-defined and demarcated so that it does not overlap with other codes, and it should fit in a logical way within a larger coding template or framework that guides the coding process by outlining and defining the codes to be applied (Attride-Stirling, 2001). These codes should not be confused with themes, which will be part of the following phase. Themes are often broader and are where the interpretative analysis of data take places (Braun & Clarke, 2006).

During this phase, the researcher will often go back to the data, in a reflective and interactive way, noting any potential patterns or connections between items (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). Good coding is inclusive and open, one segment of data might be tagged with more than one code. It is key to remember that there is no right or wrong code. Moreover, TA does not require that every line of data is coded. Codes need to be meaningful to the researcher and the research aim (Terry et al., 2017).

A Miro board was created where the researcher manually analysed the data and created codes. Extracts from the interviews were taken and assigned to a specific code, see Table 5 and Appendix 10. As Braun & Clarke (2006) suggested, the context and the surrounding data are kept contextualising the extract, to help the researcher later on identify the extract. Moreover, each extract was placed in a table, in the column which corresponded to the question asked to maintain order and help the researcher later in the analysis.

Table 5: An example of coding for this study

<p>“This year for the festival producer to be a woman is is wonderful. And it got me very excited because I just felt like things could be a little bit different.” (Christine)</p>	<p>C7: Women in power could make the difference</p>
<p>“It's been incredibly empowering and encouraging and supportive [working with women]” Lisa</p>	<p>C20: Working with women empower, inspire, and support other women</p>
<p>“I think especially, especially my whole approach to um inclusion and childcare and supporting women through maternity and supporting women through care with their families. Responsible for care or support in that sort of way” (Juliet)</p>	<p>C24: as a leader and as a woman, you try to give opportunities to other women, and you care for them</p>
<p>“I'd say the festival directors across the piece, yeah, everybody would be completely up for and willing to engage in that kind of conversation. That kind of debate and for sure [the debate on gender equalities]” (Juliet)</p>	<p>C25: Other festivals directors are willing to discuss and take part in conversations on gender equality</p>

“[Festival producer is a woman] but there are still men above her” (Christine)	C9: Men have higher roles
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Table 6: Example of the list of codes [full list of codes, see Appendix 11]

C1: Many women working in the festival industry in Edinburgh	C2: Festival organisation provides period products in all toilets	C3: Flexibility at work for caring responsibilities
C4: Women managers are more understanding	C5: Difficult to have certain conversations about flexibility with men managers	C6: More women in power, but not enough
C7: Women in power could make the difference	C8: women are better at running events	C9: Men have higher roles in the organisation
C10: Event industry has more flexible work	C11: Women lack confidence	C12: Supportive environment in festivals
C13: Events industry has changed for the better for women	C14: The skills that women have are more valued now	C15: Festivals industry in Edinburgh is gender balanced
C16: Many woman leaders in the festival industry in Edinburgh	C17: Festivals industry is better than other industries for % of women leaders	C18: Women leaders can make a difference for other women
C19: Women leaders experience many challenges	C20: Working with women empower, inspire and support other women	C21: As a woman leader, you set the example for other women
C22: No gender equality issues in her experience	C23: Never experienced gender discriminations/inequalities	C24: As a leader and as a woman, you try to give opportunities to other women, and you care for them
C25: Other festivals directors are willing to discuss and take part in conversations on gender equality	C26: Festivals give you the opportunity to understand what to do as a woman	C27: Third sector, and creative industries the majority are women

Step 3: Searching for themes

The third phase starts when all the data have been coded and collated, and the researcher has prepared a long list of the different codes that have been identified (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Themes are not simply emerging from the data, on the contrary, themes are constructed by combining, analysing, comparing, and visually mapping how codes are related to one another (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). With an inductive approach, the themes are strongly connected to the data themselves and might have little relation to the question asked. A

deductive analysis, instead, is driven by the researcher's interest, theories, or framework they might refer to (Nowell et al., 2017).

In this phase, the researcher also thinks about the relationship between codes, themes, and different levels of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Some codes might become a main theme, others sub-themes, and others might be discarded. A 'miscellaneous' theme can be created, to incorporate those codes which seem not to belong to any themes or that they do not fit particularly with any theme, but as they might become relevant in the next phase (Kiger & Varpio, 2020).

As Braun and Clarke (2006) suggested, visuals can be very useful in this phase. They could be tables or mind-maps. This has been done on Miro Board which has the necessary tools to represent the various themes based on the codes, their connection. An example of a mind-map of this study is presented in Appendix 12.

Step 4: Reviewing themes

This phase is a two-level analytical process, and it begins once the researcher has devised a set of possible themes, which need to be refined. In the first level of analysis, the researcher needs to check that the coded data within each theme fits properly (Ryan & Bernard, 2003). For example, it could be understood that some themes might not be real themes, as they might not have enough data to support them, or the data around this theme is too diverse and too large (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Data within each theme must have adequate coherence and commonality (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Other themes might be combined, while others might be broken down into separate themes. The data extracts can be re-sorted, and the themes can be modified to better reflect and capture the data (Terry et al., 2017) and inadequacies of the initial coding and themes might be revealed, requiring changes (King, 2004).

The second level of this fourth phase is to analyse the themes in relation to the entire data set. This involves understanding whether the individual themes fit meaningfully within the data set (Terry et al., 2017). This requires going through the data set again, re-reading and revising codes and themes. This process can finish once all data items that seems to be relevant to the research aim have been incorporated into the coding scheme, with coherent themes (Kiger & Varpio, 2020).

Step 5: Defining and naming themes

Once the researcher has a satisfactory thematic map, then they can define and further refine the themes that will be presented in the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In this phase, the research needs to identify the essence of what each theme is about, understanding and determining what aspect of the data each theme captures. That does not mean to just paraphrase what the data extracts presented, but, instead, to identify what is of interest about them and why (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The names of themes that are included must be brief and adequately descriptive (Kiger & Varpio, 2020), they need to give the reader an immediate sense of what the theme is about (Nowell et al., 2017).

In this phase, it is important not only to identify the story that each theme tells, but also to consider how it fits within the overall story that is being said about the data and in relation to the research aim (Braun & Clarke, 2006). As part of the refinement, the researcher should look for areas of overlap between themes, as well as identify emergent sub-themes. These can be used in several ways. They can be used to describe more detailed accounts of themes or to describe hierarchies within the data (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). The finalised themes and subtheme list can be found an appendix 13.

Step 6: Producing the report

This last phase consists of writing up the final analysis and description of findings (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This process has already started with note taking, selection of representative

data extracts, and description of themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The final report should be more than a mere description of codes and themes. It should also have a narrative that provides a clear, logical, and concise account on how the researcher interprets the data, but also why the themes are considered to be important (Nowell et al., 2017). This can be achieved by using both narrative descriptions and representative data extracts, with direct quotations from the participants (Kiger & Varpio, 2020). Braun and Clarke (2006) suggest explaining in detail what each theme means, creating a final report that is an overall story about what the different themes tell about the topic. The final report of this study will be presented in the Chapter 9.

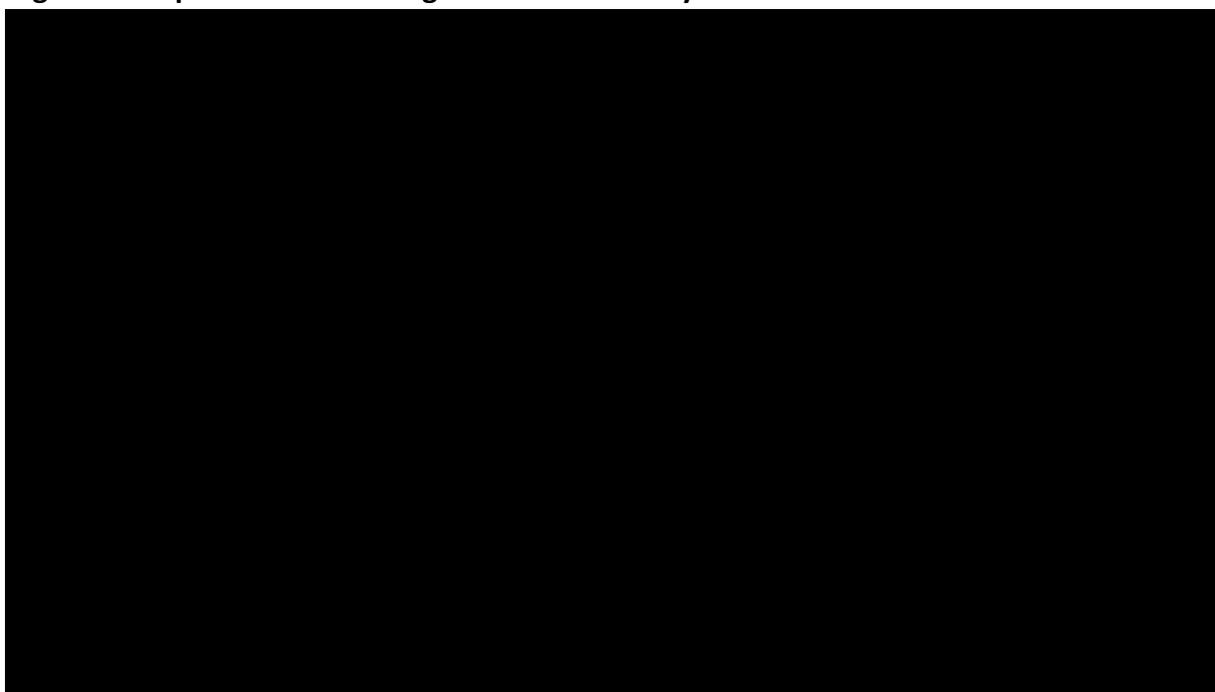
8.4 Ensuring trustworthiness of research

Qualitative research has been criticised for lack of objectivity, criteria, and generalisability (Walter, 2016). Trustworthiness is a concept introduced by Lincoln and Guba (1985) and it is considered to be an essential framework for evaluating qualitative research (Billups, 2021). According to Lincoln and Guba (1985), there are four elements that comprise the trustworthiness framework. These are the criteria of credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability for the concept of trustworthiness, which are parallel to the conventional quantitative criteria of validity and reliability.

Credibility refers to the truthfulness of the findings (Walter, 2016). It investigates the fit between the respondents' views and the representation of them (Nowell et al., 2017). Transferability, or applicability, concerns whether the findings of the study can be transferred to a different setting or group (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Dependability is when the researcher can ensure the research process has been logical, consistent, and clearly documented (Walter, 2016). Finally, confirmability is when credibility, transferability, and dependability are all achieved (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). That means that the researcher's interpretations and findings are clearly derived from the data (Nowell et al., 2017). To these four elements, in more recent discussions, authenticity has been added. This refers to the contextual purpose of the research, and its intended value, its benefit to the participants, and if all realities represented give meaning to the findings (Billups, 2021).

The above criteria are applicable to any qualitative research. In addition to this, Braun and Clarke (2006) have also suggested a 15-point checklist of criteria for good thematic analysis, as shown in Figure 2. According to the authors, as TA is a flexible method, the researcher needs to be clear and explicit about what they do, and they need to ensure that their analysis has been conducted rigorously.

Figure 1: 15-point checklist for good thematic analysis



Note. From “Using thematic analysis in psychology”, by V. Braun and V. Clarke, 2006, *Qualitative Research in Psychology*, 3(2), 77–101. <https://doi.org/10.1191/1478088706qp063oa>

If Lincoln and Guba’s (1985) and Braun and Clarke’s (2006) criteria are followed, and TA is conducted in rigorous manner, the notions of credibility, transferability, confirmability, and dependability are largely addressed. Specifically in this project, the researcher has carefully followed these criteria from the beginning of the data analysis till the end.

After each interview, the transcription automatically generated by Teams was checked to make sure that it was correct. A couple of days later, the transcription was separated into smaller sections, each corresponding to one of the seven questions asked, saved in a table on Miro Board. Once all the interviews were divided into smaller components, they were reassessed to make sure that nothing important from the original interview transcript was not included. After this step, interviews were re-read, creating two more tables. One with bullet points of the main points/topics discussed by each participant, the second with the description of the photos and possible future research inspired by the discussion with the interviewees.

The next stage was to create codes from the various interviews' segments. Codes were initially written in a word table, however as extracts from the interviews were analysed, the existing codes were re-considered, re-thought and changed if needed. Only once the list of codes was finished, these were added into a new Miro Board. Each code was grouped under the questions asked during the interview, and then associated with all extracts related to it, so that it was possible for the researcher to have a comprehensive outlook of the codes. Furthermore, this gave the possibility, once coding was finished, to be able to move codes around and grouped them accordingly to form themes. Chapter 9, data findings and discussion, was first drafted as themes and codes went through another step of analysis. Some of the themes were reassessed and their name was changed once the discussion around them was done, so that more representative wordings were chosen for the themes. The data analysis process lasted almost a year. The use of Miro Boards, and the 15- point checklist suggested by Braun and Clark (2006) helped making sure this was done in a logical, consistent, and clearly documented way, insuring dependability (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The findings, as discussed more in detail in Chapter 10, can be applicable to other contexts, both geographically and in different work sectors, such as tourism, hospitality, in other events, and in the creative industries. By using quotes throughout the data findings and discussions chapter, credibility was ensured, as the participants own their words. Confirmability was, indeed, reached, as credibility, transferability, and dependability were all considered (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Finally, it can be seen how all realities represented gave meaning to the

findings, all perspectives have been represented, which align with the value of this research, and the goal of benefitting its participants, achieving research authenticity (Billups, 2021).

Finally, the concept of bias should be discussed, a term which is drawn from the quantitative research paradigm (Galdas, 2017). Being qualitative research, however, the researcher has considered her own position within this project, as discussed in sections 6.9 and 6.9.1 on reflexivity and self-reflexivity. The attempt in this project is not to present a work which is value and opinion free, but rather to demonstrate how qualitative research can provide a unique value to the creation of knowledge in relation to the topic of this research. Finally, the researcher's value and opinions have been considered as the impact these might have in the questions asked, the data collection methods, and the data analysis.

8.5 Summary

This purpose of this chapter was to assess how the participants to this study were chosen, and to present the Thematic Analysis (TA) (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This consists of six phases, which were described and employed with the data, examples can be found both within the chapter and in the appendix. TA generated 19 themes and 35 subthemes, which are discussed in the following chapter.

Chapter 9: Data findings and discussion

9.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to present the findings of the analysis of the semi-structured interviews conducted with 33 women working in the festival industry in Edinburgh. The data were analysed with Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006), employing visual aids on Miro Board. In this chapter, the research objectives will be discussed based on the findings. These support the research aim which this chapter will attempt to address. The aim of this thesis is to gain an understanding of the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions; and the reasons that underpin this situation.

Specifically, the research objectives of this study are:

- 1) To undertake a critical analysis of academic literature in the areas of leadership theories, feminism, the management of events, and specifically arts festivals;
- 2) To undertake qualitative research to critically explore and evaluate how women festival leaders position themselves Edinburgh's festivals sector;
- 3) To gain an understanding of how culture and society affect women in achieving leadership positions in Edinburgh's festivals sector;
- 4) To evaluate the issues faced by women in Edinburgh's festival sector in achieving leadership positions in comparison with the literature;
- 5) To understand what the skills of festival leadership are in comparison to existing literature on the subject.

9.2 Evaluating and critically explore how women festival leaders position themselves in Edinburgh's festivals sector

The second research objective: *'To undertake qualitative research to critically explore and evaluate how women festival leaders position themselves Edinburgh's festivals sector'* is addressed here, analysing it in relation to the data collection and the literature review. To understand and be able to answer this specific objective, participants were asked to share their personal career in the festival industry and to describe positive experiences of working in the festival industry as a woman. In this question, they were also asked if they believed many women worked in the industry and how the working environment was.

According to the TA employed to analyse the data, three main themes emerged. The first theme that emerged was that the festivals sector in Edinburgh is dominated by women in the workplace. The second theme considered the low pay in festivals as the reason why there are many women working in the sector. The third one was in relation to the low proportion of women in leadership roles in festivals.

As can be seen already, two of the main themes, which should be about positive experiences of being a woman working in the industry, start to highlight the negative elements of the industry and remark how, despite having so many women, there are issues that need to be discussed. The following three themes and their subthemes will be expanded in the next sections.

9.2.1 Edinburgh festivals is a women dominated industry

As seen in the literature review in Chapter 5, Dashper (2018) has emphasised how the event industry in the UK is women dominated. The author suggests that 70 to 80% of staff are women. This high percentage of women staff was also reported by participants in the present research. Despite being unaware of Dashper's (2018) research, some participants mentioned similar figure [More quotes on similar theme can be found in Appendix 14-A-9.2.1]:

“And compared to other industries, it's always been like 90% female. I mean that's a random figure I've pulled, but it lets what it kind of feels like at least 90%. it's it's quite stark. Like it's not, you know like 60% female, 40% male It feels very much like there'll always just be a few men in a sea of women (...) I don't know. [the reasons]” (Jessica)

There is, a general consent that in the third sector, the charity and arts sectors, there are mostly women workers. The festival industry is also doing better than other industry, in terms of the percentage of women working, but also of those in strong leadership positions. This has greatly changed in the past 20 years. Participants with years of experience in events have been able to notice and be part of these changes themselves. Women who started working in the 1990s agree that compared to now, at the beginning of their careers, there were more men than women. Moreover, women’s progression into senior leadership roles and the working conditions have generally improved [Appendix 14-B-9.2.1]:

“I think it's changed. There's certainly a lot more women in senior leadership roles, a lot of the people that I started working with, you know, in the sort of 90s are now in very sort of senior, you know, they're running, they're directors of festivals or they've moved into other cultural leadership roles. (...) I mean, I think now how people, how women are treated at work and how men behave at work. It's very different. It's very different, for the better for the better. Absolutely.” (Mary)

Many of the participants, such as *Rebecca, Emma, Nicky, and Liz* shared photos that represented their accomplishments, such as giving a speech, getting an award, or a specific event in one of the festivals which was organised by them and was successful, a proud moment of their career.

Participants were asked why they believe the festival sector is so women dominated, and they tried to answer or explain why they thought that. This was a difficult question, many did not know how to answer, but some attempted to explain it. Answers to this question can be divided into two motivations. One is linked to the possibility of having flexible working hours,

and the possibility to have part-time work, which fits very well with care responsibilities that are usually a woman's task, as analysed in the literature review in section 3.4.2, when discussing motherhood (Kellerman & Rhode, 2007). This specifically applies when you do not have senior or leadership roles, for which part-time is not possible. Women are usually the ones choosing to go part-time, and this has been long explored in various studies (e.g.: Brandth & Kvande, 2016; Bielby & Bielby, 1989; Lott, 2020). While this theme is explored in more details in section 9.4.1, it is interesting that motherhood and part-time are given as a justification for the number of women in the sector. *Nicky* shares her experience on this topic:

"You've got that balance of like, do you want to work full time and have to pay for full time childcare when you're not actually earning that much? Like, that's quite tricky." (Nicky)

Women are still seen as the primary caregivers for both young children but also the elderly or in need relatives (Kellerman & Rhode, 2007; Ma et al., 2021), as *Mary* says:

"Because I think the good thing will certainly my experience was that there's flexibility in hours and there's a lot more understanding of the fact that they might have different priorities from men with regards to, you know, maybe children or looking after parents or you know, or they want to do part time working for other reasons. And certainly that's always been my experience." (Mary)

The second reason that can explain the high number of women is because their skills are more valued now than in the past. These include a sense of community, compassion, act of service, empathy, those soft skills which are considered to be women's qualities (Eagly & Carli, 2003). This is a topic that has been discussed in both Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. In Chapter 2, the dichotomy between male and female was presented, a social constructed idea of masculinity and femininity. These two concepts underline how the gender of women is usually not associated with power, but more with communal, soft skills (Ackerly & True, 2010; Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017). Chapter 3 explores this distinction in more details, where the focus of the literature review is on women leadership (Wood & Eagly, 2016; Eagly et al.,

2003). As arts and culture, according to the participants, are also seen as sectors linked to emotions and feelings, women are believed to be better at having them. *Rose* comments:

"I actually don't really know why there are so many women in this sector. I mean, like, there is a theory of that. It's like, you know, we are kind of acts of service is maybe more ingrained within our gender is one take that you could have on it so, maybe it's maybe it's something to do with that." (*Rose*)

Some of these stereotypically thought women skills (*Arvate et al., 2018*), the so-called soft skills, the *acts of service* that *Rose* consider *ingrained within* the women *gender* are seen by the participants as essential in festivals. *Lisa* adds:

"I wonder if it's something to do with like soft skills thing, so valued in the creative industries, you know, compassion and and or passion for what you're doing and empathy and all those things and stereotypes, blah blah blah, you know, between women and men." (*Lisa*)

What it means to work in a women dominated working environment and how this impacts the industry and women working will be explored in detail in the subthemes related to this first theme.

9.2.1.1 Edinburgh festival is a gender-balanced industry

Based on their experiences, many participants stated that they do not think gender equality is a problem in the organisation where they work or that there is a macho culture. They felt respected and they did not suffer any diminishment for being a woman. This first subtheme is interesting to consider because, as it will be assessed later in this analysis, the type of work you have- whether part- or full-time within a festival organisation, or working temporarily for the summer festivals, will change the type of experience you might have as a woman.

Some organisations have also started offering period products in toilets, and anonymised intranet where staff can either raise any HR concerns or have free counselling with an external organisation. The fact that most staff are women should not mean that men or non-binary are excluded. Inclusion was examined in Chapter 4, which concerned feminism, as improving the conditions of women should be achieved respecting all genders (Swirsky & Angelone, 2014; Acker et al., 1983). Diversity means that everyone is represented, gender-balanced, and this is at the core of those women who organise panels or work on the festivals' programs:

“Obviously is when I'm programming, so picking speakers like number one thing always doing is trying to ensure diversity and so on that side, I think I've managed to achieve that because there obviously are men in this space or nonbinary people.” (Lisa)

There is not always a specific policy that is related to gender equality, most cases organisations might have an inclusion, equal, and diversity policy, as section 9.3.2 will discuss. According to some participants, the environment is gender balanced. Moreover, there is support and empowerment among women, this second subtheme is considered in the next section.

9.2.1.2 Women colleagues and managers empower and support one another

Many of the participants underline how most of their colleagues, their line managers and the volunteering staff are, or have been, women. Those women working in the industry agree that there are many good examples of women in leadership roles, or women who had progressed well in their career. This is important because it shows that barriers can be broken down (Chizema et al., 2015). Women leaders can also mentor other women, which is a useful tool to support and help other women career development (Dashper, 2020), as seen in Chapter 5. Women leaders can set the example and understand the needs of their junior women colleagues, whether that be training, a better maternity leave policy, mental health, or professional support, as *Juliet* in the below quote comments. It is an interesting finding,

which partly reject the idea that the Queen Bee Phenomenon takes place in the festival sector in Edinburgh. Only partly, because in section 9.5.4.1, there will be some participants who have experienced it. The Queen Bee Phenomenon, as presented in Chapter 3, section 3.3.2, describes women who do not help other women and distant themselves to other women colleagues (Vial et al., 2016; Derks et al., 2016; Arvate et al., 2018; Harvey, 2018; Ellemers, 2014).

“I think I hope that as I create a really supportive and enabling environment both personally, but then also professionally if I say that people need training or they’re less skilled in one area than another then we’ll sit down and talk about that and talk about what’s the best route for support for them. Is it coaching, is it an MBA? (...) I think especially my whole approach to UM inclusion and childcare and supporting women through maternity and supporting women through care with their families. (...) Responsible for care or support in that sort of way.” (Juliet)

In the Edinburgh festivals, many participants believe that there is no competition among women, but instead empowerment and admiration for each other and for those who have made it to the top. It should be noted that this was what they commented in the interviews for this research, which might have influenced their answer as they did not want to share otherwise. Most women also indicated that they all felt encouraged and supported in terms of career progress and mental health, also in temporary jobs. This is especially fundamental for those young women who took part in the interviews and are trying to figure out their career and what they would like to do. Women working in the festival industry see women leaders as an important legacy, because they have the power to make a difference and to bring in changes:

“This year for the festival producer to be a woman is wonderful. And it got me very excited because I just felt like things could be a little bit different.” (Christine)

Women who took part in the data collection highlighted how working with women managers is easier as they are more understanding of the compromises, they, as mothers and

caregivers, must make. According to some of the participants, women leaders are more aware that there is a bigger picture to consider, that there is a life after work and that sometimes personal commitments that will interfere with work. Inclusion, collaboration, and communality are now seen as valuable skills in a leader (Eagly & Carli, 2003), as discussed in Chapter 3. All in all, women leaders empower, support, and nurture their staff. They have the tools and the ability to make a change when it comes to gender inequalities.

“So my manager is a woman and her manager is a woman. (...) was given that there was no questions asked. And I truly believe that that is because my manager and her manager women.” (Christine)

Furthermore, working with women has meant, for some, to feel comfortable, safe, and protected when working late night shifts, also from colleagues, sexism, and inappropriate comments. These aspects will be analysed more in details in the section 9.4.3.3, but:

“I’ve come across a lot of women in these workplaces and that is another reason I like to work in the festivals is because I like working with lots of women. I find it easier in certain aspects and I don’t have to think about some aspects of sexism, or sometimes I found male bosses could be more condescending or just not often understand things.” (Charlotte)

This can be also seen in the photos they have shared during the interviews. *Michelle* and *Margaret* brought photos of women who worked in the Edinburgh festivals and represented for them an example of success and inspiration. *Christine* and *Jessica*, instead, chose group photos with other women colleagues, which symbolise the close friendship born while working together in one of the festivals.

Edinburgh festivals working environment can be described as gender balanced, women-dominated, and with women who are working towards changes, providing opportunities and support for other women colleagues. This, however, does not say that there are no

challenges. Being gender balanced does not mean that there are no gender issues for women. This will be explored more in depth in section 9.4, but some of those issues will be initially presented here, in the following section.

9.2.2 Women work in the festival industry because the pay is low

In section 9.2.1 two reasons were suggested to explain why the Edinburgh festival industry is women dominated. Flexible working and part-time roles which fit to family life is the first reason. The second concerns the soft skills that women bring in the industry, which are now more valued, and the fact that women are better at multitasking, although, participants admitted that this was a *“very sweeping statement”* (Christine).

There is, however, a third reason that has emerged in the interviews, which sees the high number of women in not such a positive light, and which emerged as the second theme. Participants consider that the pay in the industry, not only in the festival industry, but in general in the arts and charity sectors, is very low (Stoughton, 2022). According to some participants, men would not work for such low salaries for long, while women would do it [Appendix 14-9.2.2].

“The other thing is I do wonder if sometimes it is about pay, like maybe there's so many women there in senior roles because they're not getting jobs and better paid roles and you know, that's what you know that they're not competing with as many people to get these. I'm just guessing here or what's the word. Yeah. I just, I do wonder that, I mean, yeah, you, I just wonder how many men would do this for a really long time on a low salary, you know.”
(Liz)

It interesting that Liz thinks that men would not work for long with low wages. Men are seen to have more confidence and to be able to request and expect better salaries. Women lack that confidence needed to apply for a higher job position, or to ask for an increased wage (Kirkwood, 2009): *“Maybe a lack of confidence, you know, amongst a lot of women”* (Lucia)

This issue of *lack of confidence*, explored before in research (e.g.: Kirkwood, 2009), and in Chapter 3 of the literature review, is analysed more in detail when reviewing how society and culture affect the way women see themselves in section 9.3.1. There is, however, another theme that emerge from the thematic analysis, which considers how there are many women in the festival industry in Edinburgh, but still not enough in senior and leadership roles. Section 9.2.3 will take into consideration what participants have commented on this.

9.2.3 The percentage of women in higher roles is low

It is interesting to notice that despite having asked the participants to share positive experiences of being a woman in the industry, the discussion turned to the negative aspects of it. In the third theme that emerged, some of the participants confirmed the high number of women in the industry, but remarked that they are often found at lower levels of the organisations:

“Much more women. I think that's something I've come across in several of my jobs. I have mostly worked in festivals or charities, and both of those are super women dominated, at least as you know, at the entry level, lower management roles and but yeah, my current job mostly, women die interact with day to day.” (Charlotte)

Many women have lower management roles, and the few men hold higher positions, such as CEO, directors, and as boards members (Freund & Hernandez-Maskivker, 2021). As discussed in Chapter 5, Dashper (2018) states that only around 20% of senior manager and board positions in the event industry are hold by women, which are 70 to 80% of event industry staff. The situation is changing, and has improved compared to the past, more women are taking leading roles, with, for example, the recent appointment of a woman for both the Edinburgh International Festival and the Edinburgh International Book Festival. Despite this, *Christine* says *“There are more women moving up into those positions. (...) We are still waiting to see more women in power”*.

Men have director and CEO positions, and they are majority of the festivals' Board's Members: *"In the senior management team, there's only one man and that's the CEO."* (Liz)

As remarked in section 9.2.2, there is a lack of confidence in women in applying for higher roles. Moreover, women with young children or relatives in need might decide to go part-time or change industry. These two aspects can explain the disparity in numbers of the Edinburgh festival industry being women dominated, but with few of them in CEO, director roles. These are, however, not the only elements to consider, and further discussion on these two topics, and the reason behind the low numbers, will be provided in sections 9.3 and 9.4.

9.3 Understanding how culture and society affect women in achieving leadership positions and as leaders

The third research objective *"Understanding how culture and society affect women in achieving leadership positions in Edinburgh's festival sector"* is discussed in detail in this section. During the data collection, participants were asked about three main topics. First, in general, how they believe society and culture affect them as women working in the festival sector. Then, if they consider feminism important for them and if there is any women association or support group they can go to when in need. Finally, a question about the previous two years prior to this research, 2020 and 2021, and how the pandemic of Covid-19, and having to work from home have impacted them and the industry. The questions asked were quite broad and therefore women taking part in the interviews had the space to tell their own stories and own experiences. Their answers also deal with what women actively do to improve gender equality and how, some of them, have organised themselves to provide a safe space of support.

The analysis of the interviews revealed five main themes and correspondent subthemes. First, there was an assessment of how culture and society create expectations on women. Second,

according to the participants there is need for more work regarding EDI in the festival sector. Third, the importance of feminism and its meaning was discussed. The fourth theme concerned the importance of mentoring for women as leaders. Finally, as the interviews took place between April-June 2021, the last theme regarded the impacts of the pandemic of Covid-19 on women.

9.3.1 Culture and society expectations on women

The first theme considered participants' comments upon the impacts of society and culture on the way women are expected to behave in society as well as at the workplace, and how they see themselves. This is a constant theme in the literature review in all five chapters. A first aspect that emerged is the presence of gender inequalities and how these are caused by society. Gender inequalities have been amply discussed in section 5.6.3, showing how they still affect the everyday and working life of women (Krys et al., 2018). In the literature review, in Chapter 5, it was discussed how gender inequalities are a consequences of gender stereotypes, culture, and beliefs around the nature of women as caregiver, and men, as breadwinner, in society (Cuddy et al., 2015; Bullough et al., 2022; Schein, 1992). As *Francesca* states: *"It's a long fight for women, it's going to take time."*

Masculinity and femininity are two socially constructed concepts that are recurrent in this research, discussed in the literature review chapter, in section 2.2.3. They are important when discussing leadership, because the workplace is seen as masculine place, and the qualities of a leader, power, and authority, belong to the men (Due Billing & Avelsson, 2000; Malvin, 2008; Ackerly & True, 2010). The stereotypes attached to these concepts can be seen in what women working in the festival industry have experienced, as *Anna* says:

"Within the organisation there's kind of like accepted behaviours for women and less acceptable behaviours" (...) "There is a little probably unconscious attitudes around gender. A previous head of marketing was a woman, and she was (...) very divisive figure in the organisation and I always wondered if it was because she was a woman. Very difficult to

work with, but I always wonder like would we all thought she was so difficult if she wasn't a woman?" (Anna)

Gender plays a role in how people socialise, as people in society interact and relate to one another. As discussed in sections 2.2.3 and 3.4, the way people define and categorise what is around is based on contrast and differences, and gender is one of the primary frames to socialise (Ridgeway, 2009; Ito & Urland, 2003; Due Billing & Avelsson, 2000; Eagly & Karau, 2002). *Paula's* comment is an example of how the gendered roles are ingrained in how people see women and men, and the expectations on how they should behave:

"Well, I think really what I've said like I've I have no experience of, like, have running a family and I've just said that thing about not having time based on what society tells you about women in time. And I think maybe there's just a there's a feeling, it's always said like it's, it's like an accepted thing in society that women don't have time and they don't apply for things, and they don't push themselves, so maybe then when it comes to it, women are telling that to themselves. But yeah, I am not sure." (Paula)

To understand gender stereotypes, it is fundamental to consider the notion of gender role, which has been explored in detail in the literature review, in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3. Gender and sex are two distinct concepts. The former, is a socially constructed idea, while the latter reflects biological differences (Gupta et al., 2009). Gender roles are strictly linked to masculinity and femininity, and the way men and women construct their own gender (Ritter, 2008; Deutsch, 2007). Gender roles are enacted also at the workplace, the division of labour, where stereotypically the man is the manager (Schein, 1973; Hoyt & Simon, 2018)

Societies that hold gender role attitudes and beliefs will also have a clear distinction of labours. As previously mentioned, women take care of the children, while men are responsible for the economic support of the family (Seierstad & Opsahl, 2011). This is also reflected in the festival sector, where women who have children experience the struggle to be in charge for the family while keeping their commitment to work. This will be further

explored in section 9.4.1, which will discuss the difficulties of being a mother and working in festivals in Edinburgh.

“Then you know through their whole growing up experience and for me personally still the weight of responsibility for childcare for. You know, arranging their childcare when you're working for arranging getting them to school and back, for all their clubs and extracurricular activities for what they're gonna have for breakfast, lunch and dinner, you know, to buying their school uniforms, to being Santa Claus. Like all of these things, still the weight of responsibility for me is sat with the mum.” (Juliet)

Gender stereotypes start at a very early age, children will observe their parents at home and adopt their traits and roles (Schneider & Bos, 2019). They will see their mum spending more time at home, taking care of them and be responsible for the household, and their dad working outside the whole day, in charge of the economic situation of the family (Diekman & Eagly, 2000). By observing these gender roles at home, children will adopt them: little boys will behave in a more agentic way, while girls will be more communal (Wood & Eagly, 2012). *Lucia* comments on this issue:

“I think maybe young people, as in young males, might not think of it as being a viable industry. I remember I did a career talk at one of my daughter's schools about sort of tourism, hospitality and events as a career. And it was evident that a lot of the boys, they just wanted to earn money. They wanted to go and work in finance or other things and earning money was this prime motivation. So obviously, you know, you're not gonna be a high earner working in this industry, but you obviously can be comfortable. (...) Maybe that's something that comes from their family background, where maybe it's been the male that's been the sole or the main provider rather than the woman. So the women's done a lot of their caring responsibilities rather than the man. So I think it's probably those more sort traditional gendered roles which I think are changing now (...). I think it's quite traditional held view that the man goes out and earns all the money and the woman, the woman, does most of the caregiving and has a sort of part time job. But what which probably isn't as career focused.” (Lucia)

As seen in section 9.2.1, one justification provided by the interviewees to the high number of women working in festival was about the skills that women have. They are communal, have a sense for community, and care for the society (Eagly & Carli, 2003). Likewise, men working

in festivals can be usually found in the IT or tech departments (Ehrich et al., 2022). The issue that more men study and work in the STEM, and computing subjects has been previously researched. Some of the reasons that have emerged from these studies is a range of complex factors, among which the fact that women do not perceive some occupations, such as working in IT and tech departments, as congruent with their career path (Pyrkosz-Pacyna et al., 2022). This has been noted in the festival industry as well:

“There’s very few men and I found, It’s always the IT department at festivals. I think it is quite stereotypical like the IT and quite often people working on web development and app development, that kind of thing are men and then, most of the time it’s women.” (Jessica)

Nicky shared a photo on this topic, in which there is the head of site and production, who is a woman, and oversees the tech team as well, surrounded by her team, all men. As Nicky says:

“The production tech side of the events industry is very predominantly male. And that has definitely been challenging for her and has meant that she’s missed out on opportunities and that she’s been treated in a certain way or people have made certain assumptions about her, but it’s also meant that now that she’s in a position where she is, so she’s part of our senior management team that she’s really keen to bring in women into that side of the industry, which is amazing.” (Nicky)

To understand how society and culture impact women and men more in details, subthemes from the interviews data will be explored in the following sections. First, the impostor syndrome that many women experienced. Secondly, an analysis of how society is patriarchal and what it means for both women and men will be presented. And finally, the perspective of younger generations working in the industry.

9.3.1.1 The Impostor Phenomenon

"I think that is something that comes from society. And I think there's still a lot of terms going wrong that don't do women any favours. And, for example, I don't like the term impostor syndrome. When people say about women because, well, women have been told that they don't deserve a place at the table for years. The impostor syndrome, it's not something we're imagining. It is actually real." (Christine)

The impostor phenomenon is discussed in the literature review in section 3.4.1 as one of the effects gender stereotypes have on women's career. Many participants mentioned the impostor syndrome, called impostor phenomenon in research, which refers to when people achieve a position and consider to be there just because of luck, and not because they deserve it, feeling as if they are frauds or "impostors" (Feenstra et al., 2020). As *Christine* points out women alone do not feel they did not earn that leading role or lack the skills for it. For years women have been told that they do not deserve to be in the managerial room, because of gender stereotypes, so that they also do not believe it anymore (Feenstra et al., 2022; Heilman, 2012) [Appendix 14-9.3.1.1].

"I don't know, to be honest, it may be something to do with putting yourself out there. I'm. I'm not. Is another generalization, but you always read that fact online, don't you? That like men, will apply for a job if they've got, like, 60% of the criteria. And then now women will only apply if they've got 100%. So it's that thing of like confidence in maybe a bit of ego and pushing yourself that maybe a women don't do." (Paula)

This study on men applying to a job even if they have only 60% of the skills compared to women who would do it only when they would consider having all skills required has been reported by many participants of this study. The findings are said to come from a Hewlett Packard internal report, which was cited in the article *A Business Case for Women* (Desvaux et al., 2008). This article, however, does not give any source for the claim as the information is said to have emerged from confidential interviews with senior executive. It is interesting that an article dated 2008 is still today known and cited by women who took part in the interviews. This demonstrates that regardless the authenticity of this data, and the lack of

research methods and the possibility to verify this claim, it is considered and perceived as true by women.

Men have generally more self-confidence and feel more optimistic on their skills and their career (Kirkwood, 2009), while women, influenced by gender inequalities, question the validity of their contributions and their achievements, but also their talents and skills (Crawford, 2021). It is understandable, then, why women in the interviews have mentioned indirectly the Hewlett Packard study, discussing how this has also happened to them or to women friends and colleagues, who do not apply for jobs because they do not feel to be the right candidates.

Participants have underlined another aspect when discussing society and culture and how this impacts them and women working in the festival industry. Specifically, they have considered that the society is patriarchal, which is the second subtheme. How and in what ways will be analysed in the following section.

9.3.1.2 Patriarchal society

Patriarchy, a term that dates back 1970s, has now become a very popular term, used especially on social media (Hill & Allen, 2021; Walby, 1990), as well as by the fourth wave feminists (O'Malley & Johsonn, 2018). The concept of patriarchy is an important aspect of the literature review, considered in section 4.6, that discusses the domination and oppression of men towards women (Beechey, 1979). Patriarchal system can be found both at macro levels, such as government, as well as at micro levels, in organisation and families (Hunnicut, 2009). This is also felt by the participants, in fact many of them, when discussing the effects of culture and society on women, indicate how the society, Edinburgh in this specific situation, is still patriarchal.

“We live in this patriarchal society, so everything structured around a man who has a women who can look after him and his family. And so when the women wants is is there and work like you're, you'd have to remake the structure. And so then I don't think that unless an organisation is really conscious about that and then everything just unconsciously becomes part of the same structure. Everything's White and everything's capitalist.” (Anna)

As Anna mentions “*everything's White*”, gender hierarchies are the main organising feature of patriarchal systems, but age, race, religion, sexuality, nationality, and historical location also mediate the gender statues. These values assign men and women a different amount of social value, power, and privilege (Hunnicut, 2009). The lack of diversity in festival is another important aspect which will be analysed in section 9.3.2.2. Patriarchy is linked to White supremacy, normative heterosexuality, and normative able-bodiedness (Ortner, 2022), as Reese states:

*“We live in a ***** terrible White patriarchy. and White I am. I would like (...) to burn it to the ground. And I think it's absolutely endemic about this whole situation, the way that men behaved. People just haven't been brought up to think boys are just brought up to do. And that carries on through the rest of their life unless something changes.” (Reese)*

The patriarchal structure fits with the idea of masculinity and femininity, the gendered roles, which have been previously discussed, and how women are seen as the primary caregivers and responsible for the children: *“It is not structured around family life, so like women have just slotted in an existing structure. The structure is patriarchal” (Anna)*

Culturally women are seen as the carer, the mothers and the responsible for the family, presented in detail in section 9.4.1. The last subtheme will be now analysed. This concerned the younger generations and their role in the festival industry.

9.3.1.3 Younger generations

An interesting aspect that has been risen by many women is that younger generations are more inclusive, and they are active subjects of the change in the festival industry in terms of equality, diversity, and inclusion. *Eloise* shares her thoughts:

“Yeah, there is a focus on gender, but not explicitly so it's more of a general inclusion, but UM within that we would want everybody to feel comfortable. And I've noticed in the past sort of couple of years, actually, but uh as conversations around gender and pronouns have become more normalised that are volunteers are maybe a little younger and a little bit more visibly themselves, whatever, whatever flavour that is. And it's really lovely thing.” (*Eloise*)

Chapter 4 discussed findings from a recent study which demonstrate that generation Z considers gender equality and women’s empowerment a key issue, more than what people over 65-year-old think (TEAM LEWIS Foundation X HeForShe, 2022). This can also be noted in the Edinburgh festival industry [Appendix 14-9.3.1.3]:

“We have working groups at the festival and I'm part of the LGBTQ I plus group, and it's fairly newly formed. But yeah, I would say there is because there's quite a lot of young people who work for the festival. There's a lot of people that are very socially aware in a way that maybe some of some of the older people that worked with festival aren't aware in exactly the same way.” (*Liz*)

Young women feminists are also taking direct action and demanding social norm change. This emerged when discussing the fourth wave of feminists, in section 4.4.5 (O’Malley & Johnson, 2018; Charles et al., 2018). They challenge the status quo, place decisions in their own hands, and decentralise power. Young women are feeling angry about the situation, they are more “*uptight*”, as one participant described the younger women in the industry. They are not accepting that they are not allowed to do everything men can and feel frustrated that they lack the power in relation to harassment:

“In my experience, and the conversations are happening all the time, especially from younger women and women in the, you know, late teens, early 20s, Who are now starting to question certain expectations that have been put upon them. What I am noticing with girls and women, young women in my life, is that they are now. They are not accepting that they have to feel this way. They're now asking the questions and they're challenging it and I, you know, I'm only 38. So like 20 years ago, I I wouldn't have thought to ask the questions that I see women that age now asking. So I'm. I think that's a really wonderful thing.” (Christine)

In order to consider thoroughly the third objective of this study, and to understand the impact of society and culture on women, it is important to consider the festival industry as well in relation to equality, diversity, and inclusion and how the industry positions itself. This will be discussed in the next section.

9.3.2 Need for more work on Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) in the Edinburgh festivals

In general, organisations have started to develop program and policies to contrast inequalities. One way has been to employ EDI policies (Iyer, 2022). Issues around EDI are an emerging topic in critical event studies and only recently they have started to be explored in the event management (Dashper & Finkel, 2020), as discussed in the literature review, section 5.6.2. Participants of this study greatly discussed EDI not only in terms of the workforce, but also on how accessible the festivals are for attendees. What is important is who is seen working in the festival, and with what role and power (Finkel & Dashper, 2020), creating a space where diverse voices and identities are heard and represented in the program (Jepson & Clarke, 2013). EDI in the Edinburgh festivals are *an ongoing issue*, as Maddie comments:

“We know that these are ongoing issues that are not going to be solved overnight, you know. But if no ones kind of talking about them and kind of answering back in some way, then that's obviously nothing's ever gonna change, but yeah, I mean, I think I've very much been pushing for a shift in the way or really pushing towards training and more education in relation to EDI equality, diversity and inclusion. Because I think it's not just a gender thing. I think it's across the board. There are issues and there there's a lack of awareness and understanding about how things are kind of spoken about nowadays and that even I mean we were raised in societies that are, you know, predominantly racist, predominantly

homophobic. I mean that's just unfortunately, because we've been raised in the West and predominantly in sort of patriarchal societies, it's like the White man is the talking, you know, the one that everyone is kind of almost aspiring to reach, you know where it's like no, I mean that's not that's not at all what an equal and fair society should look like. You know we should all be you know able to achieve the same things with the same level of effort and output anything.” (Maddie)

What *Maddie* says is interesting and goes back to the idea of patriarchy and the influence society and culture have on how people understand the world, which has been previously discussed. The efficacy of EDI policies is limited by the quality of the policies and, sometimes, the lack of their implementations (Iyer, 2009). The group in power is usually against the implementations and application of EDI policies. They do not want to risk looking the power they hold (Iyer, 2022).

“You start getting boards and organisations that are diverse because they have the quotas (...) unfortunately, like diversity is just another tick box for them and it is not a reality. It's not a practice that they push in their everyday agenda. It's something they have to do.”
(Francesca)

“I guess maybe that's why I hesitate on the policy, because I'm like, is that just gonna be like, a token gesture?” (Lisa)

Tokenism (Cook & Glass, 2018; Zimmer, 1988; Young et al., 1982) has been discussed widely in the leadership chapter of the literature review in section 3.3.4. *Token* refers to someone who is permitted entrance, but not full participation. This could be because of sex, race, and ethnicity (Kanter, 1977). In this specific study, *token* has been used to discuss women who are given a place but not full trust in their leadership skills.

Quota policies, as *Francesca* mentioned, in the above comment, have also been presented in the literature review, in Chapter 3, analysing both their positive and negative aspects (Wang & Kelan, 2012) [Appendix 14-A-9.3.2]. Gender quotas presented several criticisms and

concerns, in the fact that they were seen discriminatory themselves, as they underline the lack of skills of women who have achieved a specific position just because of the quota and of their being women (O'Brien & Rickne, 2016; Iyer, 2022). What *Francesca* and *Lisa* talk about is an aspect that has been discussed several times throughout this study. There is need to change the system, the organisational culture, and society to *fight* inequalities and stereotypes in an effective way. Gender quotas alone are not enough.

“That's not gonna make any real change, whereas actually, I don't know much more deep work into gender roles and, like, smashing the patriarchy and breaking down toxic masculinity and all these other things would actually be and, like, increasing salaries and Compensation in the arts are gonna be actually much longer term, harder, more laborious processes or changes that are actually going to be more beneficial in the long term, you know.” (Lisa)

Participants mentioned a diversity and inclusion policy, but nothing specific on gender. This could be explained going back to what *Francesca* previously said, that inclusion and diversity are often requested when applying for funds and become a *tick box*.

Another reasons, as *Helena* points out in the below quote, is linked to the fact that organisations are already gender balanced when it comes to the staff:

“We don't we don't have gender policies, but that's I think because we have a gender balance and if anything they're probably more female employees than there are male. I never been really, been there to had discussions around gender because it's always been in place. I never been really, been there to had discussions around gender because it's always been in place.” (Helena)

Despite not having proper policies, in some of the festival organisations, the staff had set up menopause, well-being, LGBTQI+, and a disability group, where everyone is invited to take part. They are part of the organisation's equality, diversity, and inclusion strategy. Awareness around menopause, still a novelty in organisation (Beck et al., 2020), concerns women but

also men as they might need to be able to support their women colleagues, as well as their partners or family members at home [Appendix 14-B -9.3.2]:

“I'm totally in the middle of menopause at the minute and I can bring that subject up and the man will go. “Can we talk about that today? Because my wife is about to go through that or I'd love to talk about that and bring that a conversation about that and your workplace. Juliet, can you tell us?” (Juliet)

Other organisations try to actively engage with the staff and volunteers to understand what could be improved and done better the following years in terms of EDI:

“We invite it actively invite it, yes. So we when I do training on site, I always say this is what we've put in place. This is how we're gonna be running it. But if you've got any ideas or suggestions, please come and tell me. Because each year is different, each year, the volunteer cohort is different each year. The audience might be different to an extent something might have changed. We welcome people that care about the festival telling us how they feel, we could improve it rather than us then assuming we're getting it right and potentially create causing upset or getting something wrong.” (Eloise)

To the theme of EDI policies and the work needed around them in the festival organisations, there are two subthemes that are worth discussing. The first is, as *Helena* mentioned, the art industry being more open and inclusive. Some participants pointed out that conversations around those issues already taking place. Second, equality issues cannot be solved by only women who are leaders, there is need for everyone in the industry to be involved.

9.3.2.1 The arts sector is more accessible

Some of the participants consider the arts sector as more accessible than other industries. This connects to what was discussed previously in section 9.2.1, as the festival industry in terms of gender equality has accomplished more than others. Accessibility, as discussed in Chapter 5, refers to being able to get involved in an event, with measurements put in place

to address issues of participation for those with impairments, permanent and temporary, both physical and mental, as well as class and cultural barriers (Finkel & Dashper, 2020). The way accessibility has been discussed in the interviews was in terms both of staff in the organisation, and performers and artists. Participants mention that there are more sexual orientations represented and gender is more fluid in the creative industry, as *Laura* says [Appendix 14- 9.3.2.1]:

“Definitely I think in festivals, for whatever reason, it feels a lot more fluid and experimental, and it's maybe the way that myself and possibly other female curators feel is a good opportunity to introduce a lot more female and nonbinary and underrepresented voices, and to get them into those institutional live spaces. Also, not everybody wants to be in those institutionalised spaces.” (Laura)

This is an interesting aspect, as the literature review in Chapter 5 has demonstrated that there are issues around lack of diversity, inclusion, and accessibility in the event industry for both staff and attendees (e.g: Bossey, 2020; Alvarado, 2022). In Scotland, only 7% of staff in the creative industries was LGBTQ+, and 5% from another ethnicity not White (Creative Scotland, 2022). Issues around the lack of diversity have been explored by some participants, the industry has been described with *White* people belonging to the middle class. However, it would be interesting to explore more this perception of the creative industries as more accessible and understand in what terms they are.

Despite conversations taking place, some participants have pointed out that the difficulty in making a change and being active with EDI policies lies in the fact that women leader alone cannot make a major difference. Everyone needs to be involved, and this sub-theme will be discussed in the following section.

9.3.2.2 Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) can be reached with everyone being involved

Contradicting what some participants said in the above section, some women commented that not everyone is willing to take part in discussions around EDI and having an active role in making a change. This second sub-theme is in line with what has been presented in the literature review, in Chapter 5, which discussed a scarcity of research on the topic of EDI (Dashper et al., 2015; Lamond & Platt, 2016; Rojek, 2013; Calver et al., 2023), and the results of studies which highlighted a lack of diversity in the creative industries (Arts Council England, 2022; Creative Scotland, 2022). Moreover, participants suggested that women leaders alone cannot change the cultural organisations, and this topic has been explored in several sections of the literature review, as culture needs to change (Faniko et al., 2017). In saying this, it is important to underline that participants come from different working environments and organisations, and they are all sharing their personal experience.

Francesca points out well the challenge that a woman leader might face, and the difficulties in leading a festival organisation, while, at the same time, challenging gender inequalities [Appendix 14-A- 9.3.2.2]:

“With a good position within a festival. I think. Not only are you, you know, adopt, you know, you go in wanting to further the agenda of equality, but there are then all the issues you still have to deal with the normal issues of working in a job that sometimes take over fighting for the equality that you want, so like it becomes this like battle of doing your job whilst also furthering the agenda of gender equality.” (Francesca)

And this is not only related to women in power, but everyone who is proactively trying to make a change, but, as some participants have commented, they are not the majority:

“It's people like creatives in the creative industries and leaders in the creative industries who who care about that change and genuinely care about that change, who end up putting in the more time and more energy and more stress and often more money into those sorts of

things. Not necessarily seeing the results or or or trying to see the results, but I guess it's, There's so many other sectors and roles and people who should be doing that work in aren't." (Lisa)

Ethnicity and whiteness in the context of events have not been explored in depth, as most study and research focus on the operational and technical aspects of the event industry, and few investigate questions of power and control (Rojek, 2013; Calver et al., 2023). These are, however, two elements that were often remarked by the participants. First, the issue is that when conversations around EDI take place, they are usually led by White women. Second, not all men are willing to act in response to the lack of diversity and equality.

Some people working in festivals organisations are not in favour of or not actively engaging with EDI policies, and this can be explained as these policies are seen as a threat to the group in power, known as resource threat (Shteynberg et al., 2011). As discussed in Chapter 5, by applying EDI policies, the power is equally distributed to all members of the organisation, as well as to the disadvantage group, in the specific context of this study that would be women (Scheepers & Ellemers, 2005). As *Laura* underlines in the following quote, those in power do not want to lose it [Appendix 14-B-9.3.2.2]:

"What the problem is there is I'm naming 1) lots of White women and 2) no men. No men are talking about this. No men are talking about this, and that is the problem, right? I'm like, why I what I would like to see is a menopause cafe and it be in attendance by every aged male HR manager and male artistic director within the theatre industry. (...) you kind of like sort of banging this drum of like, men have to join the conversation. But then the problem is that we live in a scarcity politics, right? so there's the fear there that if I join the conversation, then I'm gonna eradicate my own role in my own power." (Laura)

The problem of having only White women discussing equality, diversity, and inclusion mean that the conversation will be, by default, limited. Moreover, as *Laura* says, men, those with the power and the privilege, do not take part (Fletcher & Hylton, 2018). This is linked to what has been previously discussed around a woman leader and her inability to change the cultural

structure of the organisation if she is alone in her battle. *Christine* comments: *“The way the system has worked is because it benefits a few people and they don't want to change it because it benefits them.”*

There is, however, an awareness among the women interviewed of *whom is at the table and can have those conversations*. This is definitely an important element of recognizing that some groups of people are still not able to take part in those conversations and bringing forward the discussion on what can be done to open the festival spaces to everyone:

“And so I think the gender equality always has to be an active discussion, and it will always evolve. It will always change and we just need to recognise who is at the table when we're having those conversations. So we understand the experience that's represented when we're trying to make policy and trying to make positive things happen.” (Olivia)

Many women have emphasised their privileged status of White women who are able to work in a job that does not offer high salary and who have been able to get a degree in arts or festivals management, doing volunteering work and internships. The low salary is an obstacle to diversity and inclusion in the sector [Appendix 14-C- 9.3.2.2]:

“I think I suppose whilst we were talking about the women in festivals, I was interested and so I I'm a White CIS woman, you know, I'm representing. I feel like quite a privileged UM demographic, I'm middle class. I have a job and I can afford to volunteer and I would say everything I've said is obviously going to be coloured by that. So and I recognise that and whilst I would always see hope to try and think about the wider environment we're creating, I'm I'm always learning and I I do think a lot of the questions as they've been asked are from my point of view, how do men treat me? How do the typical men I've worked with treat me a typical woman. And that's quite narrow. So I just say I would recognise that in the conversations we're having.” (Eloise)

Women in the interviews recognise their privileged positions and have also discussed what feminism means for them and giving space to women's voices is important. The third theme will be analysed in the following section.

9.3.3 Feminism means equal opportunities for all

"I'm very feminist" (Geri)

More than half of the participants said that they considered themselves to be feminists and those who do not like to label themselves as feminists indicated that they are actively working in bringing more opportunities to women. Feminism has been widely discussed in the literature review, in Chapter 4. In the analysis around feminism and its waves, it was highlighted how feminists of the last few years are considered to belong to the fourth wave, where the role of digital communities and digital activism is essential (Charles & Wadia, 2018).

Participants of this study are of different ages, the age bracket spans between early 20s to late 50s, they also come from different countries, and therefore the way they see feminism, what it means to them, and how they embrace it highly differed. However, for those who believe in feminism, it plays an important role, and they try to apply it in aspects of their life, aside from work: *"And that's why feminism is really important, and it's something I'll, you know, I will fight for my entire life, yeah."* (Christine)

As discussed in the literature review, in sections 4.2 and 4.5, feminist movements are a powerful tool to shape the political, social, and economic aspects of society. Its aim is to overcome patriarchal structures, discriminations and oppressions which are caused by unequal social, economic, and political dynamics. These directly affect women and their conditions (Dimitrova et al., 2020) [Appendix 14-A-9.3.3]:

“I suppose for me it's always kind of challenging people that that either kind of don't listen to female voices, or it's so it's hard to at very small level on you know wanting to be heard as loudly as anybody else, feeling, you know, like noticing differences all the time, everywhere. (...) fighting for for women's role to be as you know as large and as possible in society, but also allowing women to be what they they want to be with no limits but also that means also being engraving you know just being able to have the whole range of feelings without kind of feeling that that might diminish the kind of place and role or they they will be seen differently. So yeah, I I I I'm quite openly. Yeah, I would challenge people quite openly. Generally not always.” (Geri)

As discussed in section 4.2, the way feminism is expressed is different, some of the participants do not consider themselves as feminists, it is either something they have recently approached, or are not actively advocating for feminist goals, as Reese comments [Appendix 14-B-9.3.3]:

“Ohh, I've never really thought about what feminism is for me, and I feel like discovering that I was a feminist has sort of been a relatively recent aspect.” (Reese)

As Christine mentions: *“I think feminism and then my ideal world is where feminism doesn't even need to be used, doesn't need to exist.”* But as society is not yet in this *ideal world*, it is important to understand what feminism is:

The term feminism still brings some negative connotations, there is a *stigma* around this term, as Francesca says. Feminism, especially after the second wave, has been associated with extremism, almost negating the original intention of the movement, to promote equality (Ruiz, 2018). The stigma attached to the term and the movement has brought labels such as man haters, bra burning crazies, and femi-nazis (Swirsky & Angelone, 2014): *“There is there was and still is unfortunately a bit of a stigma around the word feminism because they think man haters and whatever”* (Francesca)

Despite the different positions, the participants agreed that feminism means equal opportunities for all women, and in general, for everyone. The definition of equality has been previously discussed in section 5.6.2, and as *Nicky* states, it is about equal opportunity and access to all. *Nicky*, in the quote below, also mentions the Glass Ceiling and the Gender Pay gap. The Glass Ceiling, discussed in section 3.3.1.1, is a metaphor used to indicate the invisible barriers that obstacle women's career development (Harris & White, 2018). The Gender Pay Gap, presented in section 5.6.4, is defined as the difference between median earning of women and men relative to median earning of men (OECD, 2023). Both the Gender Pay Gap and the Glass Ceiling are two fundamental topics, which will be explored more in depth in sections 9.4.2.1 and 9.4.3.4.

"I don't think it's about, I mean it for me, it's purely about equality of the sexes and making sure that we all have equal opportunity and equal access to opportunity and also, when it comes to the workplace that people are treated in the same way but also like remunerated in the same way that there isn't a glass ceiling for women, like, that's BS, frankly" (*Nicky*).

Far from being *men haters*, as feminist women have been negatively described, as discussed previously, gender equality is reached when everyone is involved. Men can also have positive impacts in the working conditions of women:

"Not in the sort positive discrimination excluding man... Not necessarily at the exclusion of men. I think I think men can bring really positive things to the workplace as well." (*Lucia*)

Some of the participants also defined themselves as intersectional feminists, core element in both the third wave, section 4.4.4, and the fourth wave, section 4.4.5. This is a type of feminism that seeks to give voice to those experiencing concurrent forms of oppression, which can be for race, gender, class, immigrant status, in a way to understand the depths of the inequalities and the relationship between them (Valentine, 2007). Many women talked about intersectionality, underlining that the lack of diversity, presented in section 9.3.2, is a matter that concerns, gender, race, and class [Appendix 14-C-9.3.3]:

“It's even more important that feminism is intersectional. I'm an intersectional feminist. Too many people think that all women have equal rights when we don't.” (Lucrezia)

An interesting aspect that emerged during the interviews is connected to the awareness that there is a lack of diversity and inclusion. Feminism should, then, not be only about equality, it should be about equity, as *Olivia* points out [Appendix 14-D-9.3.3]: *“I think to me, feminism all about equality and equity.”*

Women who hold leadership positions commented that they are trying to create a workplace which is equitable, helping women to increase their confidence and providing them with opportunities:

“And so if I can create an environment through my own leadership and my own way of doing things that increases the confidence of women to be able to take their rightful equitable role in the workplace, then I'm completely off for that.” (Juliet)

Everybody should be involved in the goals and objectives of feminism, and as *Annie* says, in the below quote, feminism is a word that can suggest something just for women, but men need to be involved as well. *Menimism* is necessary. As previously suggested, patriarchal structures do not benefit men either. Many participants have underlined how difficult it can also be for men to live in a society characterised by toxic masculinity. Toxic masculinity refers to patriarchal traditional masculine norms, as discussed in section 4.6.2 of the literature review. It can be expressed with the tendency towards or glorification of violence; emotional detachment; paternalism towards women; misogyny; sexism; heteronormativity; entitlement to sexual attention from women, objectification and infantilisation of women (APA, 2018). It is interesting how participants indicated how toxic masculinity brings negative consequences on men as well [Appendix D-9.3.3].

“When I say I'm a feminist, is it doesn't mean, you know, it's all about women. It's also about men, and usually it get confused at because there's a the word feminist like female and in English in that word that it's all about women, but it's a lot about men as well, and not just in a way that men have to change the way they act towards women, but also the way they act was in men like think there's a lot of, you know, all that toxic masculinity is not just bad for women. It's I. I don't think it's necessarily good for men either (...) I'm waiting to see more men, I don't know, “menimism” I don't how to say, menimism “revolution” or something similar, but I just act as how do you call that, not supporters, but allie.” (Annie)

Participants to this study expressed and emphasised the urge for a workplace that is more equal and equitable, two concepts which are strictly connected to the discussion around EDI policies, and the lack of diversity and representations. This has emerged also from recent studies on gender and EDI and the events management, and the call for more work on this topic (Platt & Finkel, 2020; Pernecky et al., 2019; Finkel & Dashper, 2020).

“That's tricky. I think, well for me, feminism is about women having their rightful place at the table, really. And having a voice and feeling equal and feeling that they can do anything, not feeling constraint in terms of what they can do so.” (Kate)

Having a voice is important, as *Kate* underlines, and giving space to women voices is particularly linked to this study. This is another important theme that emerged from the data collection, and it will be explored in the following section.

9.3.4 Challenges of representation of, and mentoring for, women as leaders

Many studies have been focusing in the recent years on the topic of diversity boards, bringing more creativity, and improved decision-makings in companies (e.g.: Richard et al., 2003; Richard et al., 2013). As discussed in section 3.3.1.4, gender diversity can also produce not only sociocultural benefits, but also financial returns (Richard et al., 2013). *Kate* also considers that a woman's perspective is different and can greatly contribute to discussions:

“There's been quite a lot of searched about boards and how having a balanced board allow results and better decision making because you know having the female voice there rather than the lots of men kind of all kind of alpha males, you know, take the floor, actually allows for more introspections and you know just coming at things from a differently, but it's really important.” (Kate)

The difficult task is to achieve these gender-balanced and gender diverse boards. One central aspect that has been remarked by several participants is the need for education and mentoring.

“For me, education is power. So if she has the knowledge Then she can make sensible decisions, informed decisions.” (Christine)

Education and empowerment that can be achieved also with the support of some of the women groups that have been created, by sharing experiences, mentoring, and informal meeting with more senior women management:

“I'm part of a couple of organisations (...) I'm a founding member of XX XX, which is was set up (...) there was a group of us and we all agreed that it was continued to be very challenging for women to get top jobs in tourism and hospitality.(...) So we set up XX and it was to lobby the government and also to encourage young women to join. And we we're doing mentoring for younger women, plus doing events where people could share their kind of knowledge, you know, older women. And to try and encourage younger women to stay in the industry and, you know, help them to get promoted or help them to apply for bigger jobs or to go on boards just to get more, you know, considering the hospitality and tourism is like culture, a lot of people, a lot of the people that are working in these industries are women, you know, it seems ludicrous that you know a lot of the people that are in charge are men, especially in hospitality and tourism.” (Mary)

Mentoring is an initiative, a tool, that can contribute to empower and enable women to achieve leadership and senior management roles. Mentoring helps women to get feedback, support, encouragement, overcome career obstacles, and gain access to resources and information (Block & Tietjen-Smith, 2016; Dashper, 2019, 2020). [Appendix 14-9.3.4]

“Mentoring. It's it's not always about advice. It's about someone being able to reflect back to you and then to you feel secure that you, you've been affirmed, and I think that we need to do more of that to you know with people.” (Melanie)

All in all, however, mentoring remains a key initiative in enabling women in business, many participants indicated how powerful it can be, even if in most cases it seems to be an informal mentoring, with few cases of formal and organised mentoring programs: *“I think there's always people that you feel like you could go to and speak to confidentially.” (Jessica)*

To completely understand how society and culture impact women working in festivals, it is fundamental to consider the pandemic of Covid-19, and what it meant for them to work from home, especially with children, and moving to flexible working. This fourth theme will be analysed in the following section.

9.3.5 The pandemic of the Coronavirus Disease 2019 greatly affected women

The spreading of the pandemic caused by the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome Coronavirus 2 (SARS- CoV-2), also known as ‘Coronavirus Disease 2019’ (COVID-19) started in November 2019, with repercussions and lockdowns beginning in early 2020 and taking place in most parts of the world (Khlystova et al., 2022). They did not allow gatherings of people, travelling outside your own country, and for some, the prohibition of leaving their own house. This had major impacts on the tourism, hospitality, and event industry (e.g.: Ali-Knight et al., 2023; Khlystova et al., 2022).

“I read on a study that if we're not careful during the pandemic, we're gonna set women's rights back, you know, 30 years, which is absolutely crazy. (..) I call it a “shesession”.” (Betty)

As *Betty* comments, in the past two years women have been greatly suffering during the lockdowns, reducing their working hours, spending less time on paid work and more on household responsibilities compared to the men (Hjalmsdottir & Bjarnadottir, 2021; Bulog et al., 2022; Qian & Fuller, 2020). With the pandemic, women had to deal with home schooling as well, which impacted their ability to work from home, as offices were closed due to restrictions (Mooi-Reci & Risman, 2021; Pereira, 2021). This was noticed by some of the participants, who pointed out that during online meetings, women would get interrupted from the children more often than the male counterparts:

“Through in the last two years, when people have been working from home, I don’t see many men on screen who have their kids in the background. They seem to have maybe slightly more way to distance themselves from the moment, whereas a lot of the female co-workers, or people I deal with that, you know, get interrupted in a way that the fathers of the children don’t seem to be. And I think working from home and thinking that people can work from home and not look at the children is just, you know, that’s not possible.” (Helena)

As discussed in section 3.4.2, gender inequalities worsened during the pandemic, mothers were more vulnerable to multitasking and work disruptions, known as the double burden (Lyttelton et al., 2022; Yildirim & Eslen-Ziya, 2021). *Liz* comments her own experience of working at home with children [Appendix 14-9.3.5]:

“And for me, I mean Oh my God. Like working from home and with all that with the kids here and trying to home school that was honestly hideous. But I think it was the same for everyone. I don’t think I don’t think anyone. I mean I think it was just like everyone had an awful time with that and you just kind of, I mean I have a lot of meetings because of the nature of my job, like external meetings, I mean and you know that everyone was just, you know having the same issue with kids coming in, you know it was, but like it was definitely it was definitely very stressful. Yeah, wasn’t fun.” (Liz)

Helena and *Isabella* also decided to share an image. *Helena* had found one on Google, which in her opinion represents the stress, the double burden, that women experienced during the Covid 19 lockdown. In the image there is a woman at home who is trying to work, while her daughter is trying to hug her, as she wants attention from her. While *Isabella* shared a photo

she took with her child, with an expression of stress in her face as she was trying to work with her child on her lap.

It was also noticed, however, that the time fathers spent for childcare, with the lockdown, increased, more than their commitment to housework, which remained a women's task. It is not known at this stage whether the trend will continue now after lockdowns have finished (Lyttelton, Zang & Musick, 2022). *Miichelle* comments: *"And I certainly notice more men dropping off children at the nursery and picking them up. But again, that's pandemic because they're here."*

The pandemic made many rethink work and the way work is done. In particular, it has made flexible work and home working a reality. This has been very beneficial especially for mothers; this sub-theme will be analysed more into details in the following section.

9.3.5.1 The pandemic of Covid-19 allowed for more flexible working for women

The pandemic of Covid-19 has let flexible working to become a reality for many employers (e.g.: Islam, 2022; Lott, 2020), although home-based work is generally done by women, which is indicative that these work patterns are considered suitable for women (Islam, 2022). This has been highlighted by many participants, who have commented that the pandemic has made the industry more flexible, while it was something impossible even to discuss about:

"So previously when I worked at the XX and I moved to XX, and spent a year commuting and I had asked them if I could work from home just like one day a week and they said no and you know, they had reasons in terms of like not setting a precedent for everyone else to request to work from home and but it just seems like now because everyone Does it just seems so like... Like so funny to think like that was such a big deal to request to work from home. And now it's so normal, but I think you know back then none of but no arts organisations or are festivals were set up to be able to do that because you know, we didn't have laptops and access to files and all of that. So I do understand why they said no. I think

you can still get what you need done working from home a day or two a week, so I think it's been... I think it's had a really positive impact on flexible working and people's working environments.” (Jessica)

Flexible work arrangements, the possibility to customise the temporal and spatial boundaries of the working day (Greenber & Landry, 2011), can bring positive aspects, such as a better work-life balance (Lott, 2020). This has an important impact on the lives of mothers and carers, as Nicky comments:

“And in a funny sort of way, working from home and not kind of dashing to drop the kids at nursery, then dashing to an office and then that was actually like quite useful in a lot of ways. I think as well the organisation is very supportive in terms of children, a lot of staff have children and there were several staff who didn't have the luxury of a husband who wasn't working and had to, you know, had to juggle that of their kids, being home and home schooling as well

but yeah, no, the organisation is very supportive and there's been certain points. And in fact we've got a board meeting next Tuesday where we're presenting our program for the festival. And I can't be there because my husband's working in various other people who would normally do childcare for me aren't available and you know, I'm just recording my bit to be sure there.” (Nicky)

These comments can also be considered as first discussions on what the pandemic of Covid-19 has been and has impacted women working in the festival industries, considering that the interviews took place between April and June 2022. Whether flexible working will stay and what impacts it might have on women on the long term are not known at this stage. This last section concludes the analysis on how society and culture impact and affect women and their working conditions. While there are positive improvements, for example around EDI and an awareness of how society influences the roles men and women have in society, more changes and transformations are requested and needed to achieve gender equality in the festivals in Edinburgh.

A discussion around the negative experiences that women have had or witnessed while working in the Edinburgh festivals will be presented in section 9.4.

9.4 Negative experiences as a woman in the festival industry

One of the questions asked during the interviews was about negative experiences the participants felt comfortable in sharing that they lived first-hand or witnessed. This aligns with the fourth objective of this study which is: *“Evaluating what issues women in Edinburgh’s festival sector face in achieving leadership positions in comparison with the literature”*.

According to the TA employed to analyse the data, three main themes emerged. The first was in relation to families, women, and festivals and how deciding to become a mother has an impact on their career. Secondly, participants indicated how the working opportunities for women and men are different in many aspects. Third, several gender inequalities were outlined by the participants. The opportunity to talk to women with different experiences and roles at the festivals allowed a greater understanding of the various challenges in the different job positions.

9.4.1 Being a mother in the festival industry can be challenging

“You either sacrifice your creativity and work for a company that pays well, so that you can save. Or you sacrifice saving. You sacrifice a family. You sacrifice affording to go abroad.”
(Francesca)

The creative and festival sectors do not pay well, the salaries are low and the opportunities to make a career and go up the ladder are not many, since there are few jobs (Stoughton, 2022). What *Francesca* comments above was underlined by other participants, the difficulty in keeping your full-time role at the festivals, not being able to spend time with your children during August, the month where many festivals take place, and spend most of their earnings for childcare, which is very expensive.

Motherhood, discussed in the literature review in section 3.4.2, has been attributed as an obstacle that cause under-employment or unequal representation in the tourism, hospitality, and event industries (e.g.: Dent, 2020; Ma et al., 2022). There are two interesting elements to consider here. From one side, being a mother has made women working in the events realise that society does not support working mothers, as *Anna* states.

“I before I had a child, I was kind of under the impression that I was really supportive of women who had children and that it was more like men. Maybe men weren't always. But I don't think it's not as binary as that. (...) So having had a child has like opened my eyes to a lot of cultural inequality, and I think that the fact there is no free childcare until your child is 3. Like what are you supposed to do with your child until you turn 3? (...) I know people who have gone to work purely so that they can pay the nursery fees, so they can stay on their career ladder. And it really made me think about, like, what is the career ladder and do I really want to like, what what is this endless progression where you work harder and harder like why do I want that?” (Anna)

On the other side, to avoid a break in the career and having the possibility to reach higher roles, women in the creative industries, according to some participants, tend to have children later, when they have secured themselves a more senior role. Maternity and motherhood can create gaps in women's career (Grandey et al., 2020; Ma et al., 2021), and caused the maternal wall, discussed in Chapter 3. This refers to all those forms of discriminations and biases against pregnant women and mothers (Williams, 2004; Delacruz & Speer, 2023).

“It's been an interesting one, observing a, you know, a few of my colleagues and peers over the years, I think most of my friends on a personal level don't work in the creative industries and they all start having kids around kind of 28/30. Most of my friends in the creative industries waited until about 33/35 to start having kids, and I think that's partly because they want to be at a level of their career where taking a break doesn't send them back, where they've got some sort of stability to come back to a job and also when they come back to the job, they might have the flexibility to say, “well, look, can I be part time or can I do flexible working” or those types of things.

I spend all my time with people who don't have kids. But I go into other rooms and I'm like, “oh God, I'm the only one not

holding a baby". So it's it's an interesting one that I think you definitely see it having an impact about people not wanting to take time off." (Olivia)

A subtheme of the challenges of being a mother and working in the festival industry is how motherhood might affect women careers. This will be explored in the following section.

9.4.1.1 Being a mother and working in the festivals impact your work and career

In section 3.4.2, it was discussed how women returning to work after having a baby face several challenges, because the workplace and the professional model of careers is built based on the man as a model. A person with no caring responsibilities, who can work long hours, devoted to the career (Webber & Williams, 2008). Moreover, stereotypically, women are expected to dedicate themselves to their children (Heilman & Okimoto, 2008), as *Michelle* says: *"That's often the criticism of women coming back to work because they're all "she just had a baby". And there's all these stupid things that people say."*

Motherhood also affects how women see themselves as well, and their confidence level:

"What I didn't expect to affect my confidence is motherhood. And it's strange because I never thought I'd be one of those women who would give birth and all of a sudden they're struggling to go back to work and they feel insecure and they'll lose their confidence. All like, how can you possibly lose it? You know, it's based on your skills or your achievements so far on your experience. You can't just lose it. I felt it both times with my girls. I think it's something hormonal. I think it should be. It should be more talked about maybe because I just felt like I can't do this. And how did they do this? And you know, they say, baby brain, it does affect your brain because all your energy, everything goes into making baby and then producing milk or whatever. It just brain is not functioning the way you used to. And you just stop trusting yourself and you start doubting everything you do because you are. You realise you know, working full capacity, your brain is not working as you used to. And it's like it's, you know, it's just like a slippery slope and then but. What else? I can't trust myself with, you know, you don't want to let people down. You don't want to. You just like. Umm, but you know, and you, you get over it." (Emma)

Furthermore, work schedule is also not thought for families, with office hours clashing with kids' nursery and schools' pick-ups. Working mothers might have to look for part-time roles, missing out on working opportunities and promotions to be able to cope with childcare responsibilities (Soumya & Deepti Dabas Hazarika, 2021). This can be seen in the experience of some participants who had to turn job offers down or are aware that certain roles are not suitable for mother of young children [Appendix 14-A-9-4.1.1]:

"If you're a festival programmer, the way that festival program works at the moment is a sort of like prestigious position. It's generally full-term role. It generally requires lots of travel, lots of antisocial working hours. That's not gonna work if you are running a family running a household." (Laura)

The traditional division of length of leave between mother and father reinforces the gendered roles, the expectations of the woman to be a natural caregiver (Mitchell, 2022). As Anna says: *"The UK's position on maternity leave then sets you up for childcare to be the women's job."*

Flexibility is, as previously discussed, something sought by mothers returning to work, and while this is more possible after Covid-19, it is not always feasible, accepted for all job roles, or even understood by the manager:

"My boss was saying (...) maybe you want to put your daughter into nurseries soon. And I was like, well, that's so that I can work harder. That is not the reason why I'm gonna make a decision about her life is not what makes the organisations like easier." (Anna)

Women, then, might look for a lower-paid job, which suits the busy schedule among work, housework, and childcare (Cukrowska-Torzewska & Matysiak, 2020), as Laura comments [Appendix 14-B-9.4.1.1]: *"The fact that women have years gaps that they come back into the workplace, that they have caring responsibilities, so they tend to want part time roles."*

The difficulty for some mothers to work in festivals is that some of them take place over the summer when there are also school holidays. You need to have either a husband or family members who can take time off while you work most hours every day at the festivals: *“The worst bit is over the festival. And I mean, I just didn't see my kids at all.”* (Liz)

It is challenging for mothers not to see their children. *Isabella* recalled her experience of working for a festival abroad, and she shared a photo of herself looking sad after a video call with her child who was asking her to go back home.

Women might also decide not to take the job and leave the industry, as *Christine* says [Appendix 14-C-9.4.1.1]: *“When I had my first child, I, you know, I had to pull away from events because I couldn't work evenings and weekends.”*

Women taking part in this study are aware of the issues, and those who hold senior and leadership roles are working towards making a change or contributing to improve the situation for future mothers:

“The one thing I would say is, as I said before about, you know, the one thing we do need to look at is the working environment particularly in August and you know and how we can support women at particular points in their lives where they can just you, they can't be out every night at a show or, you know, whatever that we expect them to do and we need to find ways to support them in that. That's the thing that's our biggest challenge. (...) So we're gonna have to work really hard to make sure that we can support that because obviously, you know, we fully recognise women, you know when they've got young children have just got they've got as much to give, you know, as as anyone else, and we need to if we bring in them and we need to support them so they can actually contribute without feeling like they're stitched in too many different directions.” (Kate)

Another subtheme which is interesting and crucial to consider in relation to women and motherhood is the situation of freelancers. This deserves a specific study and the data

collected on this matter in this study is limited. However, it is important to acknowledge the experience of those mothers working as freelancers in festivals.

9.4.1.2 The challenges of freelancer women in the festival sector

“So that’s what sort of like what the pandemic’s been. It’s been harder to get back in, industries really stopped starting, and so that’s the point, that being a freelancer’s worked out really badly for me.” (Reese)

As Reese comments, freelancers in the creative industry were highly impacted by the spreading of Covid-19, not only in terms of losing jobs and business opportunities, but also because many of them were not able to access meaningful government support (Patrick & Elsdon, 2020):

“I’m still considering how it how it took place somewhere to to work, to adjust industry was massively knocked down, massively knocked down and we’ve we’ve been quite lucky in Scotland to receive a lot of support from the government of freelancers that could demonstrate to be freelances had some support. I was partly freelance, partly employed so I received maybe less support than other people, but I was still able to, you know, kind of find a way around it. (Caroline)

As presented in section 3.4.2.2, many freelancers are women, and they might choose this form of employment to have more flexibility and be able to look after their children (Lombard, 2001). What is of particular interest for this study is the situation for women freelancers and families. The struggles of being considered the main person responsible for the childcare is a common issue with mothers who have part- and full-time roles, experiencing the double burden (Gimenez-Nadal et al., 2012; Yildirim & Eslen-Ziya, 2021), as seen in section 9.3.5. For a freelancer mother it is difficult to even be able to find jobs, coming back after the maternity leave:

“Comedy companies just haven’t asked me to work again because it, I guess they view it as too complicated (n.d.: that she has a child). (...) I've got some good, steady jobs. And I foolishly thought these steady jobs that I like repeat jobs that I had, would come back. And none of them wanted to hire a mother with the child after.” (Reese)

Reese, then, decided to go back to work earlier than planned, to take advantage of a job opportunity, but she found herself in a difficult position, since her needs as a -mother were not taken properly into consideration:

*“The first job I had when I came back after being pregnant, I was told don't worry, you'll be able to breastfeed your baby to bed. Cool. I don't know what time she thinks babies go to bed, but it's not 11:30 at night and that's what time I was getting home from this job. And I was like heartbroken cause they asked me to come back from being offered my maternity leave early to do that and I was just like, I don't. I, I don't know what to do here. Like I'm literally leaking because I need to breastfeed my kid and you've promised me that I would get to do that and I'm in the middle of ***** nowhere and don't drive so can't. And literally at your behest to get home.” (Reese)*

While the data collected for this study is not enough to provide a comprehensive overview of the situation of women working as freelancers in Edinburgh festivals, some of the challenges they might experience emerged through the words of the women freelancers interviewed. These are the difficulties in getting jobs knowing they are caring for a child and might not be able to accept evening and late shifts, as well as a lack of specific support for freelancer mothers.

9.4.2 Men are still favoured in the festival sector

“I think there is a tendency to go for what you know. And if men are still leading the industries, you know, if men are still the artistic directors of the majority of theatres across the UK, if they're the artistic directors of the majority of festivals in the UK. You choose what you know and you know men. We're perpetuating this constant Cookie Cutter type scenario” (Francesca)

What *Francesca* commented above refers to the second theme, which considered the several ways men are favoured in the festival industry, and how they are often chosen over women. There is not only one reason why this happens, and participants commented on this issue, generating different and interesting subthemes that emerged from the data analysis. Firstly, the sub-theme of the Gender Pay Gap in the industry was discussed. This is strongly connected to the second subtheme, which examined how men get more promotions and career opportunities than women. This, then, leads to the third and final subtheme which was about the attitude of women of feeling guilty to work on their career. These elements are of particular importance considering how participants have previously mentioned that the society is patriarchal and toxic. In such societies women are seen as the primary care givers, and men are therefore favoured.

9.4.2.1 Gender Pay Gap

The first way men are favoured is in the pay, which is generally higher than the one for women. While this has not been highlighted by many in the data collection, as some of the women who took part in the interview said they were not aware, the data confirmed that there is a Gender Pay Gap. According to a study on the Edinburgh Festival Fringe, results demonstrated that men are earning an average of 60% more than women, even though women are dominating most sectors of the Fringe (Power Play, 2019). Moreover, after the age of 40, the gender pay gap increases significantly, as women might take maternity leave and move to part-time roles because of childcare. This leads women to miss work opportunities, and career advancements, while men can work on their career, move to higher positions and get promotions (UK Women's Budget Group, 2021). Interestingly, the gender pay gap for part-time workers is lower, and this can be explained by the fact that more women have part-time roles (Office for National Statistics, 2022), as analysed in section 9.4.2.1. The reasons why women might take part-time roles more often than men in the festival sector, is to accommodate children and elderly caring responsibilities (Gwal, 2016; Gow & Middlemiss, 2011; Dias et al., 2020).

Some women working in the Edinburgh festivals have experienced the gender pay gap, as *Olivia* recounts:

“I think, yeah, the competitive nature of the arts is also really interesting. One, because there aren't a lot of jobs. And I think one of the things that I've been really aware of actually is rates of pay for women, I am aware of times when men have come into roles that's kind of at a similar level as somebody else in the organisation and they get paid more automatically and it always becomes, I think oftentimes women are left in quite a, it becomes quite personal having to talk about money rather than it being like just about parity. It becomes about well, “look, I've been here for four years and I've done all this” rather than “I'm doing the same job. I need to be paid the same” and I think that is something that so the competitiveness within an organisation as well, when you see pay skills changing but also recognizing there aren't many jobs out there.” (Olivia)

One of the reasons of the inequalities in the workplace and therefore the gender pay gap is explained by the sexual division of labour and the belief that women are not seen as suitable for certain roles (Hartman & Barber, 2020). Milner et al. (2019) also discuss hidden biases when it comes to job promotions, together with other invisible exclusionary processes, which have an impact in the Gender Pay Gap. How these affect women in the festival industry in Edinburgh is presented as the second subtheme in the following section.

9.4.2.2 Men get more career opportunities

In section 9.2.1, it was discussed the high presence of women working in festivals. However, men hold most senior and Festivals Boards Member positions, as *Juliet* underlines [Appendix 14-9.4.2.2]: *“And so there are particular elements or strands of our sector that I still find unbelievably male dominated.” (Juliet)*

In the literature review, it was discussed how men are usually given more job opportunities, than women (Dias et al., 2020). This seems to happen also in Edinburgh festivals, as *Francesca* says: *“There's also less for us to pick because there's less men and they get the opportunities first.” (Francesca)*

One of the reasons, suggested by participants as well, to understand why this happens is childcare, which causes women to struggle to get promotions as they have breaks in their career or go back to work with part-time roles, as discussed in section 9.4.1. In the report by Creative Scotland (2017), women were more likely to work part time, and be the primary carers of children, with 44% respondents commenting that their gender was a barrier to their career progression.

“(Asked why more men are at director level): I think it is probably to do with people going on maternity leave. I know women who have left the industry because they just weren’t earning enough money, similarly with men. And I think that often again we support men in going for jobs that are kind of the next step. I think there’s a language within how we’ve talked about career development with men that is very much about attainment and getting to the top level. Whereas I think with women it’s often much more about like are you happy with where you’re at rather than do you want an X thing? Umm, so I think that can kind of like maybe change perceptions.” (Olivia)

In the following section, the third subtheme, the attitude of women feeling guilty towards working on their career will be discussed.

9.4.2.3 Women and the attitude of feeling guilty to work on their career

As discussed in the literature review, section 5.6.4.1, women are usually not propense to discuss and negotiate raises, promotions, and salaries compared to men. Women are socialised not to be too pushy (Artz et al., 2018), as they fear to be considered unlikable (Amanatullah & Tinsely, 2013). As *Laura* states [Appendix 14-A-9.4.2.3]:

“So there's no notion of who takes up space, who's allowed to take up space, who has been trained to take up space, to ask for more. And I think all of those things come into play. (...) We were trained to be administrators, to be caretakers, the ones behind the scenes fixing it”
(Laura)

This idea that women undervalue themselves is interesting, and it can be seen in the photo shared by *Paula*, where she looks exhausted. When the picture was taken, she was not only running three events in a row, but also cleaning tables and setting up the space for the next event. On this she comments: *“You never see any men, regardless of their level doing that. It always tends to be people like me who know things need to be done and sometimes don’t delegate as well as they could.”*

As *Paula* adds, women do a job because they are *passionate*, while men think differently and consider the salary as well:

“I get the impression that a woman would go for a job because of, for example, she's passionate about the arts or wants to make a difference to work with, the charity wants to be involved and maybe the salary is not the top thing on her mind and maybe a man is feels differently, but that might be a big generalization, but and that might come into play a little bit.” (Paula)

Women suffer from backlash reactions when their behaviour is seen as too masculine, for example agentic, or self-promotional (Amanatullah & Tinsely, 2013). Women are negatively judged when working on their career, as they should focus on their family and children (Meeussen et al., 2022; Wood & Eagly, 2012). The feeling of being selfish and at the same guilty that *Lucia* discusses here might not be the same feeling men have while working on their career:

“I think you have to be quite driven and also you maybe have to be a bit selfish at times. You know lots of times I had to go away and you know, leave my kids and not be there for their birthday or something because I had to do something that was going to help my career. So it is a massive balancing act and constantly feeling guilty, but I'm sure men don't feel.” (Lucia)

It is interesting to consider the lack of willingness or ability of women to negotiate, work on their career, and ask for higher wage in the context of the Edinburgh festivals. This was already mentioned in section 9.2.2, where one of the participants said that perhaps the

reasons why there are so many women working in the sector is the low salaries. This, together with the need of part-time jobs, breaks in career because of the care of the children and the elderly can be seen as some of the challenges that women encounter in achieving leadership roles and why they put their career on hold (van Osch & Schavelling, 2020). This is what *Nicky* comments [Appendix 14-B-9.4.2.3]:

“And I think like in terms of women as a whole, I just think that there needs to be kind of a bit of a, there needs to be a look at the sector as a whole in terms of like resource within the sector because actually I do think part of the reason that the arts is underfunded and badly paid probably does come down to the fact that there's a lot of women and we have we do accept less and actually we need to stop doing that and be a bit more forthright about what we deserve in terms of what we're doing” (Nicky)

The situation, according to *Victoria*, will change. There are many women in the festival industry and some of those women are taking advantage of working opportunities, that benefit their career and will give them the experience they need to get to senior roles:

“(why is there a gap between women and men on top): I think the gaps closing I think the challenge, and I do think it is changing, but I think the challenge is has been and will be for a little while is that when you go looking for a chair, for example, of an organisation that has the sort of history and responsibility that ours does or you know one of the national agencies and you're looking for certain level of work experience and you're looking for sort of level of kudos and weight and and sort of authority. And the reality is you know, the world of work has changed dramatically in the last 30 years. So there's a there's an ongoing generational shift where you know there then we'll continue the women women like me, who are what? Nearly 40 in 20-30 years time will be those sort of older women on boards who are of supporting and helping” (Victoria)

In the following section, the third theme explores other challenges women face in the festival sector. In particular, the focus will be on the gender inequalities that take place, at various level, in the Edinburgh festivals.

9.4.3 Gender inequalities

Gender equality, as discussed in section 5.6.2 and 5.6.3, refers to those social, legal, and cultural situations where gender and/or sex cause different rights and dignity for women and men. This can take place by an unequal access and employment of rights, as well as the assumption of stereotyped cultural and social roles (EIGE, 2023a). Gender inequalities can take different forms: gender-based discriminations and violence; gender stereotypes; sexual harassment, to name a few.

While there is a consensus that the situation of women has improved regarding gender equality in the Edinburgh festivals sector, there are still some challenging situations, as *Mary* says: *“I think it's much better, but I still think there's challenges around gender equality”*.

The theme of gender inequalities according to the TA conducted for this study has brought to attention some important subthemes. Firstly, age and appearance biases towards women is discussed. Secondly, the concept of dismissing, mansplaining, and patronising, and how it happens in the Edinburgh Festivals is presented. Thirdly, some women talked about their experiences of sexual harassment. Finally, some participants underlined how the glass ceiling and tokenism are present in the festival sector, and the consequences they have on them.

9.4.3.1 Gender ageism and lookism towards women

Gendered ageism refers to those negative actions, intentional or not, based on the intersection between gender and age (Jyrkinen, 2014). As presented in section 5.6.3, the forms of discriminations are different depending on the age (Granlesse & Sayer, 2006). Women might experience younger age as a challenge in pursuing their career or might face more challenges compares to their male co-workers, such as being undermined (Jyrkinen & McKie, 2012), as *Margaret* recalls her experience:

“I think what's a bit harder is when you are you it's quite, quite jumping on somebody to ask them, ask them a difficult question. And I had a couple of strange looks of like ah this small blonde woman is speaking out to me and I'm like hello. And because I also know, like, [REDACTED] I'm relatively young. I know that, like, that's a weird thing sometimes is to have a serious arts conversation with somebody who may predetermine to not be able to do that.” (Margaret)

Gendered ageism can also take place when women are older or considered to be older for certain roles. This is the experience of *Caroline*, who mentions that she struggles to get jobs as she is “not a young woman”, and that “younger people with a more specific degree would have more opportunities than people that have a huge experience, but maybe are in the mother age.”

Gendered ageism also impacts women who are leaders. As *Lucrezia* says [Appendix 14-A-9.4.3.1]:

*“I was trying to make a guess and I was like. They're about three years in our life where we're suitable because for the most of it, we're too young to be a leader. And then we're too old very quickly, women are too old, whereas men are permitted to lead. like about three years we get, we get about three years where people will tolerate us as an arts leader”
(Lucrezia)*

This can be frustrating for women who work in the company, who have the knowledge and the capacity to contribute well, and to give opinions and ideas, but, because of their age, they are not taken into consideration, as *Maddie* tells:

“I mean, for me, it's a bit of a funny thing because sometimes I think, does it also come down to my age as well? Because obviously I do have you know, less experience kind of than the other ones in terms of of how long I've been in the industry. But again, I mean time is a funny thing. You know, we could spend ten years doing something, not doing it very well, or you can spend two years doing something and doing it well. Not necessarily that I'm saying, oh, you know, I've been doing this for two years and I'm so good, three years...But you know what I mean? Like, sometimes it's You do see the people kind of give more weight and will

listen to someone who's been around for for a longer in terms of time, even if their suggestion is not necessarily the most optimal in that situation, you know.” (Maddie)

Lookism is the discrimination based on the physical attractiveness (Spiegel, 2023). In the situation between men and women, as men usually have more power of women, the action of demeaning another person for their physical appearance is a way of putting women in an inferior status (Mason, 2021). This is the experience of *Laura*, who says [Appendix 14-B-9.4.3.1]:

“I don't know if this is to do with being a woman, but I'm quite. I'm quite small. I'm quite softly spoken, And especially when I first started working in my role, I didn't really understand the whole context (...). I had quite a lot of negative interactions with people and I don't know that I would have had the same interactions if I'd been a man. Because I'm like a small, softly spoken woman, I think that people maybe felt more comfortable being a bit aggressive about it” (Laura)

This judgemental behaviour of considering a woman, because of her young age, or appearance, or simply because as a woman she is considered not competent enough, is strictly linked to another discrimination, which is when a man in a business context will dismiss the woman to only talk to the other men, by default of higher importance. This, together with mansplaining and patronising, will be analysed in the following section.

9.4.3.2 Dismissing, mansplaining, and patronising: behaviours of men towards women

“My partner, he's 6 foot four and I'm 5 foot four and we walk into a room and he a lot of men will want to speak to him first, which is an ongoing problem and something I do not enjoy that is is what it is. You know, shopping centre managers and like all these different spaces and almost, you know, 90% of the time they spoke to spoke to XX first they like or they spoke to XXX and I just interject. It is what made you felt like. So there's definitely difficulties there I think in the festival scenario I think where I come across it in that same way is when I am speaking to people face to face.” (Margaret)

Margaret shares her experience of going with her partner to discuss their artwork with men business managers, who did not even take her into consideration, talking only to her partner, a man. As section 5.6.3 discussed, women, in the workplace, are dismissed or downgraded, by being talked over, ignored, and invalidated by men (Bridges, 2017). And this also happens with women working in the festival organisations, when a meeting takes place, the woman is overlooked, as not considered to be in charge of the meeting. *Victoria* remembers how this took place early in her career [Appendix 14-A-9.4.3.2]:

"You know the I guess the sort of interactions when I started in quite a senior position, you know nearly a decade ago when I was only [redacted] (...) I remember being very early on in meetings and you know, I'm an operational person, I'm a helpful person. (...) And I remember making myself a cup of tea in, in a meeting in which there were other festival directors that I haven't met yet. And, you know, one of them assuming that I'm some, I'm there to take the minutes on there in some sort of secretarial capacity and at the time, quite enjoying the fact that I knew what they didn't. So it's like, yeah, sure. Make your cup of tea, be quite helpful and then watching them just be mortified when we introduce ourselves" (Victoria)

"We've all been well, you may not have been, but there's been through that stage where You get a bit of mansplaining, which you wouldn't get from a female." (Helena)

Helena talks about *mansplaining* which is when men explain facts to women that they know already, taking for granted that women do not know them (Dular, 2021). Another behaviour men have, which is linked to mansplaining, is patronizing manners, as *Christine* discusses [Appendix 14-B-9.4.3.2]:

"(talking about feedback received as a woman): Not more negative, but I'm I more patronizing, I would say like: well done. You did a good job. Like like we almost like: We didn't think you were going to do it. And you did." (Christine)

Women are stereotypically perceived as incompetent, which leads to benevolent sexism, characterised by condescending and paternalistic, although kind, behaviours (Gervais &

Vescio, 2012). This is what *Christine* describes: a *kind* condescending behaviour from a man who is surprised for a job well done because not expected from a woman.

Hostile sexism is, on the other side, characterised by hostility, antagonistic and disrespectful behaviours, like aggression towards and competition with women (Gervais & Vescio, 2012). Sexual harassments, a consequence of hostile sexism, is the third sub-theme, analysed in the following section in relation to the festival industry in Edinburgh.

9.4.3.3 Sexual harassments

“Often you work late at night and you are closing up buildings late at night and you know, you generally dressed quite well because you know you have to be part of the night. So that kind of can make you feel that can make you quite vulnerable late at night outside buildings when there's lots of drunk people around. I've had many inappropriate situations where men have thought that they can overstep the mark with me. They can border some couple of times bordering on harassment. Well, definitely harassment, but bordering on assault. (...) The personal security around event staff isn't always what it should be. There's not a good enough sense of security around the people doing the job. Generally women tend to look out for each other. So whenever I've worked on events where there's been women, it's always been making sure when are you getting home, who's taking you home.”
(Christine)

Christine shares her experience of working late night shifts, which are very common in the festival industry with evening events [Appendix 14-A-9.4.3.3]. Women do not feel safe, and so they support each other making sure women colleagues go home safe. This fear of being sexually attacked, both verbally and physically, is a form of sexual harassment. As discussed in the literature review, sexual harassment is used to refer to experiences of emotional and physical abuse that women face at work (Grosser & Taylor, 2022). It is a crucial expression of gender inequalities, and it is a form of sex discrimination (MacKinnon, 1979).

Sexual harassments do not only happen at night, when it is dark and less crowded, but they can also take place at the working place, both with your managers and colleagues, and with the general public, as *Charlotte* recalls [Appendix 14-B-9.4.3.3]:

“The culture there was a bit difficult and then I worked there with a pal who was in a different venue but under the same organisation and she ended up having really lewd comments made by the person in charge of the whole company to her. Just like and she's like ohh not only to her. Like someone made like an anal sex joke to her. And she was like again, this was the boss of the company and then the same guy also made a comment to someone who was like, I think, 17, about how like don't mention you were in the shower. You'll give creepy old men thoughts and it's just like, these are such red flags.” (Charlotte)

Charlotte also discusses her experience during the summer festivals, where many young women take temporary jobs at the venues [Appendix 14-C-9.4.3.3]:

“It feels like a way in and it is cause I did it like it works as a like you do this terrible labor, then you can come back as long as you do a fine job. So like it's a good way of determining consistent money for August is just you have to put up with quite a lot. And then also the nature of the festival being everyone's very drunk, everyone's very loud. There's people from everywhere. Like is also quite a, like I think even if you just kind of the people working alongside you are the performers like I think another third strand that people can come at you with is the general public. Like just the volume of them. If you're in any front facing roles, a young person even more so as a young woman, you can also, it's just very easy to be subject to like a layer of sexism, a layer of harassment, like and often there's no way out, unless you have managers or people who are overseeing you, who you're who are very like on it, which a lot of them aren't cause everyone's overworked, underpaid, super stressed, been up since partied until 5:00 AM, been up since 8 and is trying to like these people are not responsible for your safety in many ways and often just got like 5 jobs on it once themselves and can't aren't gonna be able to do it properly, aren't trained well, don't have the capacity in the moment, don't know what to do.” (Charlotte)

From the experience shared by a participant, she was sexually assaulted at the summer festivals, and in her opinion, this is not unusual. What emerges from her experience, as a freelancer, is that *“there's no support around that. (...) I have phoned up friends for supports*

and they have said (...) just start drinking every night. And that's the direction that you're given. Just drink your way through it."

The lack of support and control on what happens at the summer festivals for those workers with a temporary role, especially working for venues, emerged from the experience of some other participants, like *Charlotte* as previously discussed. While those women working in the festival organisations with a full- and- part time roles are aware of the policies in place, they have system to make complaints, also anonymously, this is not the same for women working as freelancers and temporary jobs, for them there is not a support system, a person to go and ask for help, especially when it is the manager who has sexually harassed you or a colleague. This is not to say that sexual harassments are not experienced by women working in festivals organisations or that it would be easier for them to make a complaint or discuss the matters. However, there is less research data, as discussed in section 3.4.2.2, about freelancers, and the lack of support put women in difficult and challenging situations. As *Reese* comments:

"There's nobody to turn to. There is no support. Because one, if you're just the technician on a show, you don't have any of the information for the venues, right? So like you've maybe been in touch with them about technical aspects and you're the person that's in for today, but you've not been sent in the venue information from the producers, like this is the local doctors, this is where the area is. If you need any counselling support we can contact you then. Because also there is no counselling information on those forms. I think that's really careless of venues, but I mean venues can only do and the XX can only do what they can do. You know they don't have contact details for everybody. But I think it would be more of a thing that, like, business cards are made. And so that when you come into the day, everybody who comes into the venue with your pass gets a wee business card that says, here, here's some hotlines for numbers. This is a doctor. This is mental health support. I mean, there's a lot of it if you go to the toilets because there's all the uses support numbers, right? (..) And you're just like, that's really great, but they're for students and we're here and it's not student time. You need to not just be plastered in posters of shows on these walls. You need be providing access so that people come and know that there's some place else, that it gets support because there isn't, and I'm probably just really biased about that because I really think a lot of mental health and but. Yeah, I just don't. I don't think there's enough there. There's not enough clarity and it only gets to certain people like it goes to the producer, maybe the head technician, and that doesn't get dissipated to the performers."

(Reese)

9.4.3.4 Token Theory and Glass Ceiling

The fourth subtheme takes into consideration Token Theory and Glass Ceiling. The literature review of this study, in Chapter 3, discussed four different issues women might encounter when achieving or trying to achieve leadership roles: Glass Cliff Phenomenon, Queen Bee Phenomenon, Role Congruity Theory, and Token Theory. After analysing the data collected for this study, it emerged that in the Edinburgh Festivals, according to the participants' experiences, there is evidence of Tokenism, Glass Ceiling, of which the Glass Cliff Phenomenon belongs to, Role Congruity Theory, and the Queen Bee Phenomenon.

Token Theory, which was discussed for the first time by Kanter (1997), is used to describe people, a minority, in the case of this study, women, who are appointed or hired because of their difference from other members, as *token* (Cook & Glass, 2018; Zimmer, 1988). *Tokens* are used to underline how that organisation does not discriminate that group and is actively working towards the discrimination. This concept was already presented in section 9.3.2, when discussing EDI in the Edinburgh festivals, some participants highlighted how putting one woman working for the EDI of the organisation is not enough if there is not a real cultural and social change within that organisation. *Juliet* comments on this:

“Actually I still think that's an area where women are completely underrepresented and the same even in technical skills like cinematography (...). It is still tokenistic. I think as soon as you go into one of those areas of the creative industries that's not traditionally where women are and then women are still having to fight the fight. So I think in some areas it's got easier and got better. And there's another areas I think women are still very, very much having to fight the fight and and do things do still. There's still a lot of firsts.” (Juliet)

Glass Ceiling is a term which is used to discuss the underrepresentation of women in the workplace (Yaghi, 2018a), a metaphor firstly introduced in 1986, to indicate the invisible barriers that hinder women's career (Harris & White, 2018). Some of those barriers have been indicated and discussed here in section 9.4, and in Chapter 3 and Chapter 5 of the literature review. Based on the experience of the participants, these are: the gender pay gap, the maternal wall, gender inequalities, to name a few. The literature review discussed the Glass

Cliff Phenomenon, which takes place when the leadership position is given to a woman during a time of crises (Glass & Cook, 2016; Kulich et al., 2015). This was considered for this study given the situation of the global pandemic of Covid-19, and the crisis it brought to the events industry (Patrick & Elsdon, 2020). However, participants of this study did not mention this. Lucia, instead, says [Appendix 14- 9.4.3.4]: *“I have definitely experienced that sort of glass ceiling thing.”* (Lucia)

Queen Bee Phenomenon and Role Congruity Theory will be discussed in section 9.5.4.1 and 9.5.5.1, in relation to leadership in festivals.

9.5 To understand what the skills of festival leadership are in comparison to existing literature on the subject.

The last research objective looks at leadership in festivals, specifically, *“to understand what the skills of festival leadership in comparison to existing literature on the subject are”*.

There are various themes that emerged from the data analysis. The first theme explored festival leadership according to Abson’s (2017) study. Then, festival leadership as a collective leadership style is analysed. Next, the third theme focused on the skills a festival leader should have. Theme fourth discussed women festival leaders and women leadership. Finally, the difficulties women leaders experienced in Edinburgh festivals were taken into consideration.

9.5.1 Festival Leadership based on Abson’s (2017) study

Participants were asked to give their opinions on Abson’s (2017) study on event leadership. The author conducted qualitative research with managers working in the business events industry, with the aim to understand the key leadership practices. The conclusion of Abson’s (2017) paper results in six skills: engaging communication, strategic perspectives, critical analysis and judgment, resource management, emotional resilience, and interpersonal

sensitivity. Women taking part in the study were asked for their opinions on these skills, with the goal to see if these could also be applied in the context of festivals.

Overall, they all agreed with the skills, stating that they are essential in a festival leader, as Francesca states [Appendix 14-A-9.5.1]: *“I would say all these six definitely has. Yeah, would definitely be attributed to a leader in a festival as well.”*

Asked if they think it is easy to develop these skills, or if they can see them in leaders working in the festivals, participants commented that while it is hard to gain all of these skills, they believe a leader should have developed them to be able to work in their role. Rose on this says [Appendix 14-B-9.5.1]:

“And I think by the point you're at where I am in a in a career like this stuff should be natural. And it should come naturally. I mean, it's hard sometimes to have emotional resilience when you're super stressed, but like, you just have to maybe put things into boxes while you deal with them. But I think everything else, engaging communication, being strategic and you know, I think all of this should just be, it's not really about applying it. It's just like being it, if that makes sense.” (Rose)

Nicky makes an interesting comment, worth noticing. She states that if she was a man, she'd have probably answered to the question on whether she has those skills with an affirmative and clear yes. Nicky's observation aligns with what has been discussed in section 9.3.1.1, the impostor syndrome, which is how women, sometimes, do not believe to have the knowledge, skills, and expertise to be considered a good leader:

“Yes, I think so. It's hard, isn't it? Cause I'm like, I don't wanna like, without wanting to. This is the thing. I bet if you had a man here, he'd be like, yeah, absolutely. Got all of them. Where I'm like, I think I do. And yeah, yeah. Yeah, no, I think I like, I would like to think I have most of them. I mean, I think emotional resilience is always a challenge for me, I think because I'm like someone who I am, I guess it's and it's guess it's why I'm in the kind of area of the arts I have in terms of that kind of community side but I'm a helper. I want to help

people and I sometimes do that slightly to the detriment of my own, like sort of, you know emotional or mental health. And so I think that emotional resilience one is actually important, something that I personally am kind of like working on and trying to build.”
(Nicky)

In the following sections, each of the six key leadership practices will be individually analysed as sub-themes, according to what the participants have commented.

9.5.1.1 Engaging communication

In Abson’s (2017) paper, engaging communication was the most prominent dimension. Communication is meant to be effective with staff, stakeholder, customer, suppliers as well as clients (Abson, 2017; Goldblatt, 2011). This is what also emerged from the comments made by the participants, who agreed to be the number one priority for festival leadership, as *Lucia* states:

“I think communication is key. I think that's one of the key things has been able to communicate at every level, you know, down from the volunteers to your funders, your sponsors, know there's they're ability to communicate is key.” (Lucia)

It is not that easy, however, and as *Olivia* comments, it is rather *complex* to be able to have good communication skills:

“I mean, I think that's one of the, I think engaging communication when you're leader is incredibly complex Because you're expected to be able to talk to everybody and you're expected to be able to be clear with everyone, which sometimes just isn't possible within the timelines and the structures you're working in.” (Olivia)

This is especially in festivals, for two reasons. Firstly, as *Jessica* and *Kate* comments, it is because the communication style is different from the way it is done in corporate organisations [Appendix 14-9.5.1.1]:

“I think the engaging communication is interesting because I would say I've learned a lot about that from being at the festival because, you know, in the corporate world that has probably moved a bit, but that's very much you send people an e-mail and you tell this is what we're doing and you expect that they've read the e-mail or you know, or you have an Intranet and you put things on it. Whereas we talk a lot about, so even like the organisation chart, we've got like a graphic designer who designed that.” (Kate)

The other reason is connected to the people working in festivals, who are usually *artistic* as *Kate* states, meaning that the way communication is done, needs to be different to adjust to the different expectations:

“That it's something because a lot of the people who work in festivals are quite artistic, I think it's very important to think carefully about the communication, you know, for example, our financial statements I've got, head of the finance that I've worked with before and she's worked in lots of different places, and she is helping putting the financial statements together. We get all these are graphic designer for all the photos in and she's like, “I've never seen financial statements are so engaging. They're usually quite dry.” So I think there's definitely a lot more emphasis on how we communicate between each other and also externally, you know, it's very important to the festival, you know, we've got our own font that we use, you know and our branding really important etcetera and I think you know obviously branding is important in any industry, but it feels like because there are so many artistic people, it's more important. And I think that that's probably a good thing. And I'm having to train and just to that because I'm used to just sending emails to people or speaking to them but I realised that maybe I'm like I should get marketing kind of look at some of the communications just so that they land because of creative people don't take in information in the same way so you know there is an element of that as to how to get things across.”
(Kate)

9.5.1.2 Strategic perspective

Strategic perspective was the second dimension listed as important in Abson's (2017) paper. This means to be able to understand and consider the wider issues, looking at opportunities and threats, balancing short- and long-term goals. They are also considered to be key in festival organisations, as *Paula* comments [Appendix 14-9.5.1.2]:

“I think in leadership, definitely strategic perspectives is a big one and it may be depends on the size of the festival. But something as big as XX or XX festival are linked in with cultural strategy in government and they are institutions in the kind of have a purpose to keep going and a lot of people rely on them to keep going and need them to grow. And so that is absolutely required.” (Paula)

Keeping in mind that long-term goals can be a struggle for festival organisations, due to the nature of the festival cycle, and lack of time to think longer term, Nicky points out:

“Definitely the kind of strategic perspectives can sometimes be missing a wee bit and not in every organisation, but I think often people who tend to you know, people who tend to rise to the top, are often artists first and because there isn't kind of that clear career trajectory when you are an artist or I'm thinking actually more actually slightly less of the festival of the XX festival, but more of some of the theatres I've worked in and where Yeah, you know, they're run by an artistic director who has being a director so he doesn't have to kind of business acumen and that strategic thinking. And so I think that can sometimes be challenging and and I think actually the the strategic perspectives is an interesting one from the festivals point of view because it can be quite hard to have that longer term strategic thinking and even if as a leader you aren't quite good at that because you're constantly in this cycle of festival. So for us, the way our programming cycle happens and we finished the festival, you know, at the end of August, everyone has a bit of time off and then come November, our programming team are in to meetings with publishers about next year and really from January, it's is like a juggernaut. You kind of ,Christmas, you're kind of climbing up the slope of a roller coaster and then you hit January and it's like drop straight down. So actually the sort of September to November period is the only period where we have a bit of time to stop and breathe and actually think in that more specific way, but everyone's taking holiday, so it's it. It can be. It can be hard.” (Nicky)

9.5.1.3 Critical analysis and judgment

The third leadership skills practice is critical analysis and judgment (Abson, 2017). This dimension is part of the decision-making process, and it is highly connected to the fast-changing environment of festivals. In such working context, leaders must be able to take decision quickly, and create a workable situation for all stakeholders involved (Goldblatt, 2008; Abson, 2017). Participants have underlined the importance of possessing such skill, as Liz states [Appendix 14-9.5.1.3]: *“Critical analysis and judgment and you need to be very quick at moving on these things as well because everything moves so fast in events.”*

Critical analysis and judgment are a hard skill to have, but it is one that can be taught in a course, as it is essential to be able to understand the situation from the wider perspective, without which being a festival leader can be difficult, as *Victoria* points out:

“And if there's anything that I think can be taught, it is the ability and the space to step outside of your own perspective and look at other peoples, which is that critical analysis and whether that's a, you know, university skill, a leadership course or you know six month coaching I feel like that's the sort of thing where that external perspective is usually valuable to teach you how to be a critical thinker (...). You can teach people how to interpret and learn and understand, because then everything sort of falls from that. It's like all of these, all of these are useless if you don't have the skills to analyse and adapt to the situation that you're in and understand the context of that.” (Victoria)

9.5.1.4 Resource management

Resource Management is the ability to understand what needs to be done, by whom and when (Abson, 2017; Arcodia & Baker, 2002). This is another important leadership practices especially in festivals, where resource management is one of the areas where festival leaders, and festival organisations struggle the most. This is because they are usually understaffed, the months before and during the festival time are always extremely stressful, where working hours expand to a level that it is detrimental to the mental health and the health of the staff. This is explained well by *Laura* [Appendix 14-9.5.1.4]:

“Resource management is one of the things we do worst in the arts. We are always trying to do more than is actually possible with the human resource that we have, which is why we experience a level of burnout. (...) Productivity at the expense of everybody's wellness.”
(Laura)

The issue of burnout was also underlined by some of the photos brought at the interview. *Charlotte*, for example, shared a memory taken on the last day of working at an Edinburgh festival, where she and her co-workers all look exhausted, sitting down on the floor. The festival time can be very demanding, with no possibility to have a break.

9.5.1.5 Emotional resilience

Emotional Resilience, which is strongly linked to the following dimension, interpersonal sensitivity, refers to the ability to adapt, to be able to keep the focus despite personal challenges and criticism, and to provide a consistent performance in a variety of situations (Abson, 2017). *Isabella* says:

“Yeah, emotional resilience possibly more so. I mean, we do we're in the business of holding a mirror up to life and that does come with a lot of emotion and I think there is a a, we have to be very careful of how we support the people that are putting those emotions on the stage, and then the people that are watching those shows, and that includes the team that are ushering those shows and pulling the points behind those shows and and they have some of that could be triggering some of that could be really, it can it can. It can do an awful lot, and I think that we have a larger responsibility to be able to support that.” (Isabella)

Emotional resilience is very difficult in festivals, considering what discussed in section 9.5.1.4, with staff being burn out, lacking enough staff needed for the actual festival, and the festival cycle itself, previously discussed, which makes it even harder, as *Rose* comments [Appendix 14- 9.5.1.5]:

“Emotional resilience. Yeah, you definitely need that if you're working for a festival, because I don't think it's like the festival cycle, it requires these like, these high intensity periods of work, and then it's not like it like everyone talks about like, “ohh. And then there's like a quiet time” like apparently we're currently in a quiet time. I'm like, no, every. I'm exceptionally busy right now and I'm I say that all the time. It's just I'm, currently I'm making a concerted effort to leave on time, because I know that I'll come to July and I won't be leaving on time in August is, you know, not my own. And September will be very similar. And then in October, I will go back to trying to leave on time, but really I should be doing that like for 12 months of the year, not 6.” (Rose)

Lucrezia on this matter considers that emotional resilience should not even be considered as a necessary skill:

“And in that I would take out emotional resilience. I think that's nonsense. I think we don't shouldn't have to be emotionally resilient. I think the I think I think the world needs to

change. So we don't have to be emotionally resilient. I think the world needs to be a place and I think the arts and festivals need to be and can be places where, yes, there will be emotions. Yes, there will be difficult times, but you don't have to say I'm great under pressure and yeah, all that stuff.” (Lucrezia)

9.5.1.6 Interpersonal sensitivity

Interpersonal sensitivity refers to the ability to understand and take account of the needs and perceptions of others when making a decision, as well as suggesting a solution to problems and challenges. Not only the needs of the various stakeholders, but also the perspective, as well as feelings and emotions must be considered (Abson, 2017). This dimension is also central in festivals, as *Christine* says [Appendix 14- 9.5.1.6]:

“Interpersonal sensitivity is particularly important and especially when working in in creative industries, Because when you're working with someone's art, you know that's they've poured their life and soul into it, and that has to be, you have to be very sensitive around around that.” (Christine)

However, it must be noted that Interpersonal sensitivity was the least commented by the participants, and most of them discussed this dimension together with the emotional resilience.

9.5.1.7 Other leadership skills that should be taken into account

While all the participants agreed that the leadership skill practices listed in Abson's (2017) paper are essential when exercising leadership in festivals, some of them suggested other skills that are equally fundamental and should be considered. It is interesting to see how those suggestions concern specifically the leader and the relationship with the followers.

Compassion is a skill that has been suggested by both *Reese* and *Francesca*. Compassion means to be oriented towards others, rather than self-interest. Compassion is the

understanding of the feelings and experiences of the others, as well as a motivation of action. Compassion means going outside the self and starting to investigate the nature of those around us, to then being motivated to take action to increase happiness and decreasing suffering in others (Davenport, 2015). Reese explains [Appendix 14-A-9.5.1.7]:

*“As human beings, we're not talk about communication. We're not taught about boundaries. And we're not taught about how to, like, admit fault without feeling shame or guilt because we're taught to feel shame or guilt. So I don't think it's an easy fix, but I do think it starts at the top. And I think people at the top need to maybe even go to like, I don't even know if they exist, but like workshops that teach you how to respect boundaries, how to be compassionate, so that they can then start doing it because I find that I have a lot of issues when I'm trying to have a boundary. So if you're taught you can keep a boundary. And you're taught about compassion and how to make a safe space for people, not just a poster in a ***** wall that says safe space. Not just ohh, we've got 15 mental health first aiders and one first aider, but like actually viscerally knowing this is how we do it. That's how it will change.” (Reese)*

Lisa and Kate also discuss the role of leader and the type of relationship they create with the follower. They stress the importance of honesty, stand by the decisions the leader makes, and mentorship. This last aspect has been previously discussed in section 9.3.4. The concepts of transparency, honesty, and consistency between words and actions is linked to the features of authentic leadership (Lutahns & Avolio, 2003) [Appendix 14-B-9.5.1.7]:

“There's something about that, I guess in terms of like the relationship you have with the leaders, like there's something about that that I think is quite essential like, like transparency or something. Honesty. Integrity. You know, something around those sorts of words I I think is pretty, which I guess maybe comes an interpersonal sensitivity, but I I think it's maybe in a broader sense than like just who you're communicating with and and that sort of thing. (...). And mentorship, which I think kind of comes under that. And then teacher shares knowledge so skill sharing is too basic version of what I mean.” (Lisa)

Similar to the previous elements, Eloise and Geri discuss the importance of recognizing the skills of others, create diversity and social inclusion, and empower your staff [Appendix 14-C-9.5.1.7]:

“But I think festival leader needs to also recognise it that they might be not the only person that knows how to do things. So recognizing other skill sets and expertise, recognizing their own, obviously, and knowing what they know. So there's a confidence there. I think that that that is needed. But I think a recognition for other people's expertise is a very important leadership quality in general.” (Eloise)

Melanie, who considers the terms used in Abson's (2017) study *cold*, and that *there are warmer ways to say these skills*, suggests adding three more skills: creative problem solving, as the ability to think differently; listening skills; and having a sense of strategic direction:

“A real key skill across industry, and it's not something that everyone has, but I think it's about the ability to think differently. The ability to see a problem from a different angle and the ability to see an answer rather than going, we've got a problem here. Your immediate response is how do we solve this? But is it in a a more proactive or creative or is there a different way? I think it's about finding a different way sometimes.” (Melanie)

“Listening skills are absolute within my area of the industry. The projects that I create and form are done from a point of listening. We don't create things that would happen to people. We create them with and for them.” (Melanie)“

“I think that another key skill just to final one would be obviously yes, having a sense of strategic direction and the effective communication would be obviously connecting with people and I think. A real key is awareness and not sure how to articulate this, but a world awareness and environmental awareness of what is relevant and why are you know I approach everything that we do from a point of why? as in the in marketing, there are five key principles to to level, like your marketing. So what is our why? Why are we doing this? So you need to really understand cultural relevance. You need to understand who is the next question, who is the festival for? What you know who are we doing this for? And then the, what, how and all the rest of it follows afterwards.” (Melanie)

These contributions are very valuable, because they are women with direct experience in festival organisations and are, therefore, able to comment on what they consider to be

important in order to improve the working conditions, as well as the relationships with the leaders and the various stakeholders.

9.5.2 Festival leadership is collaborative.

Collectivistic, or *we* leaderships have been analysed in section 2.4.3. These new approaches analyse leadership in larger organisational collectives or network levels, and not just at the individual, dyad, or small group level of analysis (De Brùn & McAuliffe, 2023; Dionne et al., 2014; Yammarino et al., 2012). The *we* stand for several individuals who hold a variety of leadership roles, depending on the need required and the situation (Yammarino et al., 2012). As *Francesca* points out: *“There is a huge casa in favour of collaborative decision making.”*

Collaborative leadership can be connected to section 9.5.1.4, which discusses resource management, and the ability to give the right task to the appropriate person depending on the skills required, as *Michelle* comments when the topic of collective leadership was discussed in the interview [Appendix 14-A-9.5.2]:

“My style of work is very collaborative. So OK, like technically I'm the boss, but it's not. It doesn't feel like that (...) a question of trust. Just as a big thing for me, for my team and but I'll choose people because they work in. Because they will take responsibility for their own work. I don't mind when they do it, as long as it's done by the time that we've all agreed.”

(Michelle)

When asked what she would add when discussing leadership, *Liz* mentions collaboration [Appendix 14-B-9.5.2]:

“I don't think any of these include maybe collaboration. And you know and you know, sort of in inspiring. And maybe it's inspiring collaboration or something like that.” (*Liz*)

All in all, participants discuss a more collaborative leadership in festivals, given the nature of the organisations, and the fact that a leader should be able to understand who has the right skill for the required task. This emerged also in one of the photo shared by a participant, specifically an Instagram Reel¹², which showed everyone, including top level management, helping out with sorting merchandising items.

To this theme, there is a subtheme, which is genderless leadership. This will be discussed in the following section.

9.5.2.1 Genderless leadership

A subtheme which emerged discussing festival leadership as collaborative is how it should also be genderless. Discussions around this topic is that it should not focus on the gender, but rather on the person with the right skills. Moreover, it is important to consider also who had the possibilities to gain the experience to reach leadership roles, and the impacts society have, as *Laura* explains well:

“I think reducing it (leadership) to sex is reductive. I think that it is about like how we are groomed, how we are trained, how we are socialised in this world and then that manifests. I think that we have to start talking more about how we are trained as bodies, as gendered bodies, as opposed to this is male leadership and this is female leadership because you can see both in both bodies. If someone is actively trying to unlearn the training that we've had from birth. So I think it's more complex than just being like this is male style and this is this is a female style. it would be interesting if . We started talking about leadership and like what is leadership that centres like Wellness and caring, what is leadership that's centres Power Distribution rather than attributing it to gender and sex because because I think attributing to gender or sex then allows people to just be like, Oh well, that's what I am. Only when leadership has levels of status and visibility it suddenly becomes like this really specific gendered.” (Laura)

¹² An Instagram Reel is a film or a video clip which lasts up to 60 seconds.

This is what *Anna* also thinks that leadership should not be just about gender, meaning that the gender influences the way leadership is conducted [Appendix 14-9.5.2.1]:

"I think there's probably lots of other factors that influence it as well. (...) Is it gender that influences a leadership style? Or is it other life experiences or other like you know your background?" (Anna)

9.5.3 Festival leader

Asked what festival leadership and leader are, and how they would define them, was difficult for the participants. This theme of festival leader will be discussed in this section and in its subthemes. In general, with this topic, women asked themselves questions, such as what makes a leader, and if they have been good leaders. *Anna* and *Rebecca* comment:

"I don't know if that's very "leadery"." (Anna)

"I don't know if I am telling myself the wrong story. Sometimes when you say yourself ohh, but you're not a leader. Ohh, but you're you don't get this case of that other person you see right there and bla bla. So I I I know that I need to develop this and so maybe I I wish I I I know that I need to start telling me a different story probably and I wanna look at other people, again I was talking about illustrators and so on it's like It's really good and it's starting. Sometimes you can go into the trend about, you know, comparison yourself with others and so on. And sometimes you you are drag down. So but again it's all in your mind."
(Rebecca)

There are four subthemes to this theme, which will be considered in the following sections.

9.5.3.1 Leading by example

Some of the leadership analysed in the literature review, in section 2.3, underlined the impact of exemplary leadership on followers. For example, a transformational leader display high standard of ethical and moral conduct, being a role model for the follower (Goodwin et al., 2001; Bass & Steidlmeier, 1999). *Anna* says on the matter [Appendix 14-A-9.5.3.1]:

“A good leader is someone who's present (...), but not too involved or like kind of know what is expected of you. And the leader, a leader, would kind of set the tone for what's going to happen and set expectations.” (Anna)

Research have demonstrated that leading by example increases the followers' perceived trustworthiness and integrity (Brown et al., 2005; Eisenkopf, 2020; Eichenseer, 2023). *Helena* comments:

“So yeah, I think it's it's really good that we can, I think you know in the sort of things we're still, we're still defining what the agenda might be really even though we're older, we can still be leading and be leading by example about how everyone should hold themselves to account about what they do and You know, make the workplace better for everybody, not just women, but for everybody I lead by example, but I also sort of push from behind as well to encourage them to do more and and take some risks and yeah, to improve their learning and practice.” (Helena)

And from the participants' past negative experiences, leading by example should set the tone in a positive way, to contribute to create a healthy working environment, as this has not happened according to *Oliva* [Appendix 14-B-9.5.3.1]:

“An old place I used to work, one of the senior managers used to make a point of every weekend or every time you went on holiday, she'd print off all this work and say I'm taking this with me on holiday. And one day I went to her and I was like, the more you say that, the more your team think they can't take time off. So we need to, like, if you wanna do that, that's your choice. And you're deciding to take these ribs of paper on holiday, which I don't

understand. But it is, you know, we lead by example and that's a huge, important part of being a leader, I think.” (Oliva)

Leading by example is not the only important skill, but also the importance of taking care of others is greatly considered by the participants. This will be explored in next section.

9.5.3.2 Taking care of your staff

Taking care of your staff is linked to what has been previously discussed on the skills that should be added to Abson’s (2017) study, in section 9.5.1, such as compassion, being honest, and empower your staff. The second subtheme considers how a good leader should support, and empower their followers (Eagly & Carli, 2003). It is interesting that this concept emerged from the interviews, because compassion, empathy, the sense of empowerment and community are soft qualities that are traditionally thought to be women’s traits (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Cudrado et al., 2012). *Isabella* discusses the idea of the staff as someone in the leader’s care, of whom they are responsible of [Appendix 14-A-9.5.3.2]:

“And it's like making making sure that the people that are in our care and they are in our care, that's artists that's you know that's our team, are supported (...). And so yeah, as leaders, we need to be make putting the the tools in place for everybody. And what are the mechanisms for complaint? What are the mechanisms for needing to go away and have a configured a good old cry because you know that's part of your emotional resilience is actually getting those tears out, you know.” (Isabella)

Annie talks about empower the staff, and *Victoria* discusses the ability to understand when it is the moment to realise there is nothing else that as a leader can do to solve an issue and someone else might be better at it [Appendix 14-B-9.5.3.2]:

“I don't know if that's a skill, but being able, I don't really know how to put that as a skill and what words, but just being able to empower your staff as well. (...) Yeah, the ability to empower your staff.” (Annie)

"I think there's an understanding in that when you're in those leadership positions, there's an understanding that it is not easy work and actually I'm not, it's not because I don't want to work hard. It's because actually the the nature of the especially an annual festival is the the conversations can become quite circular and they start to become recurring issues that you can't solve but then somebody else could, so there is as much in there. The responsibility. My duty to the organisation is to say somebody else needs to pick this up and try and solve this problem and or approach this set of stakeholders in a different way. Like when you get to the point where the conversations are coming around year on year on year and you're like, oh, we still never fix that. You just say, well, maybe maybe I'm not the one to fix it. Maybe it's somebody else's job to fix it on my job is to go up and go off and fix something else." (Victoria)

Interestingly, when asked whether a man would also have the same opinion, and would leave a job to get the opportunity to someone else to work on some recurrent issues, *Victoria* comments:

"I think my experience of, again, not all of them, but my experience of of men in leadership positions, positions tend to be the choices they make and when to move on, tend to be rooted in what they want and what's best for them at that time, rather than any sort of duty or obligation to the organisation and in the main there are, there are definite notable exceptions to that in my personal experience, but I tend to find the conversations I have with my female peers tend to be when is the right time for me to leave the organisation rather than this organisation is lucky to have me to this point. Here is a great opportunity, I think. (...) But also it's about what you want and and where you wanna be. But yeah, I don't. I have fewer conversations with my male colleagues about how they might, how the, the considerations and the needs of the organisation influence their decisions about what they do with their life, and that tends to be much more, those conversations tend to be much more about women, whether they're looking to move on or whether they're, you know, thinking about having a baby or etcetera. So yeah, they they're does tend to be a a greater duty or obligation to to not leave the organisation and and maybe that's because there's an arrogance there that says we couldn't possibly survive without me and it's like it can and it will and it'll be fine. Where as guys have been one that would be fine. So maybe that's where the distinction comes in." (Victoria)

9.5.3.3 Leaders should make a difference in the organisations.

Women struggle to gain leadership positions for different reasons. One is linked to society and culture, to the expectations these have on women, to take care of the children and the elderly. This consequently impacts women's career, creating gaps, or forcing them to choose part-time roles, limiting the working opportunities. This has been greatly discussed in sections 3.4, in the literature review, and 9.4.1, in the findings. Other women have also talked about what those in power can do to support more women achieving leadership roles. *Francesca* is clear about the situation and the opportunities women get in festival organisations:

"Women are fighting for a seat at the table and unfortunately, men have to grant them (...). The inequality between gender roles has to also be tackled mainly by men, because they're currently in positions of power. So women can go on and protest and do all this and that and really try hard. But unless men come on board, unfortunately we're never going to win that fight." (Francesca)

Helena's experience is an example of some men in power, who support women, as they help them in getting the experience required to then obtain a leadership role:

"Male bosses I've had have not prevented me in any way from getting on and actually at the XXX I was there for seven years before I moved to the XXX Festival. I had three different jobs there and it was always I felt the male bosses who were promoting me and supporting me into those new roles. So I don't think I've had any bias in that way." (Helena)

The first three themes looked at leadership and leader from the perspective of festival organisations, providing best leadership practices, skills, and qualities considered by the participants essential in a leader who work for a festival. The focus of the next two themes centres on women leaders. The differences between men and women leaders, the skills women leaders have, and the challenges women faced throughout their career in festivals.

9.5.4 Women festival leaders

The topic of women leaders was discussed in the literature review, in Chapter 3, where it was analysed how research firstly approached the subject, and the differences between men and women leadership styles. In this section the focus is on women who are leaders and work in festival organisations.

Despite the challenges women leaders in festivals face, and which will be discussed in section 9.5.5, some of the participants commented that women in the arts and cultural sectors in Edinburgh are known for being good at their jobs, and are encouraged to move to senior roles, like *Isabella* says [Appendix 14-A-9.5.4]:

(When asked if she had difficulties in leading as a woman): *“I've never had a huge negativity (...) There's certain conversations I will deploy a man into. And yeah, if there are conversations that actually it's easier, somebody talks to them on their level then I you know, I'm again lucky that I have a I have a boss that backs that up and I can deploy him in in that way. (...) I would find, I think I'd probably say that people react worse if there is a scale to me being a young leader, than being a female leader. I think this is general, particularly in the arts assumption that you know, women in the arts are pretty good at what they do.”*
(Isabella)

Women leaders also share that something positive of being in the position they are is that they have been able to make tangible changes to improve the working conditions for other women in the organisation, as *Victoria* comments [Appendix 14-B-9.5.4]:

“I guess actually the one of the positives that very tangible positives about being a woman in this industry is an active changes that I've done in this role are, that when I started, people would sort of talk about it's impossible to work in a festival environment and have a family, and you know that prior to me starting this role, nobody had any children in the XX XX. And now we've got what always relatively small organisation there's sort of (..) about 8 or 10 babies now. And I think the ability for women to support women in that space and say it is OK to go home at 5:00 o'clock or 4:00 o'clock and come back later or you don't need to work every hour of every day you don't need to be at every reception, every party etcetera. So actually think that's one of the more positive experiences about women working in the festival industry is that there's a there's a collection of us who want to support one another

and are very understanding of the fact that that comes with things like caring, responsibilities, et cetera, which I don't have. But I recognise that others do, and you need to be supportive of that.” (Victoria)

Women leaders can help make a difference, but they cannot change the system alone, as they are also facing several struggles. However, it is important not to generalise, as every woman leader is different and different is the approach they have in their work. This will be discussed in the following section, which considers the first subtheme, the Queen Bee Phenomenon.

9.5.4.1 Queen Bee Phenomenon

Queen Bee Phenomenon is a term used to describe women in leadership positions who manifest antifeminist features and behaviours towards their female co-workers (Staines et al., 1973). The concept was discussed in section 3.3.2. The term has not been explicitly used by the participants- and this might be because the terminology is used in research and scholars, but listening to *Maddie's* words, it can be seen how some women of older age and with higher roles in the festival organisations seem to behave as Queen Bees [Appendix 14-A-9.5.4.1]:

“I mean, I feel like there's sometimes is an element of gate keeping, which honestly my experience has come more from older women in the industry, more so that, I mean, (...) As long as since I've been in Edinburgh, it's been more sort of, I felt almost this feeling of there are certain women who have been working in this industry for so long. They worked for so many years and sort of someone secretary or assistant. And you know, by the time they go to a role of power, they were so sick of being treated like that, that they almost without even realising, treated others like that, including younger women, you know, which is quite frustrating to me because I find like, that's such an opportunity to build the younger women up and to bring them up with you. I just think she has this kind of tough love is like “Oh well, you know, I went through it. So you need to as well”, which I I don't think necessarily is the case. And I like to think that. But again I think this is kind of naivety of one thing to think that that you want to be like that and you'll break the chain.” (Maddie)

Maddie describes well also the reasons why older women in the industry might behave like this. As discussed in section 3.3.2.2, women do not act like Queen Bees because they want to

actively hinder other women's career (Derks et al., 2016; Vial et al., 2016). The reasons are to be seen in the culture of the organisation, with gender stereotypes and sexism. As *Maddie* says, these women might think *"I went through it, so you need to as well"*, underlining two aspects. One is that the organisation has not been working on addressing those gender issues. Second, that a woman alone cannot bring the change required to make a difference for all the other women working with her, the change must take place in the whole organisation.

One of the features of Queen Bees is that they distance themselves from other women colleagues, emphasising characteristics considered to be masculine (Derks et al., 2016), as *Lucia* says [Appendix 14-B-9.5.4.1]:

"And I think it's sad that a lot of women feel they have to adopt male characteristics to lead. I think they definitely bring different things to leadership, so I don't think they have to adopt male characteristics to lead effectively. So again, but it goes back to confidence again, doesn't it?" (Lucia)

Queen Bees will also distance themselves from other women, legitimising gender hierarchy in the organisation and not supporting or even hindering other women's career (Vial et al., 2016), as *Maddie* comments:

"Just because you have a female leader doesn't mean you have a feminist leader or a female leader who believes in equality. You know? So would I prefer to have a female leader who's kind of gatekeeping over there, rather have a male feminist? I don't know. And I think we do fall into this trap sometimes of again, we want to push women into the, you know, the leaders just kind of for the sake of having women on top, which is, you know, it's good to have women on top but, you know, if they're not necessarily standing for, if it, if the kind of door closes with them, it's kind of we're back at square one kind of thing. I think it in some way it's almost worse to have a female that's worked so hard to get there and then closes the door for all other females.(...) I do still see a gender bias from someone who is female and has worked very hard to get where they had to be. You know that, you know, the voices in the room don't have the same weight, despite the fact that we're a balanced team. I sometimes know that it's better for me to say something to my male colleague because if he says it, it's going to make more of it. You know, it's gonna have more potency, you know, which is why should that's the be the case?" (Maddie)

Finally, a third feature of Queen Bees is how they underline how much more competitive they are compared to their women colleagues. They compare themselves to other women working in the same company, but not to other men (Derks et al., 2016). As they seek attention of men, they also feel threatened by other women. *Liz* describes their experience which recalls the description of a Queen Bee [Appendix 14-C-9.5.4.1]:

“I have found in my experience, men have been less threatened or felt less competitive (...) But I think sometimes women worry that someone's trying to take over or whereas I just don't think men think like that at all. That's because they have the confidence in themselves maybe.” (Liz)

Women do not act as Queen Bees for choice. While some women act in this way just because that is how they are, they are not willing to help other women. This should be accepted, as it is for men who are career oriented and do not want to support other men colleagues. However, for women there is an idea of forced sisterhood, where women are forced to help one another (Mavin, 2008; Dersk et al., 2016):

“She said something like, well, you, pretty girl. I'm sure you could persuade him. I know it's like. She said something like he likes you. You're pretty girl. I'm like, I was so upset about this, you know, because. I like you, just don't expect it from a woman you respect and you work with that (...) I think I think there is something in society, but I think it's in both and and kind of male and female society that you know because. Uh, I think it's myths that all women, all supporting each other. I don't think so.” (Emma)

Another reason to act like a Queen Bee is the feeling of being insecure in a world dominated by men to have a woman as a leader, and therefore the need to act like a man to be seen as a legitimate leader (Harvey, 2018). *Kate*, when asked why she did not feel at ease being led by a woman, comments that she was not feeling confident enough, and she was comparing herself:

“I think I was probably more competitive when I was younger and maybe just a bit more now I'm really comfortable in my own skin than I, you know, I suppose I'm comfortable. I'm confident in what I do. I think when I was maybe less confident earlier on in my career, I would have, I think I would have made more comparisons, you know, and felt like, well, the, well, I could have taken instruction from a man, I think I would have struggled to have a women tell me what to do. It says more about me than I think.” (Kate)

9.5.4.2 Differences between men and women leaders

In the findings, the concept of a genderless leadership was presented, in section 9.5.2.1, where it does not matter the gender of the leader, but rather the qualities this person has and brings to the organisation. However, participants to this study outlined the differences between a man or a woman leading. This has been greatly discussed in the literature review, starting from the concepts of masculinity and femininity, section 2.2.3, to the differences associated to women and men based on their gender, in section 3.2. It is interesting to see the experiences women in festival organisations had, and where they noticed the differences.

Lucrezia, when asked whether she believe they are different in the way they are leading, confirmed it [Appendix 14-A-9.5.4.2]: *“Yes, I do believe there are different. I think women have a lot more to prove And I think people are very much quicker to be critical of a woman in a leadership role.”*

There are different way women and men are different, and what is interesting is that for some of the comments left by the participants, there is a connection with the stereotypical behaviours men and women have, as discussed in the literature review. Participants said that women are more diplomatic, or more understanding, and it is easier to talk to them. These are communal skills. stereotypically thought to belong to women (Cudrado et al., 2012; Eagly & Johnson, 1990): [Appendix 14-B-9.5.4.2]:

*“Yeah, I think I probably would say that the other leaders I've worked with that are male or identify as male possibly have at times **** people off a bit more than the women I work with, who or the people I work with identifies as female women who have decisions to make, I again, it's a very much a sort of a generalization and I don't I do feel uncomfortable generalizing, but I think I get what I need a lot without necessarily having to upset people. Maybe it's like slightly more on the diplomatic side.” (Eloise)*

On the other side, as *Nicky* comments, because of men being more agentic (Wood & Eagly, 2016), and less communal, it is easier to work with them, it is more straightforward, than it is with women:

“Yeah, I haven't. It's funny. I haven't been managed by a woman for about 10 years, it's been all men and I think it's a funny one for me because I think as much as like, I totally, I'm supportive of women and leadership and you know, obviously I'm in a leadership position myself. I have definitely found the working relationship with male bosses more straightforward, but I don't know whether that's a coming from a personal point (...) I think there's definitely been more of like a, I don't know, I guess it is that maybe that kind of like because men generally do tend to be less emotional. Maybe it is that men, when I've been managed by them, have just been more sort of business and straightforward as I say, and actually there's other elements at play. When I've been managed by women, I don't know. I don't know. I feel like I'm. I feel like I'm totally against the sisterhood there and I really don't mean to be because I think, like there's some amazing female leaders in this world and yeah.” (Nicky)

These differences that *Nicky* and *Eloise* discuss can be linked to the individual and their own personal experiences. However, they could also be connected to how men and women grown up and the expectations society has on them (Schneider & Bos, 2019; Wood & Eagly, 2012). The situation, according to *Helena*, is changing, and those differences are less evident than before [Appendix 14-C-9.5.4.2]:

“So, I think there's a difference. Yeah, probably because there's some conversations that you wouldn't have with. Well, this is like, you know, we're talking about sort of generation ago almost conversations you wouldn't have had with a male boss that you could have with a female boss, which is not about your work You might be talking about mental health, uh, well-being, menopause, though (...). This is changing. (...). You know, childbirth things that you have shared experiences of. So the conversations can be different.” (Helena)

The idea that women have certain skills, that men do not possess, have been discussed by many participants. This subtheme is explored in detail in the next section.

9.5.4.3 Skills possessed by women leaders

Participants to this study have noticed that women leaders are different, as *Caroline* says: “[Women] deal with issues in a different way than men.”

For some of the participants, this comes from the fact that women are mothers [Appendix 14-A-9.5.4.3]: “Women have more resilience, comes from being mothers even if we decide not to be, it is embedded in our DNA, more fluid, able to adjust.” (Caroline)

The other difference, which again aligns with those qualities considered as communal skills (Eagly & Carli, 2003), is that women are more empathetic and have more compassion. This is interesting because it is a quality, a skill, that participants suggested to add as another leadership practices to those resulting from Abson’s (2017) work, seen in section 9.5.1. *Lucia* says [Appendix 14-B-9.5.4.3]: “It’s very general, but I think women do tend to be more empathetic. They tend to have better social skills.”

The relationship with a woman leader is also different, it seems easier for the participants to talk to them on a less professional level, as *Kate* comments, and they are more sensitive [Appendix 14-C-9.5.4.3]:

“But I mean, I have a female boss now and, you know, get on fine with it. And I had a female boss in my last job and that worked really well. But I’ve got have quite different relationship with them than I had with my male bosses in that I suppose, and particularly in my last boss at the university, you know we knew all our kids, you know, what she did at the weekend, all

of that was kind of more of a friendship almost more than, you know, a manager and me reporting to her and I don't think I would ever get to that point with that male boss.” (Kate)

The final subtheme briefly considered how women leaders reacted during the pandemic of Covid-19.

9.5.4.4 Women leaders during the Pandemic of Covid-19

Some of the women who took part in the study were leaders during the pandemic of Covid-19. Even though this is a brief overview of what happened during lockdown, it is interesting to see how women leader reacted. What emerged is a proof of resilience, with the main goal to keep the team together and make sure staff felt they belonged to the organisations, despite being in lockdowns, with attention to mental wellbeing. *Isabella* on the situation comments [Appendix 14-9.5.4.4]:

“We did regular meetings. That's what we that tricky period where you didn't know quite what you were allowed to do in the realms of things you weren't allowed to be asked people to work. And so we, we did, you know, quizzes on that sort of stuff to try and keep each other in touch with each other as much as anything else. It's all very well us communicating how things are going and how what this what would what's going on out there. But then having their own camaraderie, we are a small team as well, so that's fairly straightforward for us to be able to do at that point.” (Isabella)

Juliet comments about her experience:

“Well, for me the last two years have probably been a test of any leadership and probably the biggest test has been a test of resilience (...) So for me it was about how can I now move into a mode of leadership that is about survival and that is about supporting my team, my colleagues and holding this together so that the Edinburgh XXX comes out the other side of this a stronger thing. was survive stabilised and strength, and that was it was like, 3 S survived, stabilise and strengthen. I just kind of really stocked to that as I sort of mantra and a self stepping stones because our organisation immediately became insolvent. it was like survival. And then once we got through that initial survival period, it was about just trying to

keep afloat trying to manage a financial situation and trying to Move as much of our offering as we could to digital so that artists still had a means of income, and we could still keep the XXX in the hearts and minds of both participants and audiences". (Juliet)

In one of the images shared, there is a team photo at the park, to maintain the safe distance given the restrictions and requirements caused by the pandemic of Covid-19, organised by the leader, who took part in the interview, as a way to bring in the team together, and spend some time with each other.

The next theme looks at the difficulties for women who are leaders in the festival sector.

9.5.5 Difficulties for women festival leaders

The previous sections have analysed what festival leadership and leader are, the skills considered essential in a leader, and the difference between men and women working in festival organisations, with a focus on women festival leadership. The last theme considered in this section on leadership in festivals concerns the difficulties women leaders have encountered throughout their career.

"I think it's complex, right? I don't think it's as straightforward as putting a woman in a position of leadership, because if she's still working within a patriarchal system, the system still the same just because she's in charge, it's not. Taking a break and ask yourself, how do we do things? That takes like so much energy. You're potentially asking a woman (...) it's probably bloody exhausted as well." (Laura)

As *Laura* comments, just by putting a woman in a leadership position, will not change the situation, if gender inequalities are present and not addressed in the company. *Laura's* word recalls the concept of tokenism, explored in the literature review in section 3.3.4, and in the data findings in section 9.4.3.4. To this, *Betty* adds:

“We've got female CEO and it's like why do you have to say it's a female CEO we have a CEO do you know it's like why do we have to do. By the fact that it's a woman in charge, you know you wouldn't say. Ohh. There's a male CEO” (Betty)

There are two important subthemes connected to this theme. First, an analysis of the role congruity theory and how it takes place in the festival environment, which can be described as patriarchal will be presented.

9.5.5.1 Role Congruity Theory

As greatly discussed in the literature review in various section, in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3, the dichotomy between male and female is strongly connected to leadership and how the leader is perceived (Ackerly & True, 2010). The stereotypical way of looking at a leader as someone who must be powerful and aggressive brings the idea that women, who are seen as communal and caring, cannot be good leaders (Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017). This happens in the Edinburgh Festivals as well, according to the experiences of the participants. There are several stories told by the women who took part in the study on this matter. *Juliet* comments [Appendix 14-A-9.5.5.1]:

“But still some of the examples that I've I've experienced have made me think, “God, there's still a very sort of male patriarchal kind of view of leadership out there at times”, you know.”
(Juliet)

Role Congruity Theory, introduced by Eagly & Karau (2002), states that the positivity towards a leader comes from an alignment of the desired and required qualities of the leader with the features that are stereotypically ascribed to the candidate. The Role Congruity Theory of prejudice towards women says that women will be evaluated less favourable than men as leaders because of gender stereotypes and the belief men possess the skills required to be a leader (Schock et al., 2019; Garci-Retamero & López-Zafra, 2006). There are two dimensions that can be analysed in relation to the Role Congruity Theory. First, women leaders are not

legitimised by some of the men working in the company, as *Nicky* recalls [Appendix 14-B-9.5.5.1]:

“Yeah, I would say that from my experience generally, I think there's definitely, you have to be a bit more forthright maybe. When you're dealing with men in comparison to women, I think they definitely. I think I do think quite a lot of men do find it quite hard to be managed by women” (Nicky)

The concept of *think manager-think male* (Schlein, 1973), the idea that only men can become leaders because by nature they have the essential traits to be one, is also present in the festival sector, and this puts women leaders in a difficult position. This is the experience of *Kate* [Appendix 14-C-9.5.5.1]

“I think men can be a lot more directive and a lot more taking the floor, I mean, I don't know if you see like sometimes I see on the train like main like takes so much space in the chairs, you know they seat like that and you know, the knees out and it's like, you know, and you're sitting there; women take up less space.” (Kate)

The other dimension of the Role Congruity Theory is the idea that women are seen as incongruent with leadership, and therefore evaluated as less effective, and diminished in their role. The situation puts women in a difficult contradictory role. They should not display stereotypical men behaviours, but are not allowed to have stereotypical women emotions, because they are not right for a leader. The experience of *Victoria* discusses the matter well [Appendix 14-D-9.5.5.1]:

“It's it's a really tricky balance to get right, certainly our festival and the nature of the corporate nature of some elements of it, it means it can get quite aggressive. And it can be quite difficult in two ways. It's either I can I can be equally as aggressive, it's not a side of myself I'm particularly fond of, but I can do it and my aggression or my assertiveness is gender bound in a way that it isn't for others, so it's like you know the guys that the the men can shout and say awful things and be really insulting, but the second you say, well, hold on a second, that's not really acceptable way to speak to me. It's “don't be be silly. It's just

business. So you don't be so sensitive about this stuff all over". So this is sort of like I'm not allowed like all female emotion is unacceptable. I'm not allowed to burst into tears. I'm not allowed to shout at you. I'm not allowed to be equally as aggressive because each of those is somehow a problem in your interpretation of how I'm supposed to negotiate in this space and when you get into those difficult conversations, particularly where they were, there are gender differences and age differences as well at times where you're like, well, would I have to be the one looking for a compromise here? What I have to be the soft one or the one who's looking to negotiate, or the one who's who's looking to be open and inclusive and my language choices, why can't I be offensive and insulting and aggressive, just like you're being? So that's generally where, that's generally where it it bothers me the most because it's really exhausting because (...) you get to this point where you're like, oh, how do I, how do I manage all of those emotions that are acceptable in order for me to be considered? Ohh, you know, well, we would take us seriously, but she cries in meetings. It's like, well, why isn't that acceptable emotion? It's perfectly fine for you to shout at me. (...) that's very complicated at times because you. Not only you have to think about what you actually want to say and how you want to say it and trying to retain some control over those emotional edges that that are considered unacceptable. You'll then Just by dint of your gender interpreted in a certain way in a yeah, that's like, you know, if I'm crying, then I'm hurt or I'm upset rather than I'm. I'm so furious that that my body's just exploded with tears. That's just the way it goes. It's just an entire double standard that exists, which is, you know, if my behaviour is anything like yours, then my behaviour is unacceptable. Just because I'm not a man. And. Yeah. And I think it, it changes because you, when you work with more women in senior spaces and you realise that things don't necessarily get to that point. So they don't escalate in that way or and they do in different ways, you know, there's all sorts of different ways where those females, female conversations are equally as sort of stressful and frustrating, but they're they, I don't feel like the the even just the ability to to have an emotion is somehow delegitimised in that space." (Victoria)

What *Victoria* discusses, the *double standard*, is interesting and describes well the concept behind the Role Congruity Theory. A woman with agentic features is considered less desirable, because she does not confirm to the female gender role, that expects her to be communal. If communal, then she is not a good leader, because leadership is perceived as masculine, as agentic (Schock et al., 2019). This is a great challenge for women in festival organisations, which makes them wonder if what they do can even be seen as *leading*, as *Anna* says: *"I was thinking oohh like looking after people is like a very kind of stereotypical female thing to do. So immediately I'm like" well, that's not leading"."*

There are several challenges that women leaders face working in festival organisations. On one side, there is a perceived lack of fit for a woman to be a leader. This brings the followers

to question them, and women leader to struggle to find the right way to lead. They are not allowed to shout, because this is not what women do; but they are also not allowed to cry, because this is not what leaders do. On the other side, they are judged more often than men. For example, as analysed in section 9.4.3.1, being young and being a woman is a combination in which the woman is seen as lacking the adequate knowledge and skills, even if this is not the case.

9.6 The future of women working in festivals

The interviews with the participants concluded asking them to share their views of the future of women working in the Edinburgh festivals and what their hopes and wishes for women were. The answers were positive and hopeful about the future, realising, at the same time, that there are still many changes and improvements. While this question is outside the scope of the present research, some of the key elements will be highlighted and presented.

Three themes emerged from the data analysis. Firstly, women discussed how the fight to equality is still long and it is not finished yet. Secondly, participants considered that the changes should start from the top, from the management, and should include everyone. Third, the wish is for women to not to have to choose between a career in the festival sector, and a family.

9.6.1 The fight for equality is still long

Participants realised that the fight to equality is still long, and because of the festival cycle, and long term objectives sometimes overlooked, the possibility to push the equality agenda is more challenging and difficult [Appendix 14-A.9.6.1]. As an example, the issues around EDI, discussed in section 9.3.2.2, require time and consideration to present solutions and improvements. When discussing those problem, it is important to take into consideration what has been analysed in this study, that is that the issues concerning equality, diversity, and inclusion are caused by many several factors, and there is no *easy fix* [Appendix 14-B-9.6.1].

From this theme, some subthemes emerged, and they are discussed in the following sections.

9.6.1.1 Women free of prejudices

Through the words of the women working in the festival organisations in Edinburgh, the challenges and struggles women face in the workplace emerged. Some of these challenges are based on prejudices and stereotypes linked to their gender. One of the wishes the participants have for the future of women in festivals is a work life, and in general a life, free of prejudices. This, as analysed in section 9.3.1.3, is already happening with empowered younger women entering festival organisations. [Appendix 14- 9.6.1.1].

9.6.1.2 Hope to be part of the change

Most of participants to this study commented that they want to be an active part of the change towards equality. A group of them wished for women who work in the Edinburgh festivals to understand their worth and to be confident [Appendix 14-A-9.6.1.2]. While some other participants hope to an active part of the change, by supporting women and by creating a more equal environment [Appendix 14-B-9.6.1.2]. The changes must happen also within the industry, in terms of fair salary, better resources, and more staff. As analysed in section 9.2.2, women tend to accept to be paid less [Appendix 14-C-9.6.1.2]. Women should also not lose the hope and keep fighting towards gender equality and improved working conditions [Appendix 14-D-9.6.1.2].

9.6.2 Women chosen as leaders, and not as tokens

The term token was greatly discussed in the literature review in section 3.3.4, and in the data findings in section 9.4.3.4. Tokenism refers to a minority of a group working in an organisation, who are not permitted full participations (Kanter, 1977). For example, women are given the role of a leader to show that the company is working against gender inequalities,

but then they do not support her, and the company does not properly address gender issues (Kanter, 1977; Zimmer, 1988). The second theme highlighted how the change should start from the top-level management, where women should be supported and should be given the right resources and working opportunities, rather than been chosen as a token [Appendix 14-9.6.2].

9.6.3 Improving the situation for those with families and working in festivals

The struggle to have a family, particularly with young children, and be able to work in the Edinburgh festivals has been greatly discussed in section 9.4.1. Childcare is often an obstacle to women's career, who need to move to part-time roles or extend the maternity leave, when possible, to take care of children. The wish of some of the participants is a revolution in terms of childcare, to overcome the challenge of childcare and be able to have a family while working on their career, without the need as a woman to have to choose between the two. [Appendix 14-9.6.3]

9.7 Summary

This chapter presented the analysis and findings of the 33 semi-structured interviews which took place with women working in one of the Edinburgh's festivals. The data was analysed employing TA (Braun & Clart, 2006), from which emerged 19 themes and 35 subthemes. The aim of the interview was to gain an understanding of the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festival sector achieve leadership positions; and the reasons underpinning the situation.

Women taking part in the interviews had experiences in different festival organisations, with different roles, and the age range spanned from early 20s, to late 50s. Photo voice was used, in order to elicit informants to discuss difficult topics, such as negative experiences working in the festivals, and on the subject of leadership. Some of them decided to share images and

photos during the interview, although the photos were not published in this chapter, in keeping with ethical requirements of the research.

The findings of the research were divided into four main topics, each corresponding to a research objective. Firstly, they assessed how women festival leaders position themselves in the Edinburgh's festivals sector. Participants agreed that the sector is women-dominated, and women colleagues empower and support one another. What is worth noticing is that some challenges started to emerge. Many highlighted how one reason to explain the high number of women was the low pay and that there are still not enough women in leading and senior roles, which are mostly held by men.

The third research objective considered how culture and society affect women in achieving leadership positions in Edinburgh. Confirming what analysed in the literature review (Ridgeway, 2009; Ito & Urland, 2003; Due Billing & Avelsson, 2000; Eagly & Karau, 2002), findings remarked the expectations that society has on women. In festival organisations there are certain behaviour that are less expected from women, who are seen as the primary care giver and responsible of the childcare. Some areas of festivals are still men dominated, such as IT and tech, since they are considered as incongruent with a woman career path (Ehrich et al., 2022). Another challenge that emerged from the data is the impostor phenomenon (Feenstra et al., 2020), which hinders women to apply for jobs, as they feel they do not own the skills, questioning themselves and lacking the confidence that men usually have (Kirkwood, 2009; Crawford, 2021). Women are influenced by gender stereotypes which make them doubt their talents and skills (Crawford, 2021). Participants highlighted how society is patriarchal, connected to White supremacy, normative heterosexuality, and normative able-bodiedness (Ortner, 2022; Hunnicut, 2009). This situation is slightly improving because of the younger generations entering festival organisations, as according to the findings, they are more empowered to fight inequalities (O'Malley & Johnson, 2018; Charles et al., 2018).

The lack of diversity is reflected in the need for more work around Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI). These lack of implementations (Iyer, 2009), and are seen as a *tick box* to get

funds. Without the willingness of everyone, and especially those in power, to have an active role in relation of EDI, the change cannot take place (Calver et al., 2023; Lamond & Platt, 2016). Interestingly, despite studies demonstrating the opposite (Creative Industry 2022; Bossey, 2020; Alvarado, 2022), some of the participants believed that the sector is accessible and diverse. The concept of inclusion is linked to feminism, and its fight for equality for all. More than half of participants considered themselves as feminist, or activists, trying to create opportunities for women, and supporting them in their career (Dimitrova et al., 2000; Valentine, 2007). Mentoring was greatly discussed in the interviews as necessary to create more equal working environments, and to make sure that women have access to resources and to advance in their career (Block & Tietjen-Smith, 2006; Dashper, 2019).

The interviews took place in the spring of 2022, after two years of restrictions and lockdowns caused by the pandemic of the Coronavirus Disease 2019. This situation greatly affected women on a global scale, and specifically for this study, the event industry (Stewart et al., 2022; Khlystova et al, 2022). Women interviewed highlighted the struggle to work from home while home-schooling or being care giver for elderly relatives, known as the double burden (Lyttelton et al., 2022). During online meetings it was more common to see women being interrupted by their children than men. However, a positive aspect of the lockdowns is that it allowed for flexible working for women (Islam, 2022). This type of working supported them between the various commitments: children, family, work, and house chores.

The fourth research objective of this study aimed at evaluating what issues women in Edinburgh's festival sector face in achieving leadership positions, in comparison with the literature. The first topic that emerged and was explored by many informants was motherhood (Dent, 2020; Ma et al., 2022). This seemed to be a challenging situation, and women might move to part-time roles, or change industry. The reasons behind these difficulties are to be seen internal and external reasons. The former considers the way the sector is organised, with often late-night events, or weekend working commitments, and some of the festivals take place in August when schools are on holidays. External reasons are linked to society, which sees women as the primary care giver and expects women to stay at

home to take care of the children, creating gaps in their career (Grandey et al., 2020; Ma et al., 2021; Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). For mother freelancers the situation is even more complicated, as they struggle to find jobs after being on maternity leave, without their needs of mothers being properly considered.

Another issue concerns how men are favoured in the festival industry. This can happen by being offered more job opportunities, as they do not have the double burden previously discussed and can usually devote themselves to work on their career (Creative Scotland, 2017). Moreover, some participants argued that men have higher pay. This aligns with a study done in 2018 by Power Play (2019), which demonstrate the presence of the Gender Pay Gap at the Edinburgh Festival Fringe. This can be connected to the fact that women are not taught to discuss money, negotiate raises and promotions (Artz et al., 2018; Amanatullah & Tinsely, 2013). Participants commented that women work in the festival sector because they are passionate about it, while men might first look at salary and working conditions before applying for a job. This is to be seen in gender stereotypes and gendered roles (Eagly & Karau, 2002), as women would be negatively judged when working on their career, they would feel *guilty* about it, because their focus should be the family (Wood & Eagly, 2012; Meeuseen et al., 2022).

Participants underlined several gender inequalities taking place in the festival sectors. Gender ageism (Jyrkinen, 2014), for example, makes it difficult for young women to be taken seriously as leaders, and to lead a team with older men. Lookism (Spiegel, 2023) was experienced by a relatively small and soft-spoken woman, with whom men thought, because of the way she looked, that they could be more aggressive. Cases of dismissing and mansplaining (Bridges, 2017), during meetings, or patronising (Dular, 2021), when for example women are given feedback, were experienced by almost all women interviewed. Finally, sexual harassments of various degrees can take place in festivals. Freelancer women who were in such situations commented that there are no policies in place, or proper support structures, leaving them with no one to talk about of the situation, and to fear that if they speak about it, they might not be offered jobs anymore in the future.

Finally, two more aspects were considered regarding this research objectives: tokenism (Kanter, 1977), and Glass ceiling (Carvalho et al., 2018). The first was discussed in relation to EDI policies, as women are often chosen to lead inclusion, equality, and diversity programs without real support and resources, but just to get funds. Glass Ceiling refers to those invisible barriers that hinder women's career (Harris & White, 2018), some of which were greatly analysed in various moments of the interviews, such as motherhood, gendered roles and gender inequalities.

The last research objective considered the skills of festivals leadership. Abson's (2017) study was employed to discuss whether the skills that emerged from Abson's paper could apply to festival settings as well. All six key leadership practices were indicated as essential by participants, these are: engaging communication, strategic perspective, critical analysis and judgment, resource management, emotional resilience, and interpersonal sensitivity. To these, informants mentioned that compassion, honesty, mentorship, listening, creative problem solving, strategic direction, and empowerment should be added. Findings also revealed that festival leadership is seen as collaborative, where several individuals hold a variety of leadership roles (Yammarino et al., 2012; De Brùn & McAuliffe, 2023). The approach should also be genderless, as the gender is not important, but rather the skills, and reducing leadership to a gender would be reductive.

An important discussion with participants led to consider who a festival leader is, and the difficulty of women to see themselves as leaders. Leading by example was indicated during the interviews as an essential leader's skill (Brown et al., 2005; Eisenkopf, 2020; Einchenseer, 2023). A leader should also take care of their staff, specifically in festivals which are usually understaffed and with tight deadlines. What is interesting to remark is how both the skills that they suggested to add to Abson's (2017) study and these two skills, leading by example and taking care of staff, are traditionally seen as women's skills, the so-called soft skills (Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Linked to the discussion around EDI and the importance to have everyone involved, participants remarked that those holding the power should make a difference in the organisations, to create equal working environments. Many commented that having a woman leader cannot make a difference if she is alone in her fight for equality. This can be connected to the Queen Bee Phenomenon, which describes women in senior positions who do not support other women colleagues and do not challenge the gender stereotypes of the organisations (Derks et al., 2016; Vial et al., 2016). *"I went through it, so you need to as well"* is what a young participant pointed out, as the woman in senior position in her organisation does not support women, and often she had to tell her ideas to a man colleague to make sure they would be taken into consideration in meetings.

In the interviews, some differences between men and women leaders were also outlined. Sometimes it is easier to discuss certain topics, such as motherhood and mental health, with women rather than men. Although the situation is changing and generalisations cannot be made, women own more soft skills than men: they are more empathetic and sensitive. This could be noticed during lockdowns as well. While the data on this matter is limited, women leaders tried to make sure their teams were doing fine, creating safe occasion to meet, testing their leadership, and making sure their team was supported.

The last theme on leadership looked at the difficulties women leaders experienced. Role Congruity Theory refers to the stereotypical way of looking at a leader as someone who must be powerful and aggressive, which are seen as incongruent skills in a woman, who should be communal and caring (Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017). The experience of a participants expresses this incongruency. In meetings with older men, they are allowed to shout and be aggressive towards her, while she needs to shut her feelings. If she cries, she would not be seen as a proper leader, because leaders do not cry. If she is aggressive as well, she would not be accepted as a woman, because women are soft and kind (Schlein, 1973). This puts women leaders in a challenging situation, making them feel that if they care about

their team or if they show feelings, stereotypically women behaviours (Schock et al., 2019), then *“that’s not leading”*.

The chapter concluded with the wishes women have for the future in the Edinburgh’s festivals, their hope to have an environment where women own their place, and mothers do not have to choose between having a family or working on their career. While they are aware that the fight is still long, with more women being appointed as leaders, they are optimistic that they will be chosen for their skills, and will be given the resources, and support they need, rather than being employed as tokens.

Part 5 Conclusions and contribution

In this final part of the thesis, Chapter 10 looks at the conclusion that can be drawn from the data analysis, in relation to the research questions and the overall research aim. The contribution to knowledge and practice are also underlined. Finally, the limits of this study are acknowledged, and future research is explored.

Chapter 10: Conclusions and contributions

10.1 Introduction

The purpose of this final chapter is to consider the findings previously analysed, discuss the thesis' theoretical and practical contributions in relation to the overall aim of this PhD project. Moreover, considerations on the limitation and future directions of this research, and a reflective remark are presented.

10.2 Discussion of findings: Conclusions

The following discussion around the findings from the data analysis takes into consideration the research objectives, as well as the research questions and research aim, which was to understand the extent to which women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions, and the situation that underpin the situation. An in-depth qualitative methodological approach which was grounded in feminist research was employed to understand and explore the situation of women working in the Edinburgh festivals, the issues and challenges they faced in achieving leadership and senior roles, and the reasons behind it. The five research objectives are discussed:

1. To undertake a critical analysis of academic literature in the areas of leadership theories, feminism, the management of events, and specifically arts festivals;
2. To undertake qualitative research to critically explore and evaluate how women festival leaders position themselves Edinburgh's festivals sector;
3. To gain an understanding of how culture and society affect women in achieving leadership positions in Edinburgh's festivals sector;
4. To evaluate the issues faced by women in Edinburgh's festival sector in achieving leadership positions in comparison with the literature;
5. To understand what the skills of festival leadership are in comparison to existing literature on the subject.

The research questions will also be considered, and these are:

- 1) Why are there so few women leaders in the Edinburgh festivals despite being a women-dominated sector?
- 2) What gender inequalities take place in the Edinburgh festival sectors?
- 3) Is it difficult to be a mother working in the Edinburgh festivals?
- 4) Do women working in the Edinburgh festivals doubt their skills and capacities, do they present the impostor phenomenon? Are gendered roles enacted in the Edinburgh festivals sector?
- 5) Are EDI considered as important in Edinburgh festival organisations?
- 6) What is the purpose of feminism for women working in the Edinburgh festivals?
- 7) Is there evidence of one of the four issues analysed in the literature review, namely the Glass Cliff Phenomenon, the Queen Bee Phenomenon, Token Theory, and Role Congruity Theory in the Edinburgh festivals?
- 8) Are the six key leadership practises suggested by Abson (2017) essential in festival leadership?
- 9) Can festival leadership style be collective?

The research objectives and the research questions contribute to investigate the research aim are presented in detail in the following sections.

10.2.1 Literature review in the areas of leadership theories, feminism, the management of the events, and specifically arts festivals.

The first objective aimed at undertaking a critical analysis of academic literature in the areas of leadership theories, feminism, the management of events, and specifically arts festivals. This was achieved in Chapter 2, 3, 4 and 5, each considered an area of the literature review.

Chapter 2 focused on leadership history and styles. Chapter 3 investigated women and leadership, considering issues that hinder women's career. Chapter 4 centred on feminist research and the meanings it has. Finally, Chapter 5 discussed arts festival management, gender research in events, and issues around EDI and gender inequalities.

10.2.2 Women are aware of the position they hold in the Edinburgh festivals sector

The second research objective critically explored and evaluated how women festival leaders positioned themselves in the Edinburgh's festivals sector. Upon the analysis conducted in Chapter 9, there are several aspects to consider. The festival industry in Edinburgh is women dominated, and this confirms what discussed in the literature review, which suggested that 70 to 80% of staff are women (Dashper, 2018). Women working in festivals consider that the environment is generally empowering, and there is support between one another. Women leaders in festival organisations are looked at as examples, as mentors and women supporters. The skills women bring into the industry, the so-called soft skills, being communal, inclusive, and collaborative (Wood & Eagly, 2012; Eagly & Carli, 2003) are seen as essential in festivals. Women also create a safer environment where it is easier to work and talk about certain topics, such as maternity, family, and mental health. However, despite the positive aspects discussed by women, they are also aware that there are some issues. Participants positioned themselves as important in the festival sector and consider that they play a fundamental role in creating a good working environment. However, they are also aware of challenges that limit their potential and their career advancement.

10.2.3 Society and culture have a dominant role in hindering women's career in the Edinburgh festivals

The third research objective aimed at understanding how culture and society affected women in achieving leadership positions in Edinburgh's festival sector. The data analysis contributed to highlight several different ways society and culture influence women working in festivals organisations. In Chapter 9, it can be noticed how masculinity and femininity are two

recurrent concepts. The dichotomy between them was considered in the literature review, in Chapter 1, and their importance was underlined when presenting the data. Culturally, men and women are seen as different, where women are caregivers, and men as breadwinners (Cuddy et al., 2015; Schein, 1992; Ackerly & True, 2010). Despite what previously discussed that stereotypically women's skills are now considered valuable in organisations, women are still not seen as leaders. This is because of the prejudice of *think manager-think male* (Schlein, 1973), that is that men own leadership skills (Ryan et al., 2016).

In festival organisations, gendered roles take place, allowing women to have acceptable and non-acceptable behaviours, provoked by unconscious gender biases. Gender stereotypes start at an early age, where children see the roles that their parents have in the family. The mother as caregiver, and the father the one who goes to work. This is seen when festival staff meet with schools to discuss about their work. Boys seem not to be interested in getting a job there because the pay is low. This would also explain why they do not choose events degrees at universities, where the percentage in the UK is that 90% of students are women (Thomas, 2017). These unconscious behaviours and decisions can be seen also in other situations. Women, for example, do not believe they earn senior roles or that they belong to festivals boards. This is known as the Impostor Phenomenon (Feenstra et al., 2020), and was commented by many participants. As society makes women feel that they do not have the right to be in senior roles, they believe this. What is interesting is how several participants commented on a study they have heard about, that says that women would not apply for a job unless they have the majority of skills, while men would do it even if they have only 60% of them (Desvaux et al., 2008). Gendered roles are so ingrained in the way people think, see, and understand society, that participants believe to a study, regardless of its authenticity, and that, in fact, does not have any scientific evidence.

These findings allow to answer the research question which asked whether gendered roles are enacted in the Edinburgh Festivals sector and if women experience the Impostor Phenomenon, which can be both positively answered. As noticed in the above discussion, participants have, indeed, discussed that some behaviours are more - or less- accepted for women. Interestingly, a participant commented that she expected women not to have

enough time to take on senior roles because they are responsible to run a family, without having experienced this herself but only based on what society says about and expect from women. This can be linked to the discussed concept of femininity and masculinity, presented here, as well as in section 2.2.3, and the stereotypes attached to the genders (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Cuddy, 2015). Moreover, the experience of the participants corroborates what discussed in the literature review on the topic of the Impostor Syndrome, in section 3.4.1. The lack of confidence is felt by women, and it is caused by gender stereotypes that do not consider women be suitable leaders for organisations.

The reasons behind the Impostor Phenomenon and the belief to lack the needed skills to apply for a senior position are multiple. One is the structures of society, which are patriarchal (Hill & Allen, 2021). Participants have argued that patriarchal societies are built around men and White supremacy, normative heterosexuality, and normative able-bodiedness (Ortner, 2022). These aspects were discussed in detail from participants when asked about Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion in festivals. Despite younger generations entering the festival sector in Edinburgh, who are more concerned about gender equality, power relations, and are fighting the status quo, there is still work to do around the theme of EDI. EDI are also not well researched in events management (Calver et al., 2023; Dashper & Finkel, 2021), and in festivals organisations they are not often enough considered. According to the data analysis, sometimes EDI are used to gain funds, and there is no real commitment to them, especially from those in powers. In order to demonstrate they are working on EDI issue, they would assign the lead of an EDI team to a woman, or a person from a minority, but without real power, as token (Kanter, 1977). Those in power do not want to give up to the roles they have and share it with the rest of the team, a behaviour known as resource threat (Shteynberg et al., 2011). Gender quotas are also seen as an ineffective tool when women or minorities are used as token, without a real change in the organisation culture (Kantola & Iombrado, 2017; Hughes et al., 2017). One research question concerns EDI and how they are considered in festivals organisations. Some festival organisations are working towards EDI policies and creating a more diverse and inclusive working environments. At the same time, not everyone in power is fully committed, and at times the EDI choices are questionable and seem to be taken to appear more diverse and to gain fundings. There are, however, some examples of

attempts from organisations to work on EDI, such as menopause groups and free menstruations products in toilets, but more can be done. What is interesting about this topic is that the perception of the people interviewed is that the industry is accessible. This belief disagrees with what has been examined in the literature review, specifically in Chapter 5, which showed that research on the topic (Bossey, 2020; Alvarado, 2022), and official statistic (Creative Scotland, 2022) indicated that the sector is neither diverse nor inclusive. If those discussing changes and improvements in relation of EDI are only White women or only men, then the discussion will be limited, without making a real impact.

Feminism is also important to consider, both in terms of the purpose it has, but also what it could bring in the festival sector, given its political power, and the way it shapes societies (Krook & Childs, 2010; Dimitrova et al., 2020). This aligns with another research question, which aimed to identify the purpose of feminism for the women working in the Edinburgh Festivals. While not everyone taking part in the study considered themselves as feminist, they all agreed that the fight for gender equality, a central topic in feminism (Hosking et al., 2017; Swirsky & Angelone, 2014; Acker et al., 1983), is fundamental and equitable and equal working environment should be created. It is a feminism that includes everyone, regardless of the gender. *Menimism* is concept introduced by a participant, meaning that men need to be involved in the fight for gender equality. Without the participation of everyone at the workplace, little can be achieved in terms of equity and equality (Mateos de Cabo et al., 2019).

The pandemic of Covid-19 severely impacted women who were already struggling between family and work commitments, known as the double burden (Lyttelton et al., 2022; Yildirim & Eslen-Ziya, 2021). With lockdowns, they experienced home schooling, which forced them to spend less time on paid work and focusing more on household responsibilities compared to men (Bulug et al., 2022; Qian & Fuller, 2020). This was noticed in festival organisations, where often mothers were interrupted during a work call online by children, while the same did not happen for men.

One way to address societal and cultural gender stereotypes would be through mentoring and support for women to work on their career. This would also bring benefit to organisations, as diverse boards contribute to improved decision-makings, and more creativity (Richard et al., 2013). Moreover, flexible working, introduced with the pandemic of Covid-19, can help women stay in their job, and not have to move to part-time roles, or even change completely industry. The possibility to work in more flexible ways allows them to manage both childcare, households, and work commitments (Islam, 2022).

10.2.4 There are several challenges that hinder women's career in Edinburgh Festivals

The fourth research objective aimed at evaluating the issues faced by women in Edinburgh's festival sector in achieving leadership positions in comparison with the literature. The data analysis concluded that the challenges women face in festival organisations and that hinder their career are many. What they have in common is that they take place based on gender stereotypes, the dichotomy between masculinity and femininity, and gendered roles. The first difficulty, discussed in relation to the pandemic of Covid-19, is being a mother. As seen in the literature review in Chapter 2, pregnancy, and the so-called maternity wall negatively impact mothers-to-be and mothers (Ma et al., 2022; Dent, 2020). This is also experienced in festival organisations. Partly this is caused by the nature of the festivals, which has many evening and weekend events, making it difficult for mothers to balance the work commitments with the children's responsibilities. On the other side, because of gender stereotypes and beliefs of the role a woman should have, they are the primary caregivers (Heilman & Okimoto, 2008). This in festival organisations influence some women to have children later in age, to make sure to have reached a good job role; or to move to a part time role, and therefore to miss on working opportunities, training, and so on (Grandey et al., 2020; Ma et al., 2021; Delacruz & Speer, 2023). Despite being more flexible after the pandemic of Covid-19, managers struggle to understand and consider the needs of mothers. If it is difficult for those women who have part-and full-time roles, for freelancer mother is even more challenging. They struggle to find work, and when they go back to the industry, there is no understanding of the needs that a mother can have. The finding on this matter allows to answer the research question on

whether it is difficult to be a mother working in the festivals, and, as it can be noticed from the above discussion, the answer would be affirmative. The needs of mothers are not always supported and understood by those working in management roles (Grandey et al., 2020; Ma et al., 2021, Delacruz & Speer, 2023)

Linked to this topic of motherhood is also the fact that men are favoured in the industry, they get more job opportunities, which help them reach higher roles in the organisations (Dias et al., 2020). This could be a reason for the Gender Pay Gap (NACWG, 2021; Office for National Statistics, 2022; Power Play, 2019). As considered previously, women have more gaps in the career and would choose part-time roles to accommodate children caring responsibilities (Arun et al. 2004). Many participants discussed maternity as a problem and as a justification to explain why there are more men at director levels. Like the Impostor Phenomenon, women feel guilty to work on their career, and they struggle to ask for promotions and higher salary (Artz et al., 2018). As participants commented, women go for a job in festivals not for the compensation, but because they are passionate for the arts and want to make a difference. This could be explained with how children grow up, and the fact that talking about money or career is not proper for women (Wood & Eagly, 2012), as they would be seen too masculine when self-promotional, and would suffer from backlash (Amanatullah & Tinsley, 2013). This was reviewed in the literature review as well, where it was indicated how women suffer from external factors- how men and women are socialised and women are directed to focus on the family, which then influenced their internal choices, for example change the industry or move to part-time (Meeuseen et al., 2022).

Gender inequalities was another important topic discussed by participants. In the literature review, in Chapter 5, it was outlined how research on the topic in relation to events is still not broad yet, and various forms of gender inequalities were discussed more generally. This is why one of the research questions asked what gender inequalities take place in the Edinburgh festivals sector. Gender ageism and lookism can be found in the festivals sector in Edinburgh. The first refers to discriminations based on the intersection of gender and age (Jyrkinen, 2014). A young woman can struggle to be taken seriously or to be seen as the person in

charge. At the same time, it can be challenging for an older woman freelancer to find a job in festivals, as they would prefer someone younger. Lookism is the discrimination based on the physical attractiveness (Spiegel, 2023). In festivals, being a small, softly spoken woman can attract aggressive behaviours in meetings; the woman's look allowed men to be aggressive towards her. Women in festivals experience also dismissing (Bridges, 2017) and patronising behaviours from men, as well as mansplaining (Dular, 2021). This happens when in meetings women are talked over, their ideas are overlooked or "stolen" by men, or interrupted, known as *maninterrupting* (Joyce et al., 2021). As women are stereotypically perceived as incompetent, men would not expect them to do a good job, giving them a kind condescending, paternalistic praise as feedback (Gervais & Vescio, 2012). More hostile forms of sexism are sexual harassments (Grosser & Taylor, 2022), which were experienced to various degree by the women taking part in the study. These forms are inappropriate behaviours of drunk patrons after a night event, being scared to walk back home at nights, and sexual aggressions. What is important to remark is the lack of support and control, especially for those working temporarily in the summer at festivals venues, and freelancers. It seems that there are no policies in place, or a system where they can make complaints, they are not provided with contacts to get in touch with, in case of need, and the fear is that complaining means not finding jobs in the future. This situation is a problematic gap in the system, which leaves many young women alone, without knowing who to talk to when such situations happen.

To fully answer the research question on why there are few women in leadership positions in the Edinburgh festivals, a women dominated sector, as seen in this section there are several reasons. Family commitment and maternity can be an obstacle. The situation brings women to choose part-time roles, or positions at lower management level, to have the possibility to have a balance between work and family commitment. In addition to this, the causes are to be seen in gender stereotypes, and gendered roles, the way women and men grow up, and societal and cultural expectations on them, as well (Schneider & Bos, 2019; Wood & Eagly, 2012). Moreover, men tend to be offered more job opportunities than women. Women also feel guilty in working on their career, they do not feel confident in asking or negotiating for

higher salary. It is ingrained in their gender that they should be communal, caring, and not career orientated (Wood & Eagly, 2012).

Finally, two more issues that take place in the Edinburgh festivals are Token Theory and Glass Ceiling. Given the lack of literature taking into consideration these two issues in the festival sector, one of the research questions looked at Token Theory and Glass Ceiling and whether they take place in the Edinburgh festivals. The literature review discussed the Glass Cliff Phenomenon which takes place when during a moment of internal crisis, an organisation gives the leading role to a woman, without real trust in her skills, but mostly to showcase stakeholders that they are making changes to solve the issues (Morgenroth et al., 2020). This was taken into consideration given the crisis that the Pandemic of Covid-19 brought to the events industry (Patrick & Elsdon, 2020; Khlystova et al., 2022).. However, that was not the case, and none of the participants mentioned this, while the Glass Ceiling was. This is a metaphor used to discuss the invisible barriers that hinder women's career (Harris & White, 2018). These barriers can be seen in the various issues presented in section 9.2, that do not allow women to progress in their careers: the impostor syndrome, the maternity wall, gender inequalities, and so on. Token Theory is when someone who belongs to a minority, for example women, are appointed or hired because of their difference, and to demonstrate the company does not discriminate (Kanter, 1997). This was previously examined in relation to EDI, as some participants felt a woman or someone from a minority were appointed to take care of equality, diversity, and inclusion issues, but mostly to get fundings, rather than for a real wish of change.

10.2.5 An analysis of festival leadership and festival leader

The last research objective aimed at understanding what the skills of festival leadership in comparison to existing literature on the subject are. This research question while focusing on festival leadership gave the possibility to participants to discuss more broadly about women and men leadership, their differences, and the challenges women leader experiences in Edinburgh festivals organisations.

The first aspect to consider is in relation to Abson's (2017) study on the key leadership practices in events, which resulted to be six: engaging communication; strategic perspective; critical analysis and judgment; resources management, emotional resilience; and interpersonal sensitivity. All participants agreed on their importance in festival organisations. They specifically discussed engaging communication as not an easy skill to have. This is especially in arts festivals, as communication is not done as it is in corporate companies, e.g. via email. This is done in a more creative way, and in certain organisations, even a chart is designed by the graphic designer. Communication is also important with the people working in festivals, such as artists and performers. The expectations are different, and the communication needs to be adjusted. Strategic perspective is also essential, but given the nature of the festival cycle, and the constant lack of time, it is often difficult to look at the bigger picture and make long-term goals. Critical analysis and judgment are important, especially when working all year for an event that lasts a couple of days or weeks, as festivals usually are. Resource management has become even more problematic after the pandemic of Covid-19 and Brexit, as many left the industry, to move somewhere more secure. Moreover, according to the participants, festivals are usually understaffed, working longer hours and with high level of stress before and during the event. Emotional resilience is looked from two perspectives. One is for the artists and performers since putting on a show can be emotionally stressful. The second is for the staff, as there is often situation of burn out staff, who, because they are understaffed, they work long stressful hours. Finally, participants commented that there is need for more interpersonal sensitivity, especially when working in the creative industries and with artists.

To answer one of the research questions which asked whether these six key leadership practices, as suggested by Abson (2017), are essential in festival leadership, the answer, based on the above discussion, would be yes. However, some other skills were added as considered important in festival organisations. Compassion is one of them, and that means to be orientated towards others and to know where the boundaries are, creating safe spaces for others. Honesty, stand by the decision the leader makes, empowering, creating a diverse and

inclusive workplace, and mentorship were also added. The literature review in Chapter 5 has greatly discussed the importance of mentorship in festivals, as a supportive tool for women in advancing their career. Finally, creative problem solving, the ability to think differently, having a sense of strategic direction, and the commitment to listen to the people's needs were also mentioned.

What is also worth to consider is that some of the participants see festival leadership as collaborative and collective, as discussed in Chapter 2 of the literature review (Yammarino et al., 2012; Dihn et al., 2014; Dionne et al., 2014). This is an interesting aspect of the finding and allows to answer the question on whether festival leadership style can be collective. The festival leader should not micromanage but choose the right person for the tasks. This aligns with feminist approach, where the leading role is passed on depending on what is required (O'Molloy & Johnson, 2018; Shaed, 2018). In relation to this, there is also a call for genderless leadership, to overcome the dichotomy between masculinity and femininity, which characterises most aspects of society and the workplace. Participants said that reducing leadership to sex is reductive, and more focus should be given on how people are trained and socialised. It is more complex than simply stating what is a male or a female leadership style. Moreover, by doing so, by taking sex out of the discourse, it would not allow people to justify their behaviour simply because of their sex.

This consideration about sex and gender, amply discussed in the literature review chapters, made some of the participants even questioned their leadership style, not agentic enough, feeling not to be good leader. Some core skills, that a leader should have, are to lead by example, and to take care of the staff. It is important to set the right example for your team, such as to not overwork. Based on the data analysis, if the manager work longer hours, this influences the team to stay longer at work. The leader has a care of duty towards their followers, and, in such a stressful and high pace environment as a festival can become, it is fundamental to make sure the team is doing well and is not suffering from stress-related diseases, e.g., from burnout.

When discussing EDI, it was underlined how one person alone cannot make a substantial change in the culture and structure of the organisations. This can be applied to women leaders, who, alone, cannot work against gender inequalities and patriarchal structures of the company. There are some men who support women in Edinburgh festivals organisations and are taking part in conversations, however the responsibility of the change should not be placed upon women only.

As already mentioned, the festivals sector is highly women dominated in Edinburgh. Some women in senior roles support other women colleagues and try to understand what policies and what changes are required to adjust to women's needs, for example mothers. However, that depends on who the leader is. As presented in the literature review, in Chapter 3, the Queen Bee Phenomenon takes place when a woman in leadership position manifests antifeminist behaviours towards their women co-workers (Stained et al., 1973). When this phenomenon was analysed, it was emphasised that it often takes place because the organisation does not address the gender inequalities and does not challenge them. This brings women who have reached senior position to behave like the men to legitimise their role (Derks et al., 2016). A research question asked whether the Queen Bee Phenomenon takes place in the festival sector in Edinburgh. Queen Bees, whose term was not used specifically by participants as it is used in research, have three types of behaviours, and these were noticed in festivals organisations as well. There is a sort of gate keeping, especially from older women in senior positions, who believe that younger women need to experience the challenges they had when they started to work in the sector. First, they adopt a male characteristic to lead, as they believe that in this way they can lead effectively. Queen Bees also legitimise gender hierarchy in organisations, without supporting women's career (Derks et al., 2016). This aligns with participants discussing the importance of the woman leader to also be feminist and to support other women. Finally, Queen Bees are very competitive, more than men (Vial et al., 2016). Women feel threatened by other women and are not always kind to one another in Edinburgh's festivals.

While it was discussed that leadership should be genderless, it was noticed that men and women lead differently. Participants said that it is easier to talk about certain topics with women, such as menopause, mental health, and families, as the relation with a woman leader is often more personal and confident. The experiences shared by the participants are personal, and cannot be generalised, but there seems to be a difference when working with either of the gender. When describing the skills women have, many of these can be linked to soft skills: empathy, resilience, more align to the culture of the organisations. These are soft skills, which are stereotypically seen as proper of women and not of men (Ackerly & True, 2010; Núñez Puente & Gámez Fuentes, 2017).

Women leaders also face specific issues, and one discussed by participants is the Role Congruity Theory. This is the stereotypical idea that a leader must have agentic skills, which belong to men, and therefore women cannot be good leaders (Eagly & Karau, 2002). Women are then seen less favourable than men as leaders. As this issue was discussed in the literature review, one research question concerned whether it takes place in the Edinburgh festivals. Indeed, Role Congruity Theory in festival organisations take place in two ways. From one side, women are not legitimised as leader. Men followers challenge the leadership of women, making the working conditions hard, being very argumentative. Moreover, when there is a room full of people, it is assumed that the man in the room is the manager and the person in charge. As discussed in the literature review, there is a belief *think manager-think male* (Schlein, 1973). This puts women in a contradictory role, as women leaders are not allowed to have stereotypical women emotions, because they are not proper of a leader. This is experienced by a participant, who specifically commented how difficult it can be during meetings, when men are allowed to be angry, to shout, and to be aggressive, while women cannot express emotions, such as crying. This reaction does not fit with how a leader should behave. Such situations can be linked to the double standard: an agentic woman is considered less desirable, not confirming with her gender and being communal. A communal leader is not seen as a good leader, as leadership should be agentic (Schock et al., 2019). This can be challenging and stressful for women leaders.

10.3 Contributions of this Study

10.3.1 Contribution to Knowledge

This academic study presents a series of important and significant contribution to knowledge and existing theories. The outcomes have value from both an academic and a practical perspective and will be analysed in detail.

Academic research that focuses on festivals and gender is not greatly developed (Morgan & Pritchard, 2018; Chamber & Rakić, 2018). Therefore, this can be seen as the first major in-depth study of Edinburgh's arts festivals sector, leadership, and gender, making this research unique for the subject considered. The findings of this study can be applicable to other industries, other geographical contexts. The new knowledge contributes to various academic disciplines, specifically leadership management, gender studies, feminist studies, and events and arts festivals research. More specifically, this study is a response to the paucity of research relating to the experiences and roles of women in the festival sector, contributing to knowledge in the field of tourism, event, and hospitality research (e.g: Xiong et al., 2022; Dashper & Finkel, 2020; Werner, 2021; Gebbels et al., 2020).

Issues faced by women leaders in Edinburgh's festivals sector:

Leadership research has widely considered women leadership and the issues they might face when advancing in their career to achieve leadership roles (Glass & Cook, 2016; Vial et al., 2016; Arvate et al., 2018; Harvey, 2018; Zimmer, 1988; Aicher & Samariniotis, 2011). The novelty of this study is to contribute to the field of leadership with a focus on festivals. The issues analysed in the literature review, the Token Theory, the Queen Bee Phenomenon, the Role Congruity Theory, and Glass Cliff Phenomenon have not been previously analysed in events or festival contexts. The first three issues are experienced in festivals, as reported, and commented on by the participants. The Glass Cliff Phenomenon, instead, does not take place. This is an interesting finding, that can help understand what happened at management levels during the pandemic of Covid-19 in festival sectors. The phenomenon was taken into consideration because of the crisis that lockdowns and restrictions brought in the creative

industries (Patrick & Elsdon, 2020; Khlystova et al., 2022) However, no participants discussed it, while the Glass Ceiling was, instead, mentioned. Therefore, this is an important contribution in both leadership studies, but also events management.

Festival Leadership:

This study contributed to expanding the knowledge on festival leadership, which has not been greatly developed yet (Caust, 2004; Ensor et al., 2007; Wilks, 2015; Davies, 2015). By using Abson's (2017) study as the context for discussion, the six key skills leadership practices suggested were confirmed by participants of this research as essential in festivals as well. These are engaging communication, strategic perspective, critical analysis and judgment, resource management, emotional resilience, and interpersonal sensitivity. To these, however, some other skills were added as considered essential when working in the festival sectors, contributing to understanding better what festival leadership is. These added skills were: compassion, honesty, mentorship, transparency, consistency, empowerment, listening skills, creative problem solving, and strategic direction.

On this topic, leadership in festivals was also discussed as collective and genderless. These are two important elements, which have been examined in both leadership and feminist research. Collective leadership belongs to the new approaches reviewed in Chapter 2 and given how festivals are organised and the structure they have, participants stressed the importance of the collaborative aspect of leadership. This goes against the traditional dyad way of looking at leadership, where the focus is on the relation between leader and followers (De Brùn & McAuliffe, 2023). It is important also for feminist studies, as feminist leadership, presented in Chapter 4, is described as collaborative and collective (O'Molloy & Johnson, 2018). Participants discussed feminist leaders and the importance they have, regardless of their gender, to make a positive impact and improve gender equality in the organisation.

Gender Research:

Gender research in events as a subject has not attracted much interest in research (Mooney, 2020), and there are not many articles that consider gender and gender inequalities in event research (e.g.: Dashper & Finkel, 2021). Gender inequalities have been explored in relation to business events (Dashper & Finkel, 2020), and on the Industry Board membership (Thomas, 2017). However, in general, and specifically in terms of festivals, there is a paucity of research (Ehrich et al., 2022; Platt & Finkel, 2020; Pernecky et al., 2019). Studies have considered the festivals attendees (Platt & Finkel, 2020), music festivals (Jones, 2020), and film festivals (Ehrich et al., 2022; Loist & Prommer, 2019; Verhoeven et al., 2019). This is the first study that investigates gender inequalities in arts festivals in Edinburgh and considers and analyses which ones are taking place. These findings are important not only in event management, as they contribute to understand the working conditions of women working in the festival sector. They are also critical for gender studies, as gender inequalities are strictly linked to the dichotomy between masculinity and femininity, and gendered representations.

Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion:

This study contributes to event management research, as it provides an overview of the state of EDI in Edinburgh's festivals, which have not been explored before. As discussed in Chapter 5, the hospitality, tourism, and event research has not fully addressed questions around the topic of equality, diversity, and inclusion, leaving it to a marginal or niche area (Calver et al., 2023). Interestingly, there was a mismatch between what some participants said around EDI, as they considered the festivals diverse in terms of sexuality, and gender balanced. However, looking at the latest report (Arts Council England, 2022), this is not the case as the industry appears to be White, able-bodied, and straight. To this, it should be added that some women who took part in the study commented that there are some issues around EDI. The sector is White, and EDI policies and improvements are not taken seriously.

Gendered Roles:

The findings of gendered roles in the Edinburgh's festival sector are important as they underline how society and culture affect the working conditions of women in arts festivals. As seen in the data analysis, gendered roles cause women to be seen as the primary caregiver, not interested in working on their career, and feeling guilty when doing so (Meeussen et al., 2022; Wood & Eagly, 2012). These behaviours, caused by the stereotypical way of looking and understand gender, affect the way women act and perceive themselves (Wood & Eagly, 2012). This has consequences on their career and how they position themselves in the organisation and in family matters. Issues such as maternity wall, the impostor phenomenon, and the guilty feeling towards working on their career are connected to gendered roles but have not been discussed in the events context (Grandey et al., 2020; Ma et al., 2021; Delacruz & Speer, 2023). Therefore, the findings on this subject contribute to leadership management as well as sociology, gender studies, and social research.

Visual Methods:

As seen in Chapter 7, visual methods are being used more widely in tourism, hospitality, and event management (Matteucci, 2013; Rakić & Pernecky, 2019). Visuals have an important role when discussing culture (Rose, 2001), and are a powerful tool to convey rich, complex, and powerful meanings (Larsen, 2013). Using photo-voice for this study has allowed women to be able to recall negative experiences about their career in festival organisations, as well as talk about complex topics, such as leadership. However, what was noticed during the interviews was that those participants who took the time to search for photos, did it in such a meaningful way, that they had started to reflect on their experience in the Edinburgh festivals before the interview took place. Some of the participants said that going through their various experiences in festivals brought up memories that they had forgotten. This findings support what has been discussed in feminist theory, to have an action-orientated, participant-direct method which empowers those employing it (Sutton-Brown, 2014; Coffey, 2021; Clark-Ibáñez, 2002). It also contributes to the debate over the use of qualitative research, specifically visual methods in events research, as a rich tool to employ to achieve rich and personal data (Pernecky & Rakić, 2019).

10.3.2 Contribution to Practice

In addition to the contributions to knowledge identified in the previous section, the study has also several practical implications, which are presented here.

Edinburgh Festivals Sector:

The findings of this study are aligned with the 2030 Vision for Edinburgh Festival City¹³ (Edinburgh Festival City, 2022). One of the issues presented in the data analysis was with equality, diversity, and inclusion. The 2030 Vision for Edinburgh Festival City underlines how the pandemic exposed existing inequalities in society and how the festivals need to focus on increasing equality of opportunity, inclusion, and diversity in working conditions (Edinburgh Festival City, 2022). The findings of this research could support understanding how to overcome those inequalities and help the festivals organisations working towards inclusion and diversity.

Moreover, festival leaders, and more broadly organisations in Edinburgh may be able to reflect on the issues raised by women in terms of gender inequalities, and obstacles that hinder their career progression. Understanding what specific challenges women have could inform the introduction of policies, trainings, and practices that could improve the working conditions for women.

Other geographical contexts, industries, and minorities:

While this study considers the Edinburgh Festivals, this could be conducted in other festival cities, to see, compare, and evaluate if the issues are the same, and if there is anything in

¹³ The 2030 Vision for Edinburgh Festival City is based on the result of a collective internal research and external discussion with Edinburgh Festivals and Festivals Forum stakeholders, as well as local residents, artists and creatives through Creative Edinburgh, and from business through Edinburgh Chamber and Commerce (Edinburgh Festival City, 2022).

place to address those challenges. Moreover, the study and its findings can be applied in other related sectors, such as the events sector, but also the hospitality, tourism, and the creative industries. In these sectors, women workers, artists, and performers also face non-standardised 9am-5pm office hours and have temporary/freelancer workers. An example is the hospitality and tourism sectors, with seasonal demands similar to Edinburgh's summer festivals seasons, could also benefit from the findings of this study.

The study highlights the lack of diversity within the Edinburgh festivals. The same study could be replicated interviewing people from diverse social and ethnic backgrounds to understand the challenges and the reasons behind the lack of representations in the sector.

Management practice:

The findings around leadership skills could support leaders to reflect upon current and future leadership practices within their individual festival setting and the festivals industry more broadly. The findings from the present study could inform leadership practice and policy in Edinburgh's festival sector.

From an operational perspective, flexible working needs to be taken more in consideration, as the findings underline the benefits of it, especially woman with caring responsibilities. Organisations could experiment various arrangements or allow staff to choose their own working schedule which fits better with other commitments.

Strategically, festival organisations should dedicate more time to long-term goals and resource allocation. The first should focus on setting goals, such as EDI, accessibility, protocols and supporting system for sexual harassments, and burn out, to name a few. This emerged from the data analysis as festival organisations lack the time to consider longer goals, and those that relate to EDI are usually the ones who are overlooked. This is connected to

resource allocation. Festival organisations are often understaffed, causing burn out, stress, unhealthy working conditions and hours. While this can be a challenging aspect to consider, the fact that the sector is not well-paid can be a reason why people are leaving the industry, as suggested by a participant. This can also explain the lack of diversity, as only those who have the privilege to have a partner who earns more or have other economic support can maintain a job in the sector. These can be seen as the reasons why the women who took part in the interview were mostly middle-class and White.

Dissemination of knowledge:

The findings of this research can contribute both theoretically, as previously discussed, but also practically, facilitating change for improved working conditions for women and leaders in the festival industry. The dissemination of knowledge will take place via different channels. First, the aim is to produce an industry report, which will be distributed to festivals organisations, but also shared on social media to reach everyone interested in the topic. Second, the various findings will be employed to write journal articles, with the goal to have this project published in at least 3 different journals. Finally, the plan is to host an industry workshop, to discuss the topic of festival leadership and/or gender inequalities in the festival industry.

10.4 Limitations of Research

This thesis presents some limitations that need to be addressed and considered.

Firstly, the study was conducted exclusively taking into consideration Edinburgh's festivals. While there are valid reasons for the choice of Edinburgh, given its rich history in festivals, being considered the World's Leading Festival City (Edinburgh Festival, 2023), and the high percentage of women working in the industry, the findings of this study are limited to Edinburgh and its festivals and might not be transferrable to other festival cities, in other geographical areas, with different socio-cultural dimensions. The findings of this study are

specific to Edinburgh, its culture, and its society, and to the experience of the women who work in Edinburgh.

Secondly, most participants of this study are middle-class, White women. The sample of participant is, therefore, limited in terms of diversity. This was not a choice of the researcher, since attempts were made to get in touch with every woman working in the festival industry. This limitation emerged in the data collection as well, where some of participants admitted their privileged background, having had the possibility of earning a degree in the arts and having the possibility to accept a job in the creative industries where the salary is low. The technique of snowball sampling was used when recruiting participants, as a way to reach as many women as possible. However, this tool has some limits. Firstly, only those who felt motivated took part in the study. Secondly, there was a risk of homophily, which refers to tendency of individuals to associate with those similar (Cooper, 1997).

Thirdly, the timing of this study was a limitation, since interviews took place between March and June 2022, and Edinburgh's festivals were going back to being live after two years of online or hybrid versions due to the global Covid-19 Pandemic. This limitation is specifically two-fold. Firstly, women were extremely busy and many of them could not take part in the study. Secondly, the pandemic might have had an impact on their working conditions and career opportunities, and therefore influenced their answer. This must be considered, as the conditions of some women working during the Pandemic worsened, with the struggle to home-school children, being furloughed, and greater time being taken up with caring responsibilities.

Fourthly, most women who took part in the study work part- or full-time in one of the festivals organisations. Very few freelancers and temporary workers were contacted. It was difficult to reach them, since their contact details were not available online. In the findings chapter, the differences experienced by freelancers on certain matters is clearly signposted. However,

the number of freelancers taking part in this study is very limited and findings do not provide a comprehensive overview of their situation.

Finally, this study employed qualitative methods, which were chosen as considered the most suitable for this study, as greatly discussed in Chapter 6. However, this thesis lacks the large-scale comparative quality that quantitative methods bring. Nonetheless, the study followed Lincoln and Guba's (1985) four elements of trustworthiness framework: credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. In addition to this, Braun and Clarke's (2006) 15-point checklist of criteria for good thematic analysis was also considered, in order to conduct TA in a rigorous manner. Moreover, a pilot study with two participants was employed, to evaluate and critically reflect on the research methods chosen, as well as the questions asked. Transcriptions were first done automatically by Microsoft Teams, and then checked by the researcher to ensure that no mistakes were made.

10.5 Potential Future Research Areas

There are several areas of future research, as well as opportunity for further inquiry that the findings of this thesis have produced.

Firstly, while the study took place in Edinburgh, and this can be considered a limitation, at the same time, it could be valuable to assess whether the situation presented here might be applicable to other festival sectors in different geographical contexts, or transferrable to further related sectors, in the tourism, hospitality, and event industry. A comparison of different cultures and societies, and their impacts on the working conditions for women in the festivals sector would be interesting.

Secondly, the same study could be conducted taking into consideration only the freelancers and temporary women workers, to better understand their situation and their experiences, and then assess whether there are differences with women working with part-and full-time

roles in festival organisations. The same could be done by talking to non-White women and/or those who do not belong to the middle class, and/or come from different social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The struggles they might experience could potentially be different and greater, and it would be valuable to give voice to them as well.

Thirdly, and connected to the previous point, is the investigation of the reasons why people working in the festivals sector see it as accessible and inclusive, and to understand if only White, middle-class women have this idea and what could be done to improve the situations. It would be important to evaluate what would make the festivals inclusive and why it is so difficult to make those changes. This aligns with what emerged from the findings, when discussing with women about their wishes and hopes for the future. EDI are a challenge for festival organisations, and further investigation and research could understand better the situation, and what hinders the applications of EDI policies.

Fourthly, a study on EDI policies, trainings, and well-being of staff could be conducted to see whether men and women act differently in those regards, and whether women leaders are generally feminist in the way they are leading. On this matter, two other areas could be explored. One could consider doing research on sustainability, to see whether gender, leadership, and more sustainability concerns are related in festival sector. The other one could look at volunteers to understand their working conditions, what support they have while working, and what their experience is like.

Finally, motherhood in festival could be explored more in detail. In the findings, it was highlighted how one of the hopes of women working in the festival sector for the future is to be able not to have to choose between having a family and advancing their working careers. Research on this topic could underline what best practices should be in place, and whether any new policies is needed in festival organisations to support women not to change sector or move to part-time roles.

10.6 Reflective Remarks

The thesis attempted to investigate to what extent women working in Edinburgh's festivals sector achieve leadership positions, and the reasons underpinning this situation. Through a qualitative approach, grounded in feminist research, this study was able to identify a series of societal and cultural factors that create gender expectations. These influence how women perceive themselves, and how they are seen by other people, as their primary role should be of caregivers.

In concluding this thesis, it is crucial to consider the researcher's position, initially presented in Chapter 6, which discussed the philosophical paradigm of the research. The researcher is herself a festival goer, an academic event researcher, with experience in working in festivals, is a woman, and has experienced gender inequalities as well. All these elements have put the researcher in a specific position, as the topic of the study and the way it was conducted were influenced by her previous experiences in the sector of festivals, and as a woman. Moreover, the knowledge gained upon writing the literature review, her personal growth as an intersectional feminist might have influenced the way the interviews were conducted, and the data analysed. Important to consider is also the reaction the research had during some difficult interviews she had with the participants. She is aware that both her knowledge on the topic, and her ability to be a good listener and welcoming people, created the right environment for participants to share unpleasant memories of harassments, aggressions, and experience of gender inequalities. This had an impact on the researcher who struggled between various emotions of anger and frustration, and the feeling of not being helpful and supportive enough of the women who took part in the study. It is essential to consider, then, the researcher's own experiences, prior and during the research, have been influential in the study, and have been considered in relation to feminist research.

This final chapter presented a discussion of the findings in relation to the research objectives and the overall aim. Then, the contributions to knowledge and practices were underlined, as this thesis advances knowledge in several disciplines: leadership and feminist studies, social science, qualitative research, sociology, gender studies, and the management of events. In

concluding this study, future potential research inquiries were considered, as well as the limitations.

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Appendix

Appendix 1: Overview of leadership styles

Leadership Style	Characteristics
Transactional Leadership	<p>This style aims at controlling and monitoring employees with rational and/or economic means (Bono & Judge, 2004). Specifically, Bass (1985), who first conceptualised this leadership, discusses these means as consisting of three dimensions: contingent rewards - the degree to which the leaders create constructive transactions or exchange of resources with the followers, establishing rewards for their effort; and two forms of management by exception- MBE, active and passive (Judge & Piccolo, 2004). These are the degrees to which the leader takes corrective action on the basis of results of leader-follower transactions; with either an active role by monitoring and taking correction action as necessary; or passive role by intervening only when necessary (Bono & Judge, 2004).</p> <p>Goodwin et al. (2001) found that the MLQ (Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire) measure of contingent reward consists of two separate factors: explicit and implicit psychological contract, which are those explicit or implicit employees' expectations and the reward for good performance and pursuit of the shared vision. Podsakoff et al. (2006) distinguish between contingent reward, contingent punishment, non-contingent reward, and non-contingent punishment. Both contingent reward and non-contingent punishment are strongly related to a large range of follower outcomes.</p> <p>Studies on the two MBE dimension are less common. MBE- passive was more strongly related to organisation-level performance (negatively), than was contingent reward (Wang et al., 2011).</p>
Transformational Leadership	<p>This style is one of the most researched leadership styles (Judge & Piccolo, 2004; Braun et al., 2013) and the first to discuss about it was Burns (1978). Transformational leaders are those who stimulate their followers to change their capabilities, beliefs, motives, and values so that the followers' own personal goal and interest become congruent with those of the organisation (Goowdwin et al., 2001). Demonstrated that there is a positive relationship of individual perception of supervisor's transformational leadership with an individual outcome, such as the followers' job satisfaction, as well as a positive relationship of team perception of supervisor's transformational leadership won individual followers' job satisfaction (Braun et al., 2013). Burns (1978) first discussion of transformational leadership was discussing the ideal situation between political leaders and their followers. Bass (1985) expanded Burns' political concept of transformational leadership and applied it to organisational context. According to Bass, transformational leaders transform their followers to perform beyond their expectations and engage in the 4 "I" of behaviour: inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation, idealised influenced, and individualised consideration (Hoch et al., 2018).</p>
Charismatic Leadership	<p>A charismatic leader uses a vision-based approach to communicate their message to a large group of followers, by providing a sense of meaning and a</p>

	<p>better future once the task has been completed (Bedell-Avers et al., 2009). The leaders also provide a sense of identity, provide direction and support in solving problems associated with identified goals, empower followers, and stress the sense of a shared experience (Lovelace et al., 2019). With large groups of followers, the charismatic leaders aim at building collective acceptance of a new identity, emotionally salient, while providing normative pressure on members to reinforce support for the direction of the leader's vision (Bedell-Avers et al., 2009). They try to provide a new sense of hope for the followers, leading them to be highly susceptible to the influence of the leader (Lovelace et al., 2019).</p>
Laissez-faire Leadership	<p>This type of behaviour is a poor leadership style. There are two types of poor leaderships that have been studied. The first considers aggressive or abusive behaviours, with leaders yelling, name-calling and threatening the followers. The second considers passive behaviours, such as laissez-faire leadership (Skogstad et al., 2007). By being laissez-faire leaders, they do not interfere with their followers, it is a form of passive leadership behaviour, a non-leadership (Hinkin & Schriesheim, 2008), contrary to other types of leadership, such as transformational leadership (Breevaart & Zacher, 2019). There are some criticisms of laissez-faire leadership as ineffective since it could prevent followers from receiving feedback and information from their leader or support when dealing with challenging situations at work (Breevaart & Zacher, 2019). It also causes higher level of distress and potentially more conflicts among colleagues (Skogstad et al., 2007). It also presents a reduced satisfaction with the job and with the leader, and in general leader effectiveness (Judge & Piccolo, 2004).</p>
Ideological Leadership	<p>Ideological and pragmatic leadership are seen as alternatives to charismatic and transformational leadership (Anderson & Sun, 2017). Ideological leadership was developed as a distinct style by Strange and Mumford (2002). The ideological leader has a vision that emphasises personal values, standards to be maintained and adherence to these standards (Lovelace et al., 2019). Ideological leaders are most effective when they are able to link their shared belief system to a specific pathway, addressing the issue or the cause of a problem relevant to the followers with the leader's influence (Bedell-Avers et al., 2009). Ideological leaders make use of past events to provide a common reference point for the followers to reduce anxiety and uncertainty associated with thinking about an unknown future. The identity that is created in their follower is powerful and makes the group very cohesive and extremely committed to the values-based vision of the leader (Mumford et al., 2006).</p>
Pragmatic Leadership	<p>Mumford and Van Doorn (2001) analysed a more functional and problem-centred leadership approach, labelled as pragmatic, which aims to intellectually stimulate followers with effective communication. The style is characterised by knowledge of practical, day-to-day problems that organisation and people within the organisation face, with a focus on finding cost-effective solutions that address functional needs (Anderson & Sun, 2017). The pragmatic leaders use rational persuasion, rather than emotional appeals to obtain support from followers (Lovelace et al., 2019). They also provide autonomy to the followers when addressing problem, using their own discretion, which motivates them to perform. This enables followers to make unique contributions based on their</p>

	expertise and create intense personal connection and dedication to their work (Lovelace et al., 2019).
Benevolent Leadership	This style refers to leaders being concerned for followers' familiar and personal well-being (Lin et al., 2018). A benevolent leader demonstrates benevolence to the followers, creating a human work environment, that can be characterised as supportive, respectful, trusting, and comfortable. This will, in exchange, creates observable benefits for the common good (Karakas & Sarigollu, 2012; Wang & Cheng, 2010). Because of the genuine and whole-hearted actions of the leaders, the followers will demonstrate positive attitudes and desirable behaviours, providing beneficial outcomes for the work units and organisations, as they feel obligation and reciprocity (Lin et al., 2018). Studies have demonstrated that this leadership style has several outcomes, such as job satisfaction; organisational commitment; performance (e.g.: Karakas & Sarigollu, 2012; Chan & Mak, 2012; Lin et al., 2018).
Servant Leadership	Greenleaf (1977) developed the servant leadership style which focuses on putting the needs of stakeholders and followers first (Hoch et al., 2018; Stone et al., 2004). The servant leaders start with a natural feeling of serving first; able to manage various paradoxes of decision, which potentially can support the development of the organisational wisdom (Barbutto & Wheeler, 2006). Different studies have defined and measured the dimension of servant leadership (Barbutto & Wheeler, 2006; Liden et al., 2008; Anderson & Sun, 2007). This style creates a perception of organisational justice, gives attention to followers' need satisfaction, improving their work engagement (Mayer et al., 2008), it decreases follower turnover intentions, by enhancing team service climate (Liden et al., 2014). Moreover, it reduces followers' emotional exhaustion, supporting their personal learning, reducing work-to-family conflict (Tang et al., 2015), influencing positively firm performance (Peterson et al., 2012).
Paternalistic Leadership	This style is deeply rooted in Chinese Confucianism (Pellegrini & Scandura, 2008; Zhang et al., 2015), and it is generally seen as a typical style of leadership in Asian countries (Cheng et al., 2014; Cheng et al., 2019). It has a three-dimensional nature: morality, benevolence, and authoritarianism (Soylu, 2011; Cheng et al., 2014). The focus of this leadership style is on the outcome, and more specifically on organisational commitment, described to be the psychological bond of an individual with the organisation (Cheng et al., 2019). More recent studies have, however, suggested that this style does not connote authoritarianism, but instead, there is a paternal authority based on reciprocal care and protection (Pellegrini & Scandura, 2008; Aycan et al., 2000).
Authentic Leadership	Authentic leadership was firstly proposed by Luthans & Avolio (2003). This style sees leaders and followers focus on positive features, through respect, reliability and consistency in words, actions and thoughts (Hunt & Fedynich, 2018). This style aims at promoting positive psychological capacities as well as a positive ethical climate. It supports self-awareness, balanced processing of information, internalised moral perspective, and transparency between leaders working with followers (Walumbwa et al., 2008). There are two validated and theory-based measures: the 16-item Authentic Leadership Questionnaire (ALQ) (Walumbwa et al., 2008) and the 14-items Authentic Leadership inventory (ALI) (Neider & Schriesheim, 2011). Both are based on a four-dimensional model that includes:

	self-awareness; relational transparency; balanced processing; internalised moral perspective (Anderson & Sun, 2007). One issue with authentic leadership is the lack of recognition of what is and what is not ethical behaviour, and how ethical standards are relative to localised and historical norms (Anderson & Sun, 2007).
Ethical Leadership	This style was theorised by Brown et al. (2005), drawing on social learning theory. The style is defined as the demonstration of an appropriate behaviour with personal actions and interpersonal relationship, while promoting these conducts to followers with reinforcement, decision making, and two-way communication (Brown & Treviño, 2006; Hoch et al, 2018). An ethical leader is a moral person; a moral role model; a moral manager. This has been criticised as vague and overly Western. Eisenbeiss (2012) takes both a Western and Eastern perspective and discussed this leadership with the following features: a humane orientation; a justice orientation; a responsibility and sustainability orientation; a moderation orientation. This style is positively related to followers willing to discuss and report problems to management, and put extra effort (Brown et al., 2005). Ethical leadership influences the behaviour and performance of individuals, groups and the organisations.
Spiritual Leadership	Fry's (2003) spiritual leadership is inspired by leadership paradigms, such as charismatic and transformational leadership. Spiritual leadership focuses on the leadership that uses values and sense of belonging to motivate self and followers to elicit a sense of spiritual wellbeing (Bayighomg & Arasli, 2022; Fry, 2003); while creating a spiritual environment that helps followers to prosper (Reave, 2005). This leadership style promotes love and altruism that are needed for both the followers and the leader, to fulfil their need for genuine care, empathy, and interconnectedness (Fry, 2003). Key dimensions are altruistic love and a compelling spiritually grounded vision, and they support a spiritually well-being in the organisation (Ferguson & Milliman, 2008). It has many beneficial effects on the followers, such as organisational commitment, life satisfaction, it improves their organisational citizenship behaviour, and enhances their in-role performance (Yang et al., 2019; Hunsaker, 2022). Moreover, by creating a caring and warm environment, the followers' effort is expended, and their faith in the organisation's leadership grows (Fry et al., 2005). There is a disagreement among scholars on the level of analysis of spiritual leadership theory, as some believe it is to be an individual-level phenomenon by Ashforth & Pratt (Anderson & Sun, 2007), and others see it as an organisational-level one (Mitroff & Denton, 1999).
Integrative Public Leadership	This style is defined as a leadership that brings diverse organisations and groups together from different sector, in a semi-permanent way, to solve complex public problems and achieve common good (Crosby & Bryson, 2010). Problems usually arise due to the characteristics failing of business, government, and civil society (Crosby & Bryson, 2010). It takes place in multi-sector collaboration, with no hierarchical relationships between the multi-sector collaborating partners (Anderson & Sun, 2007). It consists of four dimensions: integrative thinking; integrative behaviour; integrative leadership resources; and integrative structures and processes (Sun & Anderson, 2012).
Adaptive Leadership	The adaptive leader encourages followers to adapt to different situations by confronting with the other followers and the leader as well by solving problems,

	<p>challenges and changes (Northouse, 2018). The style was firstly described by Heifetz et al. in 1991, and it differs from other styles as the adaptive leaders work together with the team to bring out challenging issues, involve people at all levels to find solutions, and also discuss established practices (Wong & Chan, 2018). The focus of leaders and followers is in facilitating social learning to support and help organisations to adapt in a rapidly changing environment (Seibel et al., 2023). Organisations have a series of values, processes, and purposes, which must evolve if the organisation wants to thrive, and this is the primary focus of the adaptive leader (Seibel et al., 2023). Adaptive leaders based their theory on three important elements: the concept of adaptive challenges- which are those challenges for which the experts or organisational leaders have not yet considered and developed an adequate response; the nature of adaptive challenges- distinguishing what is essential in an organisation's tradition and what needs changes; and practises to implement the challenges (Wong & Chan, 2018).</p>
Autocratic Leadership	<p>Autocratic leadership stems from early experimental studies by Lewin, Lippitt and White in 1939 and Lippitt in 1940. It is usually characterised by behaviour focused on centralising decision-making and concentrating power with which the leader controls every aspect of the followers' activity without consideration for their input (De Hoogh et al., 2015). Some of these specific behaviours are telling the followers what to do, or ordering them around (De Hoogh & Den Hartog, 2009). When the autocratic leadership is high, the leaders tend to have centralised, hierarchical decision-making, and are dominant. When the autocratic behaviour is low, leaders are less controlling, less focused on hierarchical structuring, and might engage in other types of leadership, such as democratic styles, or laissez-faire style (De Hoogh et al., 2015). There are positive and negative effects of this leadership style. On one side, team members might feel undervalued and unfairly treated (Anderson & Brown, 2010). This has negative influences on both the organisation and team performance and effectiveness (De Hoog et al., 2015). On the other side, this style benefits team psychological safety, and so team performance; by giving clear direction, the leader offers team member ease and peace of mind. The environment is structured, and well-ordered (De Hoog et al., 2015).</p>
Empathetic Leadership	<p>Empathetic leadership focuses on the emotional relationship between a leader and followers: the leader's understanding of a follower's work situation; the investment of emotional understanding, and how much the leader provides emotional security for the follower (Kock et al., 2019). The style stems from the studies on workplace emotion and the leader who supports these emotions (Edmondson & Lei, 2014; Cornelis et al., 2013). The importance of a leader providing emotional support has been recognised (Yrle et al., 2003; Koch et al., 2019). An empathetic leader validates followers' work experiences, show a concern for the emotional expression, and affirm their workplace security. Empathetic leaders understand their followers' situation and personal work needs, promote bonding with the followers, and create a sense of psychological safety and support for them. All of these actions have positive outcomes: increased job satisfaction, motivation and workplace effort (Kock et al., 2019).</p>
Relational Leadership	<p>This style is described as the action of caring for the colleagues, supporting other to take action, learning from other people mistake, while being emotionally authentic (Cardiff et al., 2018) leadership is viewed as a social construction</p>

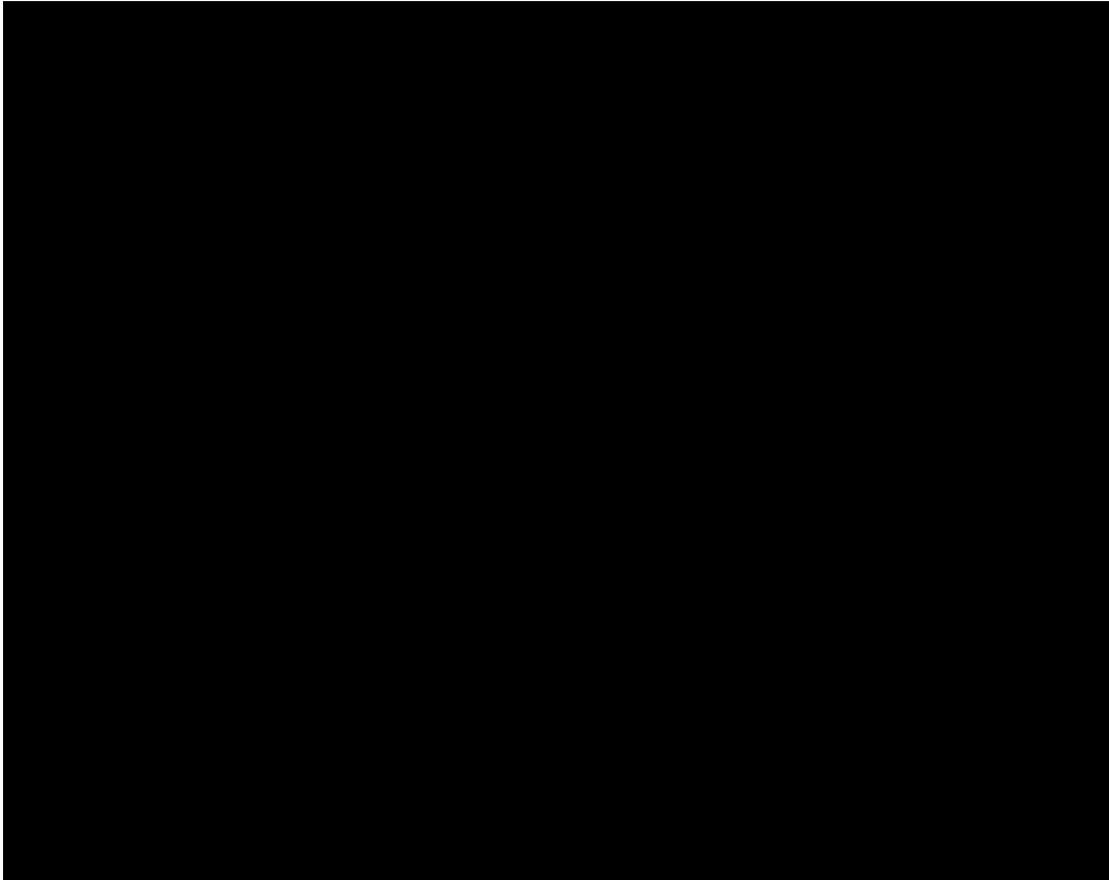
	<p>process where change is constructed and produced. Social reality, here, lies in the context of relationships which are both an outcome of the process and a context for action (Yammarino et al., 2012). Relational leadership gives a way to understand leadership as a social influence process with which change emerges. The emphasis is put on the social processes of co-construction, and not on the individuals involved (Nicholson & Kurucz, 2019). Relational leadership asks important questions such as how people work together to define their relationships so that it generates leadership influence; or how leadership relationships are produced. The aim of relational leadership is to shift from the attention to leaders, as people, to leadership as a process. Processes which are not only about the quality or the type of the relationships but the social dynamics by which leadership relationships form and evolve in the workplace (Uhl-Bien, 2006) Moreover, this leadership style is strictly linked to questions of ethics and moral actions. Specifically, the ethics of reciprocity, which is not based on the exchange of resources, but it focuses on the concept of living well with one another (Cunliffe & Eriksen, 2011). As the name suggests, leadership is a process of relational dialogue where members of the team engage, interact to create knowledge together. Relational dialogues improve the ability of a system to accomplish leadership tasks at different levels of complexity (Uhl-Bien, 2006). Moreover, relational leadership approaches go beyond the traditional focus on the manager-subordinate dyad. Leadership happens whenever it occurs, and the team's leader and manager are interchangeable (Uhl-Bien, 2006). In addition, that there is a breakdown of the traditional distinction between leaders and followers. Here leadership is seen as an interactive process where all participants take part (Howell & Shamir, 2005).</p>
<p>Leader-member exchange (LMX)</p>	<p>A group of leaderships that has had great attention deal with social exchange-relational theories, which belong to relational leaderships (Dihn et al., 2014). Here, the dominant leadership theory is a leader-member exchange (LMX), that investigates what the relationship of the dyad, between the leader and the follower, is. LMX can be defined as a system of components and their relationship; it involves both members of a dyad; it involves interdependent patterns of behaviour, it shares mutual outcome instrumentalities, and produces conceptions of environments, cause maps and value (Kang & Stewart, 2007). The followers will have positive benefits from this relationship, as they will get more information, managerial support and status, and resources by building a stronger and closer relationship with the leader. At the same time, they have to contribute to the relationship, and this depends on how valuable the follower sees this relation, as well as the resources available. Therefore, those who put effort and see the relationship as valuable will have more benefits than those who do not actively engage in exchange (Erdogan & Bauer, 2015). Dionne et al. (2014) underline an important element of this theory which is the relation that it is created between a leader and a follower, that can happen at different stages and different levels. There are two different groups: the in-group and the out-group.</p>

Appendix 2: Some of the differences between leadership styles

Styles	Differences
Differences between charismatic, ideological, and pragmatic Leaderships	The difference between charismatic, ideological and pragmatic leadership lies in how leaders respond to crisis. Charismatic leaders with a crisis respond with an inspiring future-oriented vision and role-modelling self-sacrificial behaviour (Mumford et al., 2008). Ideological leaders respond similarly, with an inspiring vision, but rooted in strong social and personal values that they share with followers, with the desire to go back to a glorious past rather than idealise a future vision (Mumford et al., 2008). Finally, pragmatic leaders, instead, focus on a careful and deep examination of the causes for the crisis, and then they articulate achievable goals based on the objective threats and opportunities of the current situation (Mumford et al., 2008).
Differences between Servant and Transformational Leadership	Servant and transformational leadership descriptions overlap in certain areas. Leaders of both styles have their attention and focus on the followers, providing a vision for the future, correlated with important outcomes measures (van Dierendonck et al, 2014). However, there are differences. The first difference between servant and Bass' (1985) description of transforming leadership is the focus on service, moral development, and enhancement of common good in the servant leader (Barbuto & Wheeler, 2006). Moreover, servant leaders focus on the desire to serve and prepare others to serve as well. Transformational leadership is about leading and inspiring followers to lead well (Barbuto & Wheeler, 2006). Transformational leaders create empowered dynamic cultures, where there is organisational growth and dignity during challenging moments with the external environment. Servant leaders create a spiritually generative cultures, focusing on the individual growth and dignity (Parolini et al., 2009).
Authentic, Transformational, and Ethical Leadership	Authentic leadership is considered by some researchers (e.g. Avolio & Gardner, 2005; Hoch et al., 2018) to be as a root concept to other forms of positive leadership, such as transformational; ethical, and servant leadership. Authentic leaders add ethical leadership qualities to positive leadership forms. A leader might be authentic, but not transformational, displaying ethical features on authentic leadership. A genuine transformational leader should be authentic (Avolio & Gardner, 2005). Ethical leadership differs because it focuses on the ethical dimension, rather than having ethics as a marginal dimension (Hoch et al., 2018).
Differences between transformational and Integrative Public Leaderships	Sun and Anderson (2012) discuss that Burns (1978) original conceptualization of transformational leadership is similar to integrative public leadership, for its civic component which was prominent in Burns (1978), but then not considered by Bass et al. (2003) when conceptualising the transformational and transactional leadership. Bass et al. (2003) consider four dimensions of transformational leadership which are very close to the integrative public leadership, namely: idealised influence, inspirational motivation, intellectual stimulation and individualised consideration. However, the civic element should be considered as well, in the social orientation of transformational

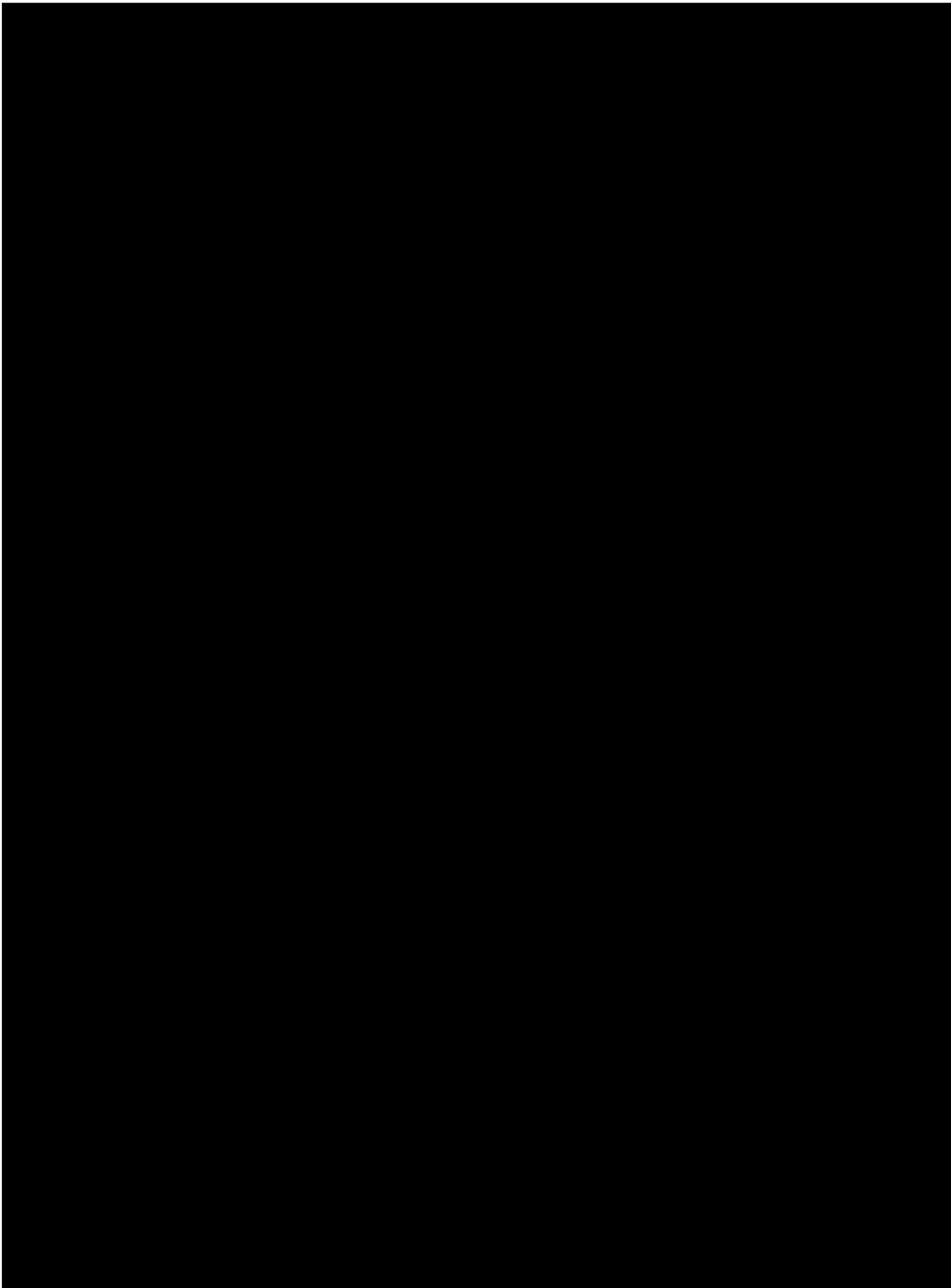
	leaders and in their ability to be transactional in the approach in leveraging collaborative systems, structures, and processes (Sun & Anderson, 2012).
Differences between Spiritual and Transformational and Charismatic Leadership	Spiritual leadership can be seen as an integrative higher-order leadership style, which includes behaviour and attitudes of conventional motivation and change-oriented leadership styles, such as transformational and charismatic leaderships (Bayighomog & Arasli, 2022). These two styles – transformational and charismatic, emphasise an inspirational vision that aims at motivating the followers towards shared goals (Hunsaker, 2022). The conceptual difference between these two and spiritual leadership is that the former not only has the organisational challenge orientation, but it also underlines the importance of followers’ spiritual well-being needs and desire, not present in the transformational and charismatic styles (Hunsaker, 2020; Bayighomog & Arasli, 2022).
Differences with empathetic with servant styles and LMX	LMX is about the workplace bond between leaders and followers, which goes beyond normal workplace requirements. However, at the heart of LMX is not empathy, which is very important in achieving this bond, but the exchange process. Empathetic leadership, instead, does not focus on an exchange relationship, empathic leaders genuinely care for followers, regardless of their workplace efforts, in contrast to LMX relationships which occur after a follower has shown the willingness to perform extra-role behaviour (Kock et al., 2019). Servant leadership has a normative focus, while empathetic leadership acts as a more descriptive theory on how the leader should behave and act to achieve a given goal (Parris & Peachey, 2013; Kock et al., 2019). In servant leadership, the followers’ outcomes and needs are paramount, even more important than the organisation’s goals. Empathetic leadership has a more collaborative approach, as the leader must take account of the needs of the leader, the followers, and the organisation. Finally, servant leadership classifies leaders as servant or nonservant. Empathetic leadership see each leader-follower relationship as distinct and unique, with a different developmental path and outcome (Koch et al., 2019).

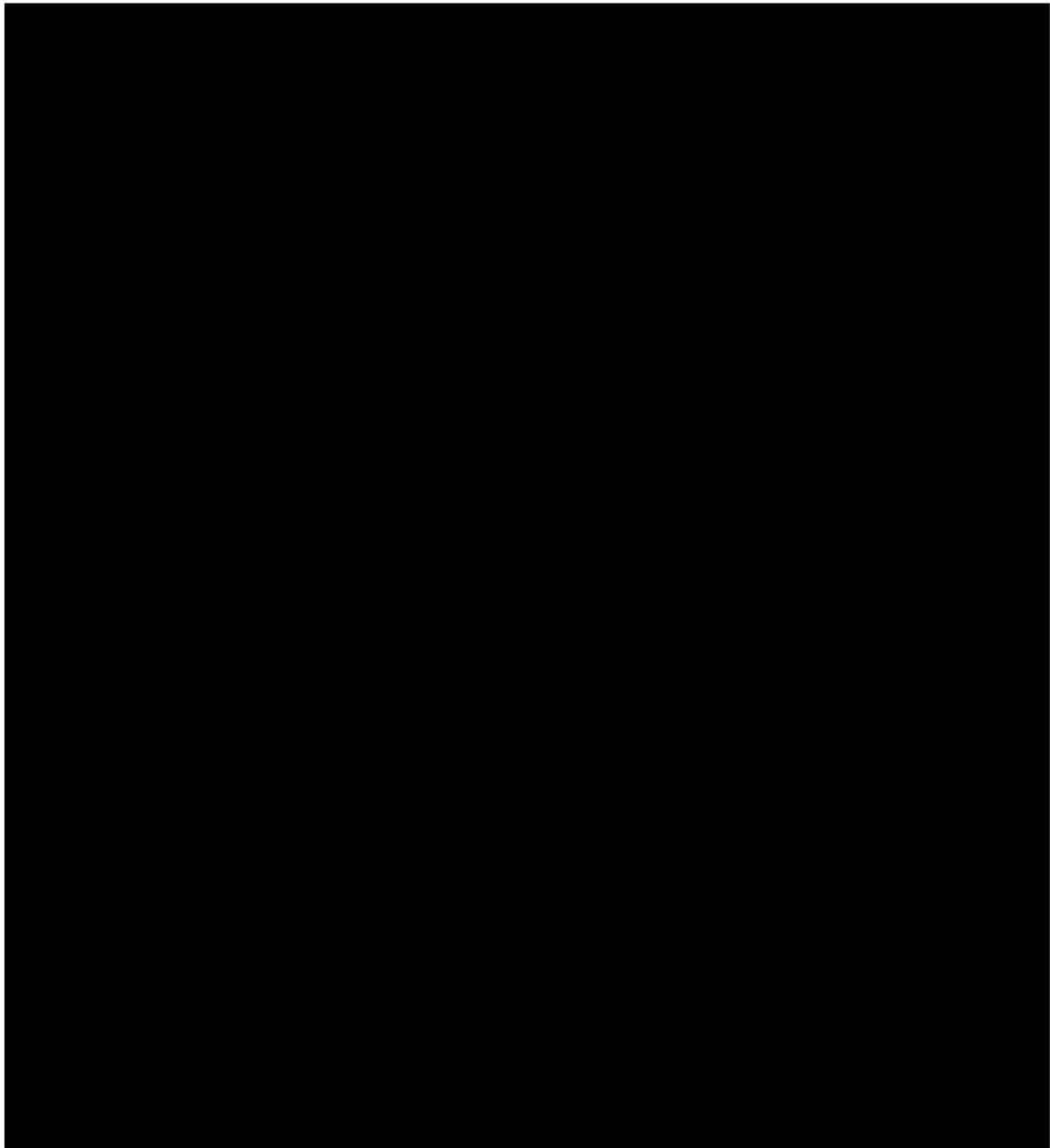
Appendix 3: The Self-Reinforcing Cycle of Illegitimacy



Note: From “A bed of thorns: Female leaders and the self-reinforcing cycle of illegitimacy”, by C. A. Vial, J. I. Napier and V. L. Brescoll, V.L., 2016, *The Leadership Quarterly*, 27(3), 400-414.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.leaqua.2015.12.004>.

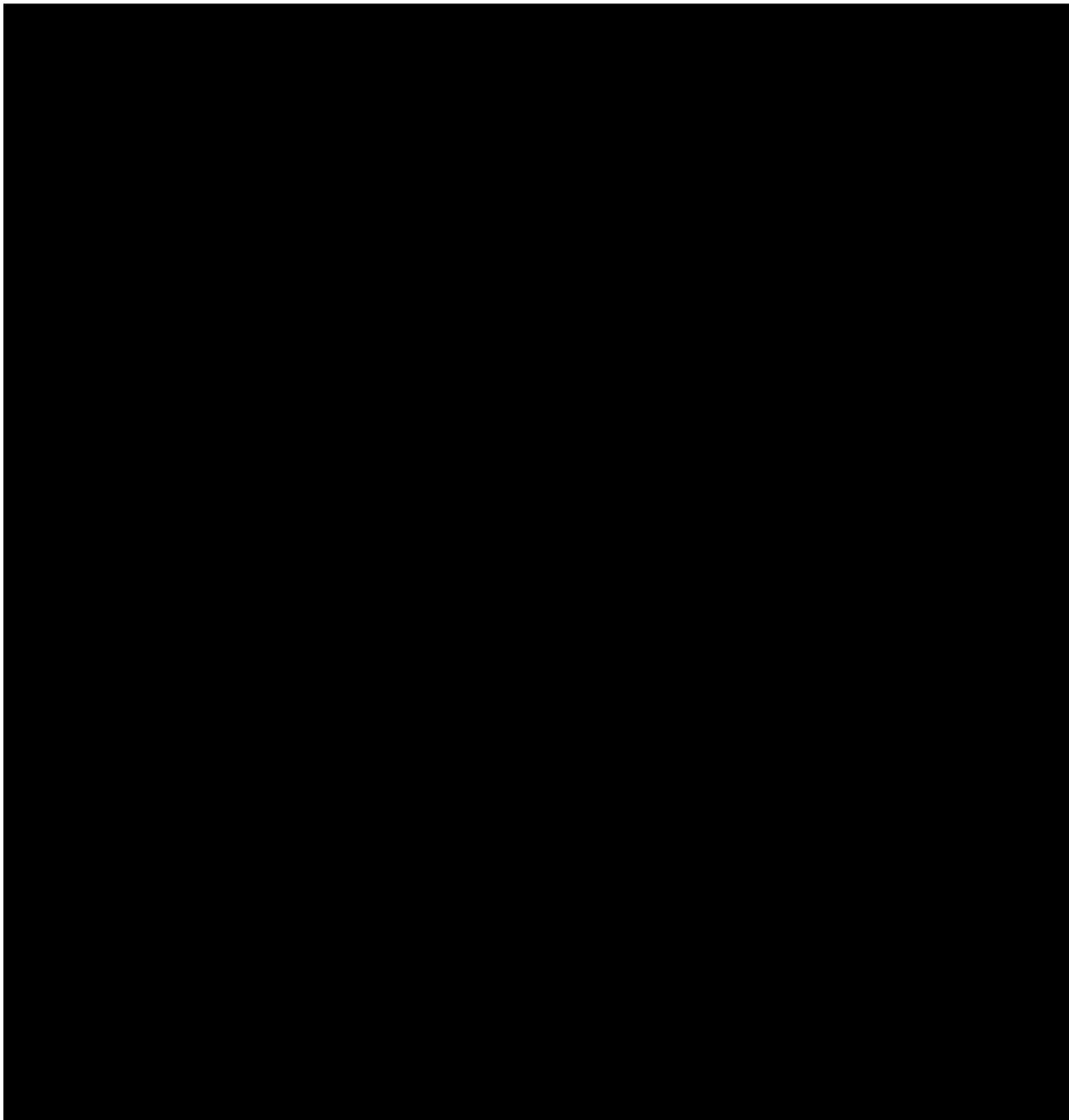
Appendix 4: Revised Framework of Gender and Tourism Scholarship





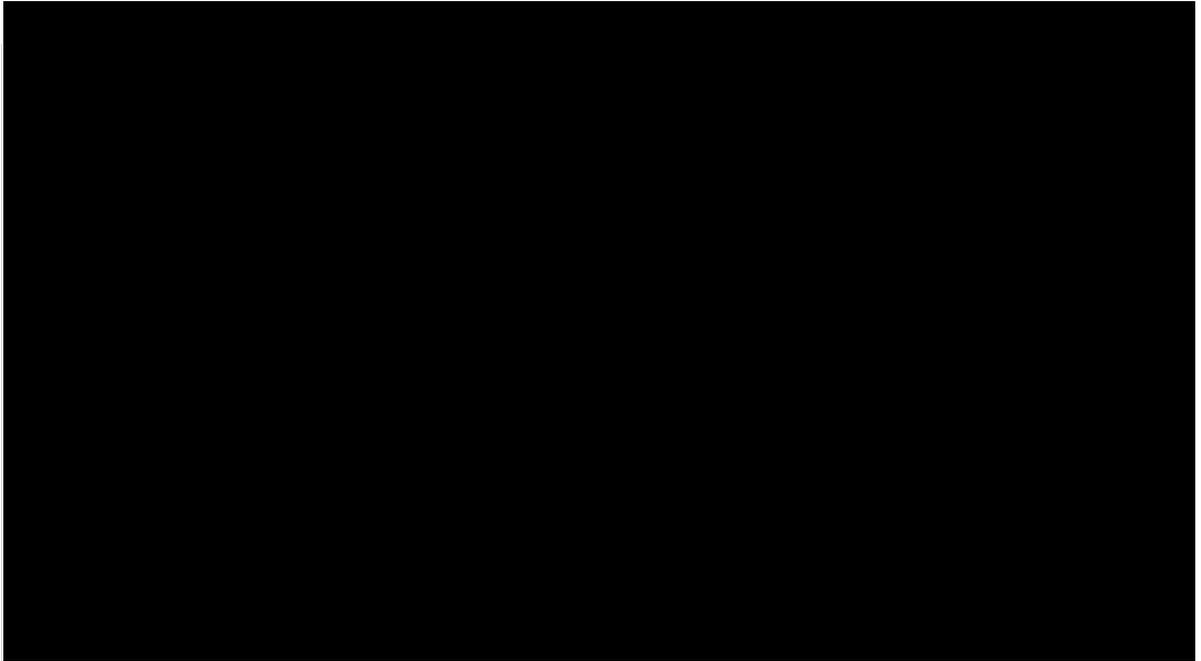
Note. From “Introduction to a research agenda for gender and tourism”, by E. Wilson and D. Chambers, in E. Wilson & D. Chambers (Eds). *A research Agenda for Gender and Tourism* (pp. 1-20), 2023, Edward Elgar Publishing. <https://doi.org/10.4337/9781789902532>

Appendix 5: Research Paradigms



Note. Adapted from “The state of qualitative tourism research”, by R. W. Riley, R. W. and L. L. Love, 2000, *Annals of Tourism Research*, 27(1), 164–187. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383\(99\)00068-7](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0160-7383(99)00068-7); and from “Introduction”, by P. Leavy, in P. Leavy (Ed.), *The Oxford handbook of qualitative research* (pp. 1-13), 2014, Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Appendix 6: Network of Basic Assumption Characterizing the Subjective-Objective Debate within Social Science



Note: From “The Case for Qualitative Research”, by G. Morgan and L Smircich, 1980, *The Academy of Management Review*, 5(4), 491–500. <https://doi.org/10.2307/257453>

Appendix 7: Participant Information Sheet



PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

PhD Research: Women, Festival Leaders, and Social Transformations: the Case of Edinburgh, the World's Leading Festival City

This information sheet provides you with an overview of the PhD research study *Women, Festival Leaders, and social transformations: the case of Edinburgh, the world's leading festival city*, which is currently undertaken by Benedetta Piccio, PhD candidate within the Business School of Edinburgh Napier University. The following summary will give you, as a participant of this study, information about the research objectives, and your involvement. Please take time to read this information sheet carefully as this document allows you to be aware how your participation is contributing to this research. Feel free to ask questions if anything you read is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

The Project

This research project aims to investigate the work situation of women working in arts festival in Edinburgh; what impact society and culture have on women's working conditions; whether there are any gender inequalities; and what arts festival leadership is.

Your participation

Your involvement will be in the form of semi-structured interviews and visual methods. Interviews will take place on Microsoft Teams, which will be recorded and transcribed. The recordings will be safely saved on Edinburgh Napier's V: Drive, only the audio and transcription will be kept and will be anonymised so that no linkage to you or your workplace can be made. The photos/images that you will decide to share with the researcher will only be shared on your screen during the interview and not sent to the researcher. No further use (e.g. for publication) will be undertaken unless consented by the participant.

Semi-structured interviews are a form of asking questions. Benedetta, the researcher, has some topics/themes that she would like to cover with you. The structure, however, is not fixed or rigid, but rather flexible. It allows the participants to tell their own stories in a sort of conversational way. The questions Benedetta will ask you concern your experience working in arts festivals in Edinburgh, for how long you have



been working in festivals and with what roles. A general overview of the arts festival working environment for women will be asked. Then, you are asked to share images and/or photos during the interviews. These images/photos should cover two topics. First, photos/images that represent positive and challenging situations for women working in arts festival. Second, photos/images that represent what leadership in festival is for the participant. These visuals can be images/photos taken specifically for the interview, or images/photos taken previously in past festivals in Edinburgh. Through these visuals, a question on the working environment will be asked to the participant. Gender inequalities, stereotypes and/or issues women might face when working in festivals might be discussed. Then, starting with a conversation around the visuals, you will help provide a model of a good leadership style in arts festival. What it means to you to be an effective leader in arts festival will be discussed.

The results of this study will help the literature in the leadership and event management to fill a gap on women in leadership in arts festivals. Moreover, the hope is to be able to provide a model of leadership style for women working in arts festivals. Finally, an analysis of the working environment for women working in festivals in Edinburgh will be provided.

Your participation is completely voluntary, you have the right to refuse participation, refuse to share images/photos, refuse to answer any question, and withdraw at any time without any consequence whatsoever.

Research contact

For any issues or questions regarding your participation in the study or to request a brief report of the research findings please contact:

Researcher: Benedetta Piccio - Contact Details: [REDACTED]

Supervisor: Dr Louise Todd, Associate Professor in Festival and Event Management, Edinburgh Napier University - Contact Details: [REDACTED]

Thank you for taking part in this study, your involvement is highly appreciated as part of the success of this study! Don't hesitate to get in touch with me for any further information or requests.

Appendix 8: Edinburgh Napier University Research Consent Form

Edinburgh Napier University Research Consent Form

PhD Research: Women, Festival Leaders, and Social Transformations:

the Case of Edinburgh, the World's Leading Festival City

Edinburgh Napier University requires that all persons who participate in research studies give their written consent to do so. Please read the following and sign it if you agree with what it says.

1. I freely and voluntarily consent to be a participant in the research project on the topic of women and leadership in arts festivals in Edinburgh to be conducted by Benedetta Piccio, who is an PhD candidate at Edinburgh Napier University's Business School.
2. The broad goal of this research study is to investigate what the work situation for women leaders in arts festival in Edinburgh is and what leadership in festival is. Specifically, I have been asked to take part into an online interview and to either take some photos/images or to use some photos/images I already have. The interview should take no longer than one hour to complete, while the photos/images should take around 30 mins to choose and/or gather.
3. I have been told that the transcript of my responses be anonymised. My name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in any report subsequently produced by the researcher.
4. I also understand that if at any time during the interview or while selecting/supplying previous/or taking new photos/images I feel unable or unwilling to continue, I am free to leave. That is, my participation in this study is completely voluntary, and I may withdraw from it without negative consequences. However, after data has been anonymised or after publication of results it will not be possible for my data to be removed as it would be untraceable at this point.
5. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.
6. I have been given the opportunity to ask questions regarding the interviews and the photos/images and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction.
7. I have read and understand the above and consent to participate in this study. My signature is not a waiver of any legal rights. Furthermore, I understand that I will be able to keep a copy of the informed consent form for my records.

Participant's Signature

Date

I have explained and defined in detail the research procedure in which the respondent has consented to participate. Furthermore, I will retain one copy of the informed consent form for my records.

Researcher's Signature

Date

male colleagues about how they might, how the, the considerations and the needs of the organisation influence their decisions about what they do with their life, and that tends to be much more, those conversations tend to be much more about women, whether they're looking to move on or whether they're, you know, thinking about having a baby or etcetera. So yeah, they they're does tend to be a a greater duty or obligation to to not leave the organisation and and maybe that's because there's an arrogance there that says we couldn't possibly survive without me and it's like it can and it will and it'll be fine. Where as guys have been one that would be fine. So maybe that's where the distinction comes in.

Appendix 10: Example of Phase 1 of Thematic Analysis

	1. Introduce yourself/career/study/age	2. Positive experience/s of being a woman working in the Edinburgh's Festivals
<p>Caroline (pilot test)</p>	<p>Freelance producer and arts administrator since 2015</p> <p>in her 40s No caring responsibilities</p>	<p>Difficult in finding photos that were striking</p> <p>You get to know a lot of people, colourful event</p> <p>great opportunity to network and being a kind of woman I'm from the cultural background that I am I like talking to people and</p> <p>Sharing opportunities and experiences that enable me to connect and plant the seed for future opportunities</p> <p>Festivals are an opportunity for mother, but also for creating mothers to attend the festival with their children and introduce</p> <p>Fair share of women working in the festival industry, more women</p> <p>Many women producers at high standards</p> <p>Also at the management level, there is a fair share</p>

	3. Negative experience/s of being a woman working in the Edinburgh's Festivals
	<div data-bbox="389 327 707 524">Difficult in balancing family (childcare) and work. Some not being able to have a family because of their career</div> <div data-bbox="783 327 1099 510">Example of main producer, mother of 2 who had to have her mum come to baby-sit</div> <div data-bbox="419 542 738 640">Long hours, for a very short period of time.</div> <div data-bbox="821 524 1297 721">Difficult also for housing: difficult to buy a property, that's not possible/ Working part time somewhere and then freelancers during other times</div> <div data-bbox="419 696 738 880">Especially for freelancers, no guarantee for house contract</div> <div data-bbox="821 745 1139 965">Gender pay gap, not sure the reason could be gender, but men are paid more than women at high levels</div> <div data-bbox="419 911 738 994">Not a young woman + a foreigner</div> <div data-bbox="389 1021 820 1205">colleague has a degree in whatever festival management international management but barely knows how to use outlook</div> <div data-bbox="852 994 1366 1191">Huge competition for entry level works. Those who have A career development in arts management from the start, have more opportunities, even if they have less experience</div> <div data-bbox="419 1240 1102 1361">younger people with a more specific degree would have more opportunities than people that have a huge experience, but maybe are in the mother age</div> <div data-bbox="419 1391 1107 1574">In the film industry, got asked if I had plans to make a child and I'm sure they have a child anytime soon these are questions that people ask, and it's very uncomfortable, and this has been happening</div> <div data-bbox="419 1603 738 1787">Same numbers as freelancers bt men and women, maybe just a few more women</div>

4. What is the future for women working in the arts festivals in Edinburgh?

Problem is not just the gender thing

Problems are: covid, restrictions, your background, social status all influence what you will do in a festival

Women will continue working in the industry, but how and in way it will depend on their position

I would like a big institution and organisation taking over festivals and just managing an umbrella of festivals, or an intermediate model that is created with those not having a contract.

Little amount of contracts that are permanent. Many people have been made redundant with Covid and you can't legally replace them for 2 years

Someone, like the Council, taking some sorts of ownership of festivals

some level of protection to guarantee continuity, so to speak, to create road and it should be more roles that are less gappy and less project based

Festivals hoppers: they go from festival to festival doing the same job, in different countries

Unhealthy competition

Younger people make it, with more luck and more fitting look, from a specific background

	5. Festival Leadership	6. Feminism
	<p data-bbox="375 286 775 405">Interpersonal sensitivity; there is need for more</p> <p data-bbox="399 423 735 651">Had fantastic leaders who taught me so much, 2 women specifically. No men.</p> <p data-bbox="399 685 786 956">Women have more resilience, comes from being mothers even if we decide not to be, it is embedded in our DNA more fluid, able to adjust</p> <p data-bbox="414 983 735 1218">Women would also be more emphatic, and deal with issues in a different way than men</p>	<p data-bbox="916 286 1249 477">I like feminism, and women should have same opportunities as men</p> <p data-bbox="916 510 1249 781">But feminism belongs to the 70s. I would call myself a person for equal opportunity, but it is not about gender</p> <p data-bbox="916 824 1249 983">Culture affects a lot, there is a direct reflection</p>

	7. Impacts of culture and society	8. How have you and the industry been impacted by the last two years?
	<p data-bbox="395 367 826 730">I feel Edinburgh's trying to be open to different cultures and different festivals do this in different way and it's a higher or lower a thing of their on their agenda according to what their product is. So Edinburgh best trying to play the "I'm open to different cultures Card" with the festivals</p> <p data-bbox="395 752 710 967">culture in like more business terms. So what was the ethos of the company</p>	<p data-bbox="895 367 1139 459">My career took a U turn completely</p> <p data-bbox="895 472 1318 611">now it's just Hopefully returning to what it was before, but with a huge effort</p> <p data-bbox="895 633 1337 1283">I'm still considering how it how it took place somewhere to to work, to adjust industry was massively knocked down, massively knocked down and we've we've been quite lucky in Scotland to receive a lot of support from the government of freelancers that could demonstrate to be freelances had some support. I was partly freelance, partly employed so I received maybe less support than other people, but I was still able to, you know, kind of find a way around it. I think we've been really, we were really lucky and a lot of work happened online, a lot of work still happened last year. I had the show and we were</p> <p data-bbox="895 1305 1337 1608">I think we we will slowly very slowly potentially if it's possible go back to the standards that we had before 2020, with the knowledge of, you know the technology and how we can reach out to different audiences and remote audiences using</p> <p data-bbox="895 1630 1337 1890">A development of technology in the performing arts, used as a source to expand on different audiences. In the last job technology was just bringing more chaos to people</p>

Codes for Question 2

Q2				
C1: Many women working in the festival industry in Edinburgh	C18: Women leaders can make a difference for other women	C35: women leaders make the working environment friendly, and open	C424: More women volunteers	C583: There are entry points for women, situation is changing
C2: Festival organization provides period products in all toilets	C19: Women leaders experience many challenges	C36: Festival industry is more open to gender equality and inclusion	C425: Equal policy in place + assessing the impact of the activity	C615: working in the festivals doesn't force you to fit into an expectation
C3: Flexibility at work for caring responsibilities	C20: Working with women empower, inspire and support other women	C37: Festival with Diversity and inclusion initiatives	C426: Policies need to be enacted by everyone	C616: Women are more accepting
C4: Women managers are more understanding	C21: as a leader, you set the example for other women	C38: People working in festivals are open to discuss issues such as gender equalities,	C455: Women are good at creating spaces for listening	C618: Many women in the festivals because they have lateral and logical minds
C5: Difficult to have certain conversations about flexibility with men managers	C22: no gender equality issues in her organisations	C39: some areas within the festival, for example, and fundraising, that's pretty much all women	C456: Women have a wider visions on things	C619: Difficult to say why, but the sector appeals many women
C6: more women in power, but not enough	C23: never experienced gender discriminations/Inequalities	C40: no macho culture in the festivals	C457: Women managers empower their staff	C620: The environment is supportive, but it's difficult for a lack of time and how the festival is organised, to have the time to nurture new women
C7: Women in power could make the difference	C24: as a leader and as a woman, you try to give opportunities to other women and you care for them	C41: Men are chosen for merits not just for being men	C458: Some festival organizations are really	
C9: Men have higher roles in the organization	C25: Other festivals directors are willing to discuss and take part in conversations on gender equality	C42: Better working with men than women	C461: The creative industry in Scotland is a small community	
C8: women are better at running events	C26: Festivals give you the opportunity to understand what to do as a young woman	C43: Women can be too competitive	C486: Working with women can be easier	
C10: Event industry has more flexible work	C27: Third sector, and creative industries the majority are women	C44: Actively trying to avoid referring to gender	C502: maybe naive, but enjoy the industry	
C11: Women lack confidence	C28: Trying to make the festival programme gender balanced	C45: Working in the art sector doesn't always fit with family life	C568: Working in festivals make me feel special with my family and my kids who can be part of it	
C12: Supportive environment in festivals	C29: Maybe there are many women in the industry because the salaries are low	C46: Pay is not very good	C569: Working in festival has been a positive experience	
C13: Events industry has changed for the better for women	C30: Feeling safe working with other women	C47: Men are better at asking for high salary	C570: Actively bringing women in the conversation	
C14: Skills women have are more valued now	C31: You can learn from men too	C394: Having a kid and working in a festival can be great for the kid	C571: I feel confident that I can speak up	
C15: Festivals industry in Edinburgh is gender balanced	C32: The danger of surrounding yourself of people like you (female, white, able bodied...)	C395: The Fringe brings an atmosphere of love	C573: Strong women examples	
C16: Many woman leaders in the festival industry in Edinburgh	C33: Many women in the art sector because they have more soft skills	C396: The fringe marks changes	C574: My bringing up made me believe I could do anything	
C17: Festivals industry is better than other industries for % of women leaders	C34: Women work in festivals because sense of community	C422: Great creative community	C575: Got a job while pregnant	
		C423: Sense of community and wish to create something together	C576: Got a team with parents and mums and women leaders	
			C581: Got policy in place to protect the workers	

Under the group of codes there are all the quotes which refer to that specific code

The image displays a grid of 48 colored boxes, each representing a code (C1 to C461) and containing related quotes. The boxes are arranged in a grid and color-coded by code number. The codes and their corresponding colors are as follows:

- C1: Light blue
- C2: Light pink
- C25: Light teal
- C26: Light pink
- C395: Light teal
- C396: Light pink
- C615: Light teal
- C616: Light pink
- C3: Light yellow
- C4: Light grey
- C27: Light yellow
- C28: Light grey
- C422: Light yellow
- C423: Light grey
- 618: Light yellow
- C619: Light grey
- C5: Light orange
- C6: Light green
- C29: Light orange
- C30: Light green
- C424: Light orange
- C425: Light green
- C620: Light orange
- C7: Light green
- C8: Light pink
- C31: Light green
- C32: Light pink
- C426: Light green
- C455: Light pink
- C9: Light grey
- C10: Light blue
- C33: Light grey
- C34: Light blue
- C456: Light grey
- C457: Light blue
- C11: Light green
- C12: Light purple
- C35: Light green
- C36: Light purple
- C458: Light green
- C461: Light purple

Each box contains one or more quotes related to that specific code. Some boxes, such as C6, C10, C12, C35, and C36, contain multiple quotes. The quotes are presented in various colors and fonts, often mimicking the look of sticky notes or printed text.

Appendix 11: Full List of Codes

C1: Many women working in the festival industry in Edinburgh	C2: Festival organisation provides period products in all toilets	C3: Flexibility at work for caring responsibilities
C4: Women managers are more understanding	C5: Difficult to have certain conversations about flexibility with men managers	C6: More women in power, but not enough
C7: Women in power could make the difference	C8: women are better at running events	C9: Men have higher roles in the organisation
C10: Event industry has more flexible work	C11: Women lack confidence	C12: Supportive environment in festivals
C13: Events industry has changed for the better for women	C14: The skills that women have are more valued now	C15: Festivals industry in Edinburgh is gender balanced
C16: Many woman leaders in the festival industry in Edinburgh	C17: Festivals industry is better than other industries for % of women leaders	C18: Women leaders can make a difference for other women
C19: Women leaders experience many challenges	C20: Working with women empower, inspire and support other women	C21: As a woman leader, you set the example for other women
C22: No gender equality issues in her experience	C23: Never experienced gender discriminations/Inequalities	C24: As a leader and as a woman, you try to give opportunities to other women, and you care for them
C25: Other festivals directors are willing to discuss and take part in conversations on gender equality	C26: Festivals give you the opportunity to understand what to do as a woman	C27: Third sector, and creative industries the majority are women
C28: Trying to make the festival programme gender balanced	C29: Maybe there are many women in the industry because the salaries are low	C30: Feeling safe working with other women

C31: You can learn from men too	C32: The danger of surrounding yourself of people like you (female, White, able bodied...)	33: Many women in the art sector because they have more soft skills
C34: Women work in festivals because sense of community	C35: women leaders make the working environment friendly, and open	C36: Festival industry is more open to gender equality and inclusion
C37: Festival with Diversity and inclusion initiatives	C38: People working in festivals are open to discuss issues such as gender equalities, LGBTQ+, etc	C39: In some areas of festivals there are only /more women
C40: No macho culture in the festivals	C41: Men are chosen for merits not just for being men	C42: Better working with men than women
C43: Women can be too competitive	C44: Actively trying to avoid referring to gender	C45: Working in the art sector doesn't always fit with family life
C46: Pay is not very good	C47: Men are better at asking for high salary	C48: Some women might decide not to have children because of working conditions (long hours...)
C49: Men are paid more (Gender pay gap)	C50: for freelancer of a certain age is more difficult to find jobs	C51: Got asked if she planned to have kids in a job interview
C52: Most festivals she has worked with are managed by men	C53: Men managers are disorganised	C54: Issues with gender and nationalities
C55: Working with women is better	C56: There are no diverse voices	C57: Industry is whitewashed
C58: Desire to make shows more female centric	C59: Women don't get many career opportunities	C60: Men are favoured compared to women for jobs
C61: Competition to get jobs is very high	C62: Tendency to choose what you know (=men)	C63: Women need to choose whether have a career or a family for example
C64: Boards are mainly White men	C65: Diversity and inclusion become box to tick	C66: Arts sector can be complacent

C67: Women are educated to take soft powers/Skills	C68: No discussion around who can get training, etc	C69: Women with caring responsibilities tend to prefer part-time roles
C70: Families and working in festivals is difficult	C71: Women with leadership roles are privilege, privately educated, social class...	C72: Issues around women, inclusion and diversity have to do with intersection
C73: Leadership roles do not allow flexible work	C74: Leadership roles link to financial privilege	C75: A woman leader alone cannot change the patriarchal system
C76: Festivals people do not have the conversations they should have	C77: The capitalistic system should change for the art sector	C78: Change happens only on the surface
C79: People think they can behave more aggressively with you as a soft-spoken woman	C80: Not many people working in festivals have small children	C81: Festivals are not very good at flexible work
C82: Assumption that women will take care of children	C83: With young children, women might stop working in the event industry	C84: Don't know anyone who would not have children because of working in festivals
C85: Experienced assaults after late night events	C86: Women look for each other when working together (late night shift, how to go home...)	C87: Women can be patronised by men
C88: Very low % of women professor in academia	C89: Women feel guilty for working on their career	C90: Experienced the Glass Ceiling
C91: White, pale, stale	C92: Real push now for a real change towards gender inequalities	C93: Mansplaining
C94: Older generation of women do not have energy to fight back, and they would do what they want regardless	C95: Younger generations are more uptight	C96: Things have changed with more and better structures

C97: Women in the past were not complacent, but had no one to go and complain	C98: People tend to discuss with a man and not consider you, even if you are a woman with the same role	C99: People judge you quickly if you are a young woman
C100: Not having the right job title which corresponds to the actual tasks	C101: Festival is more male lead	C102: As a freelancer feeling guilty if she doesn't go to work every day, fear she would be seen as lazy
C103: Festivals take place during August during children's holidays	C104: Need to employ young women with children for leadership roles and support them	C105: Experience threats in the past and assaults
C106: Feeling respected and valued as a woman	C107: Some areas of festivals are men dominated	C108: Certain men are macho and aggressive, toxic masculinity
C109: In certain areas women token	C110: The situation is changing but still not enough	C111: Women are more attentive to the culture of organisations
C112: Festivals jobs are accessible only to middle class	C113: It can't be said that it is gender balanced just because there are more women, need to think of other elements too (low pay...)	C114: Men customers not always polite with women staff
C115: Women would take up more jobs extra to their job role	C116: Women find it more difficult to delegate	C117: More comfortable asking for help to a woman
C118: Women go for a job because they are passionate about it, even if salary is low	C119: Women directors can introduce policies in favour of women	C120: Still challenges around gender equalities
C121: Many experienced women are leaving the industry and retire	C122: Women are struggling with menopause	C123: Now there is equal pay
C124: Poor maternity leave	C125: in a heterosexual couple, the man would earn more	C126: third sector offers more part-time jobs for women with caring responsibilities

C127: Festival industry doesn't support its employees as it should be	C128: The situation is difficult for those with temporary/seasonal jobs	C129: Not many women with director levels, because they don't continue their career when having children
C130: some areas of festival are predominantly male, few women who get judged	C131: There are many elements that influence women and their positions in festivals	C132: Someone should manage an umbrella of festivals, they should take ownership
C133: The change needs to start from the top	C134: Women should not be hired to make the company look good	C135: People push the agenda that interests them (men for men)
C136: Women understand that equality can be achieved with balance	C137: More women need to be employed at all levels, also at senior level	C138: One person alone (e.g.: a Black woman) cannot change everything alone
C139: The hope is that these issues are temporary	C140: Women need to persevere	C141: It is a long fight
C142: We need to stay hopeful that gender equality can be achieved	C143: Everybody needs to be part of the conversation around gender equality	C144: We need to realise we are responsible for each other
C145: Hopeful that any woman and any marginalised person can be part of the arts	C146: We need a radical shift at board level	C147: Leadership should be joyful and hopeful
C148: Hope that things will be easier for women	C149: Hope that it's possible to have a family and work in festivals	C150: Wish that women can do what they want/Feel with no judgments
C151: Many women burn out because of the expectations	C152: More awareness of women and their situation in festival	C153: Importance to have supportive boards and fundings
C154: Significant improvements with women leaders	C155: Hope to continue and maintain these changes and improvements	C156: Everyone's got an equal opportunity
C157: barriers are not related to women, but others from working in festivals	C158: Maternity leave has improved	C159: Pay rates have improved

C160: Hope things will get better in general for all younger girls	C161: Hope to have more women in leadership roles	C:162 There are some good examples of women leaders
C163: Menopause group within the organisation	C164: Break down barriers	C165: Lead by example
C166: Hope to be able to keep supporting women at any stage	C167: Hope that women will feel confident in the industry	C168: Hope for women to have an equitable space
C169: Being aware of the specifics of being a woman	C170: Create an environment and a culture where women can feel confident	C171: Policy in place to have a balanced board
C172: Women on boards have positive effects on the organisations	C173: It could be easier for smaller festivals to progress and change	C174: Hope to be part of the change and support the change
C175: Hope that women can enjoy working in the industry and have opportunities	C176: Feeling optimistic about the future for women in the industry	C177: Hope to work for organisation that cares for its employees and their needs
C178: Increase of pay could mean more diversity	C179: There isn't much diversity in festivals	C180: Hope for women to be asking higher salary
C181: More diverse people in the core staff	C182: Need for more interpersonal sensitivity	C183: Marketing and product placement could be part of the strategic perspective
C184: Women have more resilience that comes from being mother	C185: Women are more emphatic	C186: women deal with issues differently from men
C187: All the six skills are very important	C188: Communication is very important	C189: Emotional support for artists is also important
C190: Emotional resilience is essential	C191: Women and men lead differently	C192: Men in power need to fight for women
C193: Collaborative decision making	C194: Compassion should be added	C195: Leadership should not be reduced to sex

C196: Consider leadership as how we are trained as gendered bodies instead of male/Female	C197: Leadership is about how we are trained and groomed	C198: Leadership should centre on wellness and caring and power distribution
C199: Discussing leadership as connected to a gender allow people to justify the way they lead	C200: The six key leadership needs context of the organisation	C201: Resource management is bad in the arts
C202: Leadership is about power sharing	C203: Male and female are reductive ways of describing leadership	C204: A good leader is someone who sets the tone
C205: Leader should look after their team and know what to do	C206: What is "leadery?"	C207: Looking after people is female and therefore not leading
C208: Does gender influence a leadership style?	C209: Men have more ego involved	C210: Does being a nice person influence you as a leader?
C211: Men and women differ in the understandings of flexibility and the type of conversations you can have	C212: Interpersonal sensitivity is particularly important	C213: Resource mng is important
C214: Communication underpins everything	C215: Leadership style depends on the person, not the gender	C216: Women and men lead differently
C217: Women adopt male characteristics to lead	C218: Women are better at emotional resilience	C219: Collective leadership
C220: Women lack confidence	C221: Men bosses have promoted and supported women	C222: No difference in how followers have perceived her as a leader
C223: it doesn't matter who the leader is as long as they create an equal environment	C224: In the room, men would automatically be considered the manager	C225: Women leaders have more compassion and understanding
C226: Leaders need to be strategic	C227: These six skills can be found in leaders	C228: Had good experiences with strong leaders

C229: You get used to situations of stressed-out colleagues and you don't have anyone who talks about it	C230: Leaders need to get proper training	C231: You can convince yourself that you're not meant to be a leader
C232: Men generally take up more space	C233: Women can be excluded automatically from networking (e.g.: play golf)	C234: A good environment is gender balanced
C235: It can be difficult to be managed by a woman as you feel more competitive and make more comparison	C236: Relations between women at work is different	C237: Decision making skill should be added
C238: No specific gender policy because industry has many women	C239: Hoping that leadership will be something fluid and not gender specific	C240: Men opened to discuss topics such as menopause
C241: "rooms" are still predominantly male	C242: Still a patriarchal view of leadership	C243: The gender differences in leadership are softening
C244: Skill sharing should be added	C245: Transparency, honesty, integrity should also be added	C246: Good leadership understands and sees your strength and skills
C622: Women have more emotional intelligence	C623: Difference between thoughts and actions	C247: To have diversity in festivals, the team itself should be diverse
C248: Time is also a factor on why fewer women leaders	C249: Strategic perspective is essential	C250: Giving feedback is easier in smaller festivals
C251: Women leaders can act like men	C252: The industry encourages women to move up to more senior positions	C253: Critical analysis and judgment is really important
C254: Men don't like being managed by women	C255: Women can feel intimidated by other men in the group or men manager	C256: Being able to empower your staff is another important skill
C257: Inspiring collaboration should be added	C258: Better being led by a woman	C259: Empathy should be added

C260: Critical analysis and judgment is not always good	C261: Personal story on own leadership proud moment	C262: You want to make your audience and your people feel important and engaged
C263: Easier to work with men	C264: Strategic perspective can sometimes be missing	C265: Women leaders have more interpersonal sensitivity
C266: If you are a man, you would say you have all the skills of a leader	C267: I like feminism	C268: Women should have the same opportunities as men
C269: Feminism belongs to the past	C270: A person for equal opportunities	C271: Culture affects women conditions
C272: Intersectional feminist	C273: Feminist should focus on all women (all race)	C274: Stigma around the word "feminism"
C275: Equality for all	C276: Festivals haven't reached equality for all	C277: Yes, feminist
C278: Some women try to have a feminist/intersectional feminist approach to the work they do	C279: Everyone should be a feminist	C280: Feminism has a strong role in my life
C281: I talk to my children about feminism and gender equality	C282: In an ideal world the word "feminism" shouldn't be used	C283: Everything women have achieved can be taken away
C284: Our society is still not equal	C285: Education is power	C286: Feminism is important
C287: Created a support group to support women	C288: Not a feminist	C289: Very supportive of women
C290: Not for a positive discrimination	C291: Best bosses and mentors have been men	C292: We are our own worst enemies
C293: Yes, but not activist	C294: It is about equity	C295: I believe I have an equal space in my role
C296: The arts sector is already diverse	C297: Feminism means not facing any sort of barriers	C298: There are women supporting networks/groups

C299: You can always talk to women in more senior positions and get support	C300: Never investigated the topic of feminism much	C301: Feminism is having a voice
C302: You notice differences (e.g.: in audiences)	C303: You can be a feminist and still be feminine	C304: Women voices improve boards decision making
C305: Create a work environment which is equal	C306: Don't like labels	C307: Impostor syndrome in women
C308: Help increase confidence of women	C309: Never felt been held from the gender	C310: Challenging to have discussions around gender with people you don't trust
C311: Feminism is about men too (menimism)	C312: Some men take part in the conversation around gender equality	C313: Being able to discuss gender and race is really important
C314: Edinburgh is open to new cultures	C315: Women are more aware of the issues	C316: A woman leader doesn't have the time to both do the job well and tackle the gender equality alone
C317: There should a team dedicated to gender equality	C318: The problem is that only White women take part in the conversation	C319: No men take part in conversation
C320: Men have fear to lose their power	C321: Festivals are more fluid spaces where different voices can be introduced	C322: Having a child made realise gender inequalities
C323: Having a family made me discuss the career ladder and the working conditions	C324: Before having children, thought to be supportive of women and in a supportive environment for women with children	C325: Unconscious attitude around gender
C326: Accepted behaviours and less accepted behaviour for women	C327: Difficult to find part-time roles in festivals	C328: Patriarchal/Capitalist working system

C329: Culture of hard working	C330: Gender equality will take a long time	C331: Younger generations are not accepting inequalities
C332: No gender pay gap in their experience	C333: The system benefit few and they don't want to change it	C334: Young boys go for industries with more money as men take care of the economics of the family
C335: Organisation for women in tourism got backlash by men	C336: Awareness and support are essential to change the situation	C337: Women lack of confidence
C338: No gender policies in festivals	C339: Gender policies are not necessary, but more support, like mentoring	C340: Cultural Differences
C341: The situation for women has improved over the years	C342: Art sector is more accessible	C343: Working in the arts sector in the past was more difficult (maternity leave, low pay...)
C344: Specific festivals have a balanced board	C345: Diversity and inclusion get more attention	C346: The change comes from the people who work
C347: General conversation about discriminations	C348: Stereotypes roles in festival	C349: Young people against this idea of sacrifice and life choice when entering the art industry
C350: Festival becomes like a family	C351: working parents can make a real change	C352: Gender policy a token gesture
C353: More work on breaking gender roles	C354: Gender policy + work done is needed	C355: See how people judge women directors
C356: women need to be encouraged	C357: We are socialised differently	C358: Younger generations are more socially aware
C359: Gender expectations	C360: We need to put emphasis on women talents	C361: It is also difficult for men to find their place/role
C362: Covid19 impacted my career	C363: The industry is returning to what it was before	C364: People working in the industry was lucky in Scotland

C365: Now we understand the role of technology in reaching new audiences/accessability	C366: Covid19 made me reflect on what is important to me	C367: Covid19 has made festivals more flexible
C368: After Covid19, festivals are on survival mode	C369: Attendees have changed their behaviour towards buying tickets	C370: Working from home can be difficult for your mental health
C371: It is difficult for those who started working in festivals during lockdown as their experience is different	C372: Lockdown made the festivals think on what they want to be as a festival	C373: The lockdown and the furlough gave me the opportunity to focus on myself and what I want to do
C374: Covid19 impacted me negatively	C375: no festivals (because of Covid19) meant lack of joy	C376: Covid19 time meant lack of confidence
C377: Covid19 had a huge impact on my life and mental health	C378: Covid19 had an important impact on the festival industry	C379: people have left the festival industry during Covid19
C380: Art sector is considered not essential, but they are for mental health	C381: Working from home was difficult	C382: Covid19 has been a test of leadership and resilience
C383: There has been a call for change during Covid19, but it seems it hasn't happened	C384: Work during the pandemic was different for women	C385: I consider myself lucky for my experience during Covid19
C386: Staff who worked during Covid19 has low energy levels	C387: working face-to-face is easier	C388: With Covid19 organisations had to learn to communicate better
C389: The industry has big opportunities to come	C390: Covid19 was a difficult time	C391: Working from home with kids was difficult
C392: working from home with kids had benefits	C393: Covid19 made us think quick	C394: Having a kid and working in a festival can be great for the kid
C395: The Fringe brings an atmosphere of love	C396: The fringe marks changes	C397: Men who work backstage don't late when a woman takes their job

C398: As a freelancer it is difficult to find jobs after having had a child	C399: Women might wait before having children to progress with their career	C400: No mental health support for those working in venues/temporary jobs/Freelances
C401: Been sexually assaulted at the Fringe, no support provided	C402: No information about counselling, doctors, etc are provided to the temporary workers	C403: There is care for what can be seen (like a physical accident) but not for what cannot be seen (Sexual harassment)
C404: many women in the industry doesn't mean gender equality is achieved	C405: you need to work with schools to achieve diversity	C406: New generation of women are empowered
C407: Gender bling casting are really good	C408: Discovering myself as a feminist is been recent	C409: Anyone who identifies as a woman should not be pushed down
C410: women should not be hired just because they are women	C411: The change for equality need to start from schools	C412: Feminism is about supporting each other
C413: We live in a patriarchal society	C414: people working in the established festivals do not know what happens in the venues	C415: we need to learn about boundaries and being compassionate
C416: As a leader you need to understand what being a working mother means	C417: It is difficult to find support for mother freelancers	C418: Difficult to find jobs as a freelancer during the pandemic
C419: Many people are changing industry because of the conditions (e.g.: low pay)	C420: The lockdown gave me the opportunity to spend time with my family	C421: Being a freelancer during the pandemic was hard
C422: Great creative community	C423: Sense of community and wish to create something together	C424: More women volunteers
C425: Equal policy in place + assessing the impact of the activity	C426: Policies need to be enacted by everyone	C427: Women work for less or for free

C428: Women would go for a job only if they fulfill most criteria	C429: Need to pay attention to volunteers and the job they do for free	C430: As a festival director, it might take some extra time to get people come to you and get your directions
C431: There's need for more visibility to gain more diversity	C432: Hope we get more sustainable and accountable	C433: Hope to continue stay in the industry
C434: It is not useful to distinguish between the genders in leadership	C435: Emotional resilience and interpersonal sensitivity are interesting	C436: A leader needs to be able to recognise other people's skills and expertise
C437: Delegating is difficult	C438: yes, feminist, but hesitate to label myself	C439: Conversations around gender are more normalised
C450: Edinburgh is progressive	C451: The perspective is that of a White cis middle-class woman	C452: Festivals are important for the creative community
C453: Going back to festivals after Covid19, there is less confidence	C455: Women are good at creating spaces for listening	C456: Women have a wider vision on things
C457: Women managers empower their staff	C458: Some festival organisations are really good at supporting their staff	C459: Leaders will mirror behaviours
C460: Belief that to work well in the art industries you need to work with passion	C461: The creative industry in Scotland is a small community	C462: Working in the festivals can burn staff out, especially in the summer
C463: Not many full time jobs	C464: Maternity leave for freelancers is not good	C465: Older men and women can be condescending with younger leaders
C466: Age bias, especially towards women	C467: Women leader sometimes they can either be amiable or very assertive	C468: Men are taught more to go for the next job to improve their career
C469: people in leadership positions do not move, so it is difficult to progress	C470: I will have to make the decision on whether stay within the industry or not, when I will decide to create a family	C471: Engaging communication is very complex

C472: Emotional resilience is very difficult	C473: Feminism is about equity and equality	C474: Feminism is about dismantle the patriarchal structures
C475: To have equality we need as many people involved as possible	C476: Children will learn different behaviours according to the gender	C477: Creative industry is all about exploring
C478: The age to have kids is different in the creative industry compared to other industries	C479: You wait till you are on a medium level to get kids	C480: Gender equality must be an active discussion, understanding who is left out
C481: Gender equality is an active discussion	C482: Gender equality is for men as well	C483: The pandemic underlined how much the industry rely on freelancers
C484: The pay is low	C485: Difficult to find workers and fulfill positions at the moment	C486: Working with women can be easier
C487: Inappropriate sexual comments to young women working in temporary summer festival jobs	C488: Terrible culture and job conditions for those working temporarily in the summer festivals jobs, especially young women	C489: Some men do not like to be given directions from a woman supervisors
C490: The need for staff in summer is so high they do not check properly if people have the skills	C491: Young volunteers/temporary workers are not "protected" and do not feel they can go and complain	C492: not sure whether the leaders/directors know what happens with the temporary staff (Sexism, etc...)
C493: Young temporary staff do not always know about the working conditions	C494: Festivals are a high pressure working environment	C495: Festivals as a "family"
C496: The lack of written policies makes it hard for staff to be able to complain or feel safe	C497: People should be held accountable when they say something wrong or inappropriate	C497: Anti- harassment policies are necessary
C498: Those in power should take charge and make the necessary changes	C499: everyone should be treated equally in society	C500: Worry that we are going into recession

C501: Unsure how long it will take to recover	C502: maybe naïve, but enjoy the industry	C503: Older women in the industry sort of gatekeeping
C504: younger generations think of gender and see the world differently	C505: There is a generational gap	C506: Importance to be vocal
C507: There is need for training and education on EDI	C508: We live in a patriarchal society	C509: Conversations around issues of EDI remain only conversations
C510: Small steps needed to make a space inclusive	C511: A cultural organisation should drive social change	C512: Lack of understanding regarding to EDI
C513: As I am in a positive of privilege, I can move barriers for others	C514: A diverse team will help you understand experiences that you might not experience, you cannot know everything	C515: EDI policies are linked to getting funds
C516: Performers are more inclusive	C517: It seems that it all comes down to get good reports on EDI rather than being genuinely looking for diversity	C518: Actively working on a gender balanced program
C519: Many hours of work, no break	C520: You follow the leader, if they keep working you also keep working	C521: Generational gap when it comes to use tools that can improve the organisation and schedule the time better
C522: There are some issues in terms of project management	C523: the management should be top-down	C524: Hope that the younger generations will make a change
C525: I need to work on a more work-life balance	C526: I need to support people in finding a voice	C527: Hope that the world becomes safer and more equal
C528: The situation will improve and get better	C529: Hope to work in the creative industry in the future	C530: A woman leader does not mean a feminist leader who stand for other women

C531: difficult to have gender balanced without quotas	C532: some women leaders do not give space to other women colleagues (Queen Bee?)	C533: Sometimes people listen more to those who have more working experience and disregard me for my age
C534: Communication can be a struggle	C555: Resource management is a struggle	C556: Emotional resilience can become unhealthy
C557: Poor work-life balance linked to poor resource management	C558: No emotional resilience means no interpersonal sensitivity	C559: Limited resources can create a toxic environment
C560: Cultural expectations, you need to prove yourself	C561: Post pandemic people do not want to accept bad working conditions	C562: Not much positive feedback is provided
C563: Being project-based means there are no breaks	C564: Scotland is more open	C565: Politics and religion impact society
C566: Adding and using pronouns can make a difference	C567: After Covi9, it's exciting to go full speed	C568: Working in festivals make me feel special with my family and my kids who can be part of it
C569: Working in festival has been a positive experience	C570: Actively bringing women in the conversation	C571: I feel confident that I can speak up
C572: Men sometimes talk over you at meetings	C573: Strong women examples	C574: My bringing up made me believe I could do anything
C575: Got a job while pregnant	C576: Got a team with parents and mums and women leaders	C577: Importance of bringing the team together during Covid19
C578: Difficult being a mum and working away	C579: Home-schooling was difficult	C580: There are situations that need improvements, but festivals are a welcoming environment
C581: Got policy in place to protect the workers	C582: Women are at the lower management	C583: There are entry points for women, situation is changing
C584: A leader should trust the team	C585: Can be dangerous walking home alone after an event	C586: it's difficult to retire because it is not a well-paid sector

C587: Overthinking and overstructured has negative elements	C588: Difficult to “switch off” when working in the arts	C589: Scotland is difficult to get higher positions
C590: we all have same end goal, we shouldn’t fight	C591: Poverty is a cause of bad working conditions	C592: As leader, I want to create good working conditions
C593: In the arts, women are considered to be good at what they do	C594: No negativity for being a woman leader	C595: Leaders are responsible
C596: policies come from example	C597: Flexible work is hard	C598: Became a feminist after becoming a mother
C599: Being a feminist and a leader means to raise people up, each other	C600: It is important to recognise your own privilege	C601: Women WhatsApp groups to check on each other
C602: Society impacts how women behave	C603: The family struggled that her husband was responsible for the child	C604: Ensure we don’t have any unconscious biases when recruiting
C605: We have an inequality policy	C606: It’s important to go and talk to kids to fight gender inequalities	C607: Edinburgh is a microcosm for the wider industry
C608: Handbook with policies for everyone working in the company	C609: You learn from previous mistakes	C610: Trying to make it accessible for everyone
C611: To understand what needs changing you need to speak to your staff	C612: It is important to have the right policies	C613: During Covid, as a leader, I fought for my team to stick together
C614: Australia did better in terms of mental health	C615: working in the festivals doesn’t force you to fit into an expectation	C616: Women are more accepting
C617: As a woman proud of the changes I could do in the role, such as supporting women in maternity leave	C618: Many women in the festivals because they have lateral and logical minds	C619: Difficult to say why, but the sector appeals many women

C620: The environment is supportive, but it's difficult for a lack of time and how the festival is organised, to have the time to nurture new women	C621: Men have more experience	C624: Sometimes it is difficult to find the time to questions things
C625: Conversations on EDI were held by White, wealthy men and were performative, never meaningful	C626: The revolution must happen with childcare	C627: Need a break from the festival
C628: As a leader, you need to understand when it's time to let somebody else try to solve the problems you have not been able to	C629: Working with other female leaders is more about engaging in conversations	C630: Some male dominated area see leadership where women need to compromise, not allowed to have "female" emotions, but only men
C631: Some structures are still male and have an old school approach	C632: No differences between man and women leaders	C633: Difficult to be a young woman leader
C634: You can teach critical analysis	C635: Leadership skills come with experience	C636: Feminism is giving a platform to limited voice
C637: Feminism is about solidarity	C638: Feminism is open the opportunities we have to everybody else	C639: Make sure festivals are accessible to everyone, also who comes from different and difficult background
C670: Covid19 was making decisions on an unknown environment	C671: Tried hard to keep the staff during the pandemic	C672: The pandemic taught me to rely on staff and the need not to "control" them
C673: Trying flexible hybrid work where the staff decides what works for them	C674: I was not aware of the struggles of mothers before becoming one	C675: More men involved with childcare during the pandemic
C676: many women at director levels with no children, not to have career break	C677: You get criticised for being a mother who goes back to work after pregnancy	C678: Arts festivals should be inclusive

C679: Mentoring is important	C680: Legal conditions different for freelancers	C681: How freelancers are treated depends on the organisations
C682: Caring responsibilities do not fit with some roles in the arts/festival sector	C683: Personal self-measure and a supportive organisation are important to set boundaries	C684: Wish gender is not an obstacle, but working collaborative
C685: Hope to strive for equity	C686: Important to make sure freelancers are treated well and feel part of the organisation	C687: Not rigid hierarchy
C688: Leaders must create a healthy environment	C689: Covid19 made people ask for more work/Life balance	C690: Me as an individual and my lived experience affect my leadership
C691: Creative problem solving should be added	C692: Adaptability should be added	C693: Listening skills should be added
C694: World and environmental awareness should be added	C695: The six terms are "cold"	C696: With development and process people can become strong leaders
C697: Even if you are a leader, you are still on a learning journey	C698: Leaders learn from past leaders	C699: A leader is different from a manager
C700: As a young woman, I did not consider myself as a feminist	C701: I thought there was equality, but the more I got older, the more I realised the inequality	C702: During Covid, the company focused on mental health and support
C703: Always been able to discuss any issues I had in the organisation	C704: Women are driving force of festivals, but in the background	C705: Festivals are middle class, and more men have broken class barriers
C706: Different experience depending on what type of job you have (Volunteers, temporary, full time)	C707: Women value themselves less than men	C708: Difficult to have caring responsibilities and working in festivals
C709: Not having children can be an added-value	C710: Men can be condescending	C711: My gender has never benefitted nor gone against me

C712: Emotional Resilience should not be needed	C713: Need for support groups	C714: Positions on discussing EDI are mixed
C715: More women freelancers	C716: Festivals have unreasonable expectations	C717: Always some form of sexism
C718: Women can be dismissed by men	C719: It can be difficult to work with middle-age White men	C720: Some women do not want to be at the top
C721: Hope no more risks of sexual harassments	C722: A focus on values and desire to truly be inclusive and diverse should be added	C723: Feminism is extremely positive for me
C724: The change must happen in the whole organisation	C725: A group/association for women working in the arts sector can be a good idea	C726: For the issue of diversity, it is important to be more proactive and do positive discrimination
C727: Next two years (2023-2024) will be difficult for the sector	C728: Music industry is very misogynistic male driven	C729: Women are stereotyped
C730: When women are CEO, the fact that she is a woman is underlined	C731: Women are more emphatic	C732: Women are more strategic
C733: Gender quota are not enough	C734: Part-time feminist	C735: Many people gave back a lot during Covid
C736: People judge women for their look	C737: Mothers can experience losing their confidence upon returning to work	

Need for more work on Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (EDI) in Edinburgh festivals	The arts sector is more accessible
	Equality, Diversity, and Inclusion (ED) can be reached with everyone being involved
Feminism means equal opportunities for all	
Challenges of representation of, and mentoring for, women as leaders	
The Pandemic of Coronavirus Disease 2019 greatly affected women	The Pandemic of Covid-19 allowed for more flexible working for women
Being a mother in the festival industry can be challenging	Being a mother and working in the festivals impact your work and career
	The challenges of freelancer women and mothers in the festival sector
Men are still favoured in the festival sector	Gender Pay Gap
	Men get more career opportunities
	Women and the attitude of feeling guilty to work on their career
Gender Inequalities	Gender ageism and lookism towards women
	Dismissing, mansplaining, and patronising: behaviours of men towards women
	Sexual harassments
	Glass Ceiling and Tokenism
Festival Leadership based on Abson's (2017) study	Engaging communication
	Strategic perspective
	Critical analysis and judgment
	Resource management
	Emotional resilience

	Interpersonal sensitivity
	Other leadership skills that should be taken into account
Festival Leadership is collaborative	Genderless leadership
Festival Leader	Leading by example
	Taking care of your staff
	Leaders should make a difference in the organisations
Women Festival Leaders	Queen Bee Phenomenon
	Differences between men and women leaders
	Skills possessed by women leaders
	Women leaders during the Pandemic of Covid-19
Difficulties for women festival leaders	Role Congruity Theory
The Fight for equality is still long	Women free of prejudice
	Hope to be part of the change
Women chosen as leaders, not as tokens	
Improving the situation for those with families and working in festivals	

Appendix 14: Further Extracts

Section	Quote
A-9.2.1	<i>“And when I say I saw a lot of women. It was a lot of it in the background, and that's a note I made in kind of thinking about this and I said that there are not very yeah leadership, I suppose in festivals looks male and White, but behind the scenes I saw more women and women seemed to be the driving force behind a lot of festival work that I've done, but not necessarily the people</i>

	<i>up on stage welcoming everyone or being recognised in media as being key players in the development and success of these festivals.” (Lucrezia)</i>
B-9.2.1	<i>“In the music industry and it is a very misogynistic male driven (...) You know, there was a I was going to black tie dinners and there was only like me and other women (...) we were like the first woman in the business in the whole of Scotland in . And I think it's it's it's been an interesting journey for 20 odd years but things are definitely changing and changing in a positive way.” (Betty)</i>
9.2.2	<i>“(Asked why so many women): Because it pays terribly honestly, I think that's why you see more women.” (Lucrezia)</i>
9.3.1.1	<i>“I genuinely think that comes down to an overarching sense of that women, we don't value ourselves as much as men do” (Lucrezia)</i>
9.3.1.1	<i>“We were planning for some funding. It wasn't successful. I don't know. Maybe I was overthinking the situation, but essentially I felt not so much about gender, but because I'm also foreigner. And because of my age and also the gender, I felt like maybe I should take a back seat, you know, to step step back and we will have more chances for success. This is how I felt at the time. (...) . I can't really justify it, I think. There might be society influenced. The might be someone said something. I can't put my finger on it now. But I felt it wasn't in the appropriate for me to do that and. At some point I felt no, I have to be in the front and I have to be on stage and I have to, you know, take the credit for my work. So that was quite quite a big transformation I felt” (Emma)</i>
9.3.1.1	<i>“There is this thing about and I know it's a cliché but you know women may be downplaying their their expertise a little bit and men being quite happy to brag and that that's come across at interviews, as someone being maybe either more experienced and more confident, and that's a positive thing.” (Geri)</i>
9.3.1.1	<i>“it's that confidence level I think it comes very early on when you're at school you know a man are taught to invest and women are taught to nurture and it's almost that language needs to change early on for there to be run incremental change as people grow older” (Betty)</i>
9.3.1.1	<i>“And I still feel probably you know elements of Impostor syndrome to this day which is why from my perspective You want me to do with the women in business patients and supporting women business” (Betty)</i>
9.3.1.3	<i>“Still kind of stigma around it to an extent, but in older generation, like with anything, I think the new general sharing a lot more open minded” (Emma)</i>

A-9.3.2	<p><i>"I don't want to be hired just because I'm a woman. You know, I don't want to be Judged or valid just by my gender only you know I, you know, oversee discrimination is not great" (Emma)</i></p> <p><i>"Checking at boxes just because you have to have women there on Black and disabled and it's just like just give them a bit ridiculous because are you looking for a team or are you trying just, you know, to just make everyone happy and look super exclusive? (...) Because if I start program based on you know on on the colour on gender on you know it's just like it doesn't work like this. You program on based on the quality of material that just out there" (Emma)</i></p>
A-9.3.2	<p><i>"Quota is very reductive, but I think being able to do positive discrimination and and encouraging people (...) it does come with having a more diverse board as suppose. I'm not sure about the quote, to be honest. I've never really worked anywhere with that's been used and but then if the if diversity doesn't happen then maybe that's the only way it feels some the problem with quota is it can be very tokenistic and you know, you could just there you got two blackboards members and now we're fine" (Geri)</i> <i>"(Asked if gender quotas are useful): No, I think the right person for the job is the right person for the job. You know, male, female, whatever. You know, it doesn't matter. You know, I think it's just a case to, but I think so many, so many blue chip companies in particular, under such pressure to to, you know, get the quota, you know, OK, that it becomes, you know, K pen packaging exercise. And I think and that's why I'm saying, you know, that when you recruitment piece could be really important, you know? OK. It's like, yeah. I mean I it's it mean it's difficult to get the right balance and but yeah, I mean hopefully it is moving forward."</i> (Betty)</p>
A-9.3.2	<p><i>"The Nice memory of working women in the arts, I mean, I guess I, and that's true of not just working in arts, I think of being a woman is, I suppose, the friendship and the kind of camaraderie that you have with other women and the kind of and also that sense of, you know, we need to be strong and proactive to help break the patriarchy."</i> (Geri)</p>
B- 9.3.2	<p><i>"Menopause working policy and I believe that we're one of the first festivals in arts organisations to introduce that. And as a woman I feel really proud to work for an organisation who have prioritised and menopause working policy because it affects all of us regardless of our gender, in terms of our working lives and the policy working group was made up of people of all genders. And everyone has contributed to that. And I think that it feels like a very positive move that we are an organisation who have made a statement to support that. We also have all of the other legal things like maternity leave and all those other practices in place. But that feels like quite a revolutionary positive move to supporting women within our organisation. So I just remembered that to tell you" (Melanie)</i></p>

9.3.2.1	<i>"But I think maybe, again, that's something creative industries because they're essentially all the creative industries, is always exploring, it's always playing and we're always trying to find something new." (Olivia)</i>
A-9.3.2.2	<i>"The first one will be next year, but the plan is to try and make it accessible and inclusive as possible to not have those restrictions... I don't want it to just before young, able bodied students with no responsibilities and so again, I didn't notice that at the time, but looking back, yeah, probably was about that." (Michelle)</i>
A-9.3.2.2	<i>"Therefore it's our responsibility to represent everyone and because we work and present work across all art forms, we have the luxury of being able to have quite a wide stretch within that to seek out that wider representation. And so it's not like we're presenting only in one art form. But I the work that I do is very much about the connectivity between artist and audience. And I believe the audiences want and need to see themselves represented on stage and artists want to speak to an audience that they know they can connect with, whether they are the same as them or they are other. They want to make that connection to those who are different or to those who are the same. And that connectivity does rely upon representation. And I do believe it is our responsibility when we are programming work to ensure that we can seek. Right representation and news stories so that we can, uh, be that platform and you know so that we can be that platform to our audiences and especially when we're wanting to connect with new audiences (...). We should be presenting and telling all stories, and we should absolutely have have and make space for all people to connect and participate. If there's a barrier to that, we should have it removed because everyone has a plate in a festival." (Melanie)</i>
B-9.3.2.2	<i>"know we don't hear working class voices and we don't see people of colour. And yeah, for a long time, we didn't see women. And I think we still don't. I look at like even just going through lots of pictures. There's like, why is that a picture? Why were there 7 pictures in a row of men? When? The more you know through the pictures, you realise actually it was a room full of women. But we're seeing the men and yeah, on stage I saw take a launch tonight and I was like 4 men and then two women. And I was like, why though like, this is ridiculous when I know that the backroom team of that festival. The head of marketing, the head of the communication, you know, they're all just women doing all the, you know. Umm. And yeah, I think it absolutely leads to us devaluing ourselves because we don't see ourselves in those positions and recognised for that work." (Lucrezia) "I think that that's something that we should be making more of an effort to do and it's not included but I do think that every, every leader should be engaging positively with arts created by people of colour in Edinburgh and across Scotland, and I think there are people out there shouting loud enough that you don't have to do very much at all to better the situation." (Lucrezia)</i>

C-9.3.2.2	<p><i>"I think there is for sure difficulty in it's it's about recruitment and and how people that are coming in. At that, the pay is not good and so I guess people at the beginning of the career especially need to come in, you know, and work for very little. And so it's it's like people that have means that I can maybe afford to do that. There's also and we basically need more diversity in leadership so that that will be you know people will bring people like them and I think it comes it it happened even earlier and who goes to the the the gain of the university and. And the and do the the kind of the these kind of arts kind of degree, but that's the problem is because. You can do that if you think that you'll be fine, because you'll have parents that can support you or, you know, other ways of supporting yourself. But if you have no other way to support yourself, getting a career in the arts is quite a scary prospect if you if you're just going to be, you know, sitting on the lawn. And so I think that that's true of working class people, you know, people of colour and, you know, so that's, I think why it's missing is that we need somehow to do some much more proactive and positive discrimination."</i> (Geri)</p>
A-9.3.3	<p><i>"I think that we should see feminism as something that is inclusive and certainly I bring my children up. Both my daughter and my son, to both be feminists. But also to see equality. And that really the ideal is a quality and that's really what we should be striving for. But to celebrate individuals for who they are and both my children have been brought up to absolutely believe in the individual."</i> <i>"I believe that feminism is as important for my son as it is for my daughter and that I want to bring up children who really do believe in equality and and they both do it."</i> (Melanie)</p>
A-9.3.3	<p><i>"But, I would say I would very much push for women to do anything, and I also tell my daughter, you know that she can do anything and she shouldn't ever feel held back by her gender."</i> (Kate)</p>
B-9.3.3	<p><i>"I wouldn't say I am a feminist."</i> (Lucia)</p>
C-9.3.3	<p><i>"Feminism can also be at fault when we only focus on the issues of one race when really like, if we're not fighting for all women to be equal, then there is no fight"</i> (Francesca)</p>
C-9.3.3	<p><i>"I think very simply, it's equality of genders and actually not even of genders, just equality across the board, because not everybody's predetermines that I think that's the thing for me that it's not just about women, it's about everybody."</i> (Margaret)</p>
C-9.3.3	<p><i>"I believe in intersectional feminism and that we we really should be inclusive and connective"</i> (Melanie)</p>
9.3.4	<p><i>"I think the most powerful things are things like mentoring and and it doesn't have to be mentored only by women. It would be mentored by a man as well. I think it's like mentoring women. Building their confidence is the key thing."</i> (Lucia)</p>

9.3.5	<p><i>“Through in the last two years, when people have been working from home, I don’t see many men on screen who have their kids in the background. They seem to have maybe slightly more way to distance themselves from the moment, whereas a lot of the female co-workers Or people I deal with that said, you know, get interrupted in a way that the fathers of the children don’t seem to be. And I think working from home and thinking that people can work from home and not look at the children is just, you know, that’s not possible.” (Helena)</i></p>
A-9.4.1.1	<p><i>“I believe it's very difficult. I think women miss out on key networking, opportunities, in particular when they have children. And that's wrong because networking shouldn't always happen in the pub after launch party” (Lucrezia)</i></p>
B-9.4.1.1	<p><i>“Other downsides are are when you do have caring responsibilities and they're not taken into considerations. And I've had to turn down jobs because of that” (Christine)</i></p>
B-9.4.1.1	<p><i>“I think infrastructure to the delivery of a festival is not conducive to those with caring responsibilities in its traditional form (...) I can't go out every night of the week. But those hours of that would then count of me being at work, obviously because I would be there represent it. But you know, it's that counter of what you're working on. Ours are what you're commitments are beyond the traditional. How do you find childcare for that? How do you, you know, work arounds and also in our industry a lot of networking events things happen in the evening there's sort of glass of wine style events. You know there's still a way to go in terms of how we sustain childcare within that and within those caring responsibilities the expectation that you have to work hard and put the work in is well, that's absolutely we all want to see that and I don't have to work hard and put the work in it, but the long hours the you know, we we do work stressful, you know jobs, we have a lot of work to deliver and a lot of high expectation of what it means to work in festivals and the expectation and certainly over the last 10 years the our industry just more and more and more has been layered on to the delivery that we have to deliver and and for women working in festivals it's not necessarily a gender inequality. If the men that we work with will also encounter the same thing men have caring responsibilities also, and it's down to individual households to say what that gender balance and responsibility is for them, and that is for those with partners and for anyone who I know, a few women who've been single parents coming, working through festivals and it's, you know, it's very difficult in terms of how you balance home life, children, all the rest of it.” (Melanie)</i></p>
C-9.4.1.1	<p><i>“It's difficult because you know, we’ve got not lots of money, it’s just, you know, in terms of flexibility, if you give cause cause what we're not heard before, generally once women have children quite often, not always, but quite often they might want to have a flexible work in contacts. So they're not in full time, which is great, you know, I did it myself, but in a smaller organisation that can be harder to manage.” (Kate)</i></p>

D-9.4.1.1	<i>"I mean, one thing I would say is we're not allowed to take any holidays in August and it's quite hard to take in holidays in July. So if I had been younger and my children were at school, I wouldn't have applied for the job. So and I could see that actually the festival that we don't have many people, but there's nobody had a baby, for example, since I've been there, ohh no one person did, but then she left" (Kate)</i>
9.4.2.2	<i>"I could always feel that I don't know that the male presence was more dominant to be honest (...) if I think about the festival, to be honest, yes, it's more male lead" (Rebecca)</i>
9.4.2.2	<i>"My industry is very male dominated" (Emma)</i>
9.4.2.2	<i>"There was a series of photos for something and I was just like, ohh, that's men, men, men, men, men. Why? Why? Oh yeah, what's this one? This is an audience. One which I found really, really interesting. And like weird (...) I think when you look through a lot, it was really interesting that you said to look up pictures. I had a good time of it. I could have spent hours and hours yeah, drawing red circles around things going lock and all these men" (Lucrezia)</i>
9.4.2.2	<i>"I think a lot of people don't have much interaction with the board. I just happen to have worked in a few organisations, were board members, were quite involved. Yeah, I think I probably have had more contact with board members over my 10 years than most people I know which is very interesting. And again, I have stood up to some of these old White men be a bad thing. It's not always been old White. Then I have stood up to board members in the past and I think again. It's not something people do very often. And yeah, I think it's that people don't have much contact with them. I also think the public are very unaware of board members. And I think people would be and it's it's very interesting because the information is all out there that I didn't know before I started working in the industry what a board member was or what they did or what their responsibilities were, or. And I think that some people would definitely change their views on certain organisations if they looked into who was on their board. And certainly if they heard about the way some of those people behave" (Lucrezia)</i>
A-9.4.2.3	<i>"I would say in terms of the salary question, I think as our sort of social conditioning up until this point, although I think it is changing, thank God, is that, you know women would undervalue themselves and men would overvalue themselves. You know, as women were kind of taught to be at smaller and men are taught to be the bigger. And so I think that comes from that to be honest. And I think there's a level of arrogance, I suppose, for men that women maybe don't have. Not all women would have." (Nicky)</i>
B-9.4.2.3	<i>"but I saw women in the background that's where I saw them because I got into the industry because I found my way there through education through just being good networking, I have a natural gift of just I would talk to a wall and I was very fortunate that I was able to find my way</i>

	<i>into the industry and that's where I saw the amazing women that I wanted to be like they weren't. they weren't out there. They're not. You don't see them enough. And even the women that are in positions often don't take centre stage, even when they maybe have the opportunity to. And yes, I think it completely affects us," (Lucrezia)</i>
C-9.4.2.3	<i>"(Why more women volunteering): We used to just doing things for free or for less money. Umm I'm I'm not. I don't think that it's a obviously it's not a complete generalised statement. I wouldn't want to make a generalised statement saying that that women are generally happier to work for less or for free. But I think maybe because we do work for less and for free more often, our worth isn't necessarily represented in what we're getting out of it in a financial sense. Perhaps it feels like a bit of a sweeping statement, but it also feels broadly accurate.." (Eloise)</i>
9.4.3.1	<i>"They treated me like this blonde lady. He doesn't even know what it's called. It's like, ohh. But again, maybe I was just seeing into this and they didn't mean it like that. But I felt that attitude." (Emma)</i>
B-9.4.3.1	<i>"Five years ago, I had said the bigger issue for me and the leadership space was my age and the fact that I was a youngish woman, I'm not young anymore. I've accepted that and and and coming in, you know, when I first started this job, say a decade ago, coming in and and, you know, being being in charge or leading the team of people that included, you know, older women and who were sort of unhappy about that." (Victoria)</i>
A- 9.4.3.2	<i>"I don't know if there's anything else that's really specifically to do with festivals as opposed to just being a woman in carving your way in the workspace like the general like you know, being interrupted during meetings, having your ideas said back to you and having your work not looked at maybe it's sometimes in the same way as male colleagues. And so yeah, those were those are probably the things that I see the most of, but not specific to festivals at all" (Amelia)</i>
A-9.4.3.2	<i>"People can assume that You know, if there's a room full of people or just a few people. And there's a guy I think quite often they'll assume that he's senior or the manager. Like, I've definitely experienced that working alongside female bosses and and being in meetings and there might be a male colleague of mine who's more junior. if you know I supplier comes in for a meeting Quite often they'll look to the guy and and assume that he's the manager Which I think can irk some of the female bosses" (Jessica)</i>
A-9.4.3.2	<i>" He couldn't even look at me in the face. You know, we would go to him. OK. And talking about concepts and ideas. And we expanded the business and built another whole floor etcetera. And and he he would he couldn't even look at me he would look at look at my business partner and you that's really off putting and I think you have to be a certain kind of person to be able to take that on the chin you know because I mean you do feel impostor syndrome" (Betty)</i>

A-9.4.3.2	<i>"And yeah, my, my my voice is probably not been as you know, heard as well." (Geri)</i>
B-9.4.3.2	<i>"Yeah, I would say, I've definitely been patronised. And yeah, my, my my voice is probably not been as you know, heard as well" (Geri)</i>
A-9.4.3.3	<i>"I've walked home with my keys between my fingers. I've, you know, this parts of Edinburgh will walk a different way. But I'm also guilty of probably walking through the dark park and I and I shouldn't. And but also then I go. Why shouldn't I?" (Isabella)</i>
B-9.4.3.3	<i>"As a woman in an environment with other, with men, there is, you will always find some, you know, sexist men that are there in position of power like one middle aged White men, they everywhere." (Geri)</i>
C-9.4.3.3	<i>"But there were situations of Upper class White men coming in with like and, you know, treating us, the generally female younger staff who were there to support them and look after them and do anything we could to make their experience good, which we were there to do and love doing for people when they were friendly and polite about it, But like it was guaranteed, there was at least one person at some point during the festival who would come in and treat you, not like that and down to you and not give you any time or or thought. That gender imbalance is there." (Lisa)</i>
9.4.3.4	<i>"I don't think there's a bias against women for the top jobs. But I think it's that it's just that, Generally women have got a whole lot of other different barriers, not to do with the festivals necessarily, but I think that's the main barrier. I don't think I don't get impression it's prejudice or sexism. I think that's a society White thing that's holding. Move back, yeah." (Michelle)</i>
A-9.5.1	<i>"I think there these are actually pretty good skills, aren't they?" (Mary)</i>
A-9.5.1	<i>"I mean they're pretty comprehensive, right? You need to, you need to be able to lead people properly, You need to be able to understand them as individuals, understand them collectively and then jigsaw them together to get the best out of those sort of jigsaw pieces and understand the gaps in it. So you know an organisation on paper is very different to an organisation off paper. So and you can't be the same person. not for each of those people, or in each of those circumstances. So, actually they all they a lot. I mean that that that's a solid set of skills you to put in a job description right? Which is that you need to. Even the the the way that they talk to one another. So I need to be able to, I'm at the way, I'm not doing it very well this morning. Apologies. You need to be able to communicate effectively, but you also need to know what's gonna work in in different scenarios or situations and for different people. And yeah, I mean, I, I I've never seen that before. I quite like it." (Victoria)</i>

B-9.5.1	<i>"I don't think well, I mean honestly, if I look at the, look at the colleagues that I know and, you know, run through them and say all the people that people whose leadership I admire as a colleague, as a peer, or it or as a, you know someone else in the sector. They're all ticking all of those boxes, so it can't be that difficult in inverted commas to get hold of that set of skills." (Victoria)</i>
9.5.1.1	<i>"I think with the communication side, it's like Even though there, there's always separate departments within festivals like so much of it is interlinked and crosses over that I think you have to have a really good communication skills and To make sure everyone knows what they're doing and That information is being like transferred from One team and to another and Because yeah, I think all the teams contribute to the festival going ahead so" (Jessica)</i>
9.5.1.2	<i>"You would have to have to be strategic as well for sure. They would like to see the Like the bigger picture, because a lot of the time it's like your team are doing the actual work. But the leader needs to be able to see like the bigger picture and how it all comes together" (Jessica)</i>
9.5.1.3	<i>"Critical analysis and judgment really important because, I mean they're managing, they're basically managing businesses which have one opportunity, especially with the Edinburgh Festival, to make money it in one month of the year, so they've gotta be pretty good at, you know, finances and also budgets" (Mary)</i>
9.5.1.4	<i>"Resource management absolutely. Because festivals especially are famously sort of very expensive and mostly never have the budget that they need to put the things on." (Paula)</i>
9.5.1.4	<i>"Resource management I think is a big struggle across arts festivals. I mean and just festivals in general are always stretched so thin, but especially cultural festivals." (Maddie)</i>
9.5.1.5	<i>"I think that's a a hard one in in leadership positions in any kind of role professional role I think when people expect emotional resilience, it's absolutely understandable why and what's appropriate in the workplace and those types of things. But definitely we need if we want our leaders to have emotional resilience, we need to create working structures and patterns which avoid burnout and which allow for people to really process things and have time off. If you're just jumping from one thing to the other one, I can see that's the thing that would, that would quickly fall apart. And once that falls apart, I think all the rest of them fall apart as well." (Olivia)</i>
9.5.1.6	<i>"I think interpersonal sensitivity is absolutely vital" (Margaret)</i>
9.5.1.6	<i>"Interpersonal sensitivity: there is need for more" (Caroline)</i>
A-9.5.1.7	<i>"With interpersonal sensitivity, I'm thinking is that sort of like compassion because that's the one thing that I I would actually put in here. But if that's sort of covered by that last one, because</i>

	<i>you have to be compassionate, you have to know that like your festivals are very hard” (Francesca)</i>
B-9.5.1.7	<i>“I think there’s something around decision making, that’s not in there that I do think, you know, as describe in different industries that have been quite different. And I actually think certainly in festivals that should be a key thing, you know, the ability to make decisions and stand by them. It’s something that isn’t always something that would be good at.” (Kate)</i>
B-9.5.1.7	<i>“I suppose it would fall under strategic perspectives. I think something that leaders should always be looking at, particularly in large organisations is bringing kind of a a formal mentoring system through the organisation” (Lucrezia)</i>
C-9.5.1.7	<i>“A focus on the values. So like in the arts and the festivals. But you know, for me, I think the if the they’re kind of you know linked some way and there’s a real desire to make sure that you know there is diversity and social inclusion and all of that and I feel that that’s really important and and our adherence to our values is really key and I think that’s missing and then I think they should be that should be the case for business to be fair.” (Geri)</i>
A-9.5.2	<i>“(about a collective leadership): Absolutely. Because I think most of the time like you know, You hire people on the basis that you are confident they can do the job, but you just need to make sure that you’re there for them and like Giving clear instructions but not micromanaging and just like being present.” (Jessica)</i>
A-9.5.2	<i>“You do need someone to direct that so and that person, I suppose, has to have maybe the qualities of not being a micro manager, trusting other people to know what they’re doing, but also they need to have the overall overarching overview of the work that is done and in a way, I’ve just described my job in that I’m not an expert at everything, but I know what needs to happen. And I know when it needs to happen by and I know when it’s not been done well, so I can help them shape if someone struggling and need help. That’s when you can sort of wade in rather than Yeah, assuming that everybody else needs my input all the time, they don’t.” (Eloise)</i>
B-9.5.2	<i>“(if policies in place are her ideas): Not there, were they? No, I I think they’re collaborative. Really. Is they’ve come from they’ve either come from something that’s happened or nearly happened or it’s come from like for example with our staff taxi, we’re improving that this year because it has been a male driver and I think that if that is going to be the case, we have to be sure that the DBS checked and that sort of stuff. So we’re gonna improve that even further this year, those sort of things. It’s coming from. It’s come from example. Some of those policies where direct copy paste from others and made to fit what we needed to do, and it’s from other other team members have gone. Have we thought about this? Have we? If we got back coming and again the demands on post pandemic in terms of our flexible working policies and homeworking</i>

	<i>policies, reminders of the old policies that we used to have about email use and locking your computer screen and all of that is about personal safety as well as company IP that stuff.” (Isabella)</i>
B-9.5.2	<i>“And collaboration, I think is a key leadership skill, especially in festivals because we need to work across multiple teams in under pressure situations and often in quite limited time frames. We often work in partnership with other organisations and with artists and companies, so collaborative skills really core collaborative skills as they would be really important” (Melanie)</i>
9.5.2.1	<i>“I suppose that I hope will get to a point someday where it's not about your gender and that's that there's a fluidity.” (Juliet)</i>
9.5.2.1	<i>“That's a really interesting question. I think if you ask people with different genders, what they think leadership is, you might get different answers. So I don't know, but I feel like see a different approach taken by the two genders. Not everybody, of course, but I don't think it's necessarily useful, because I think leadership qualities are you leadership qualities, full stop. But maybe the way that that leadership is executed might manifest slightly differently.” (Eloise)</i>
A-9.5.3.1	<i>“And yeah, I think I was saying earlier but like leading by example, which yeah, I don't know what that skill would be called, but But it's sort of like a practicing what you preach type thing and which I think is needed in In festivals, because it is such a like hands, you know, hands on And sort of environment that Even if you're in a senior management position, I think you I think you need to have that sort of Not not thinking that you're too senior to Muck in. I think it's the first year I worked, And in the marketing team at XX XX and this is the ticket stock arriving and it was, it was like all hands on deck, like everyone has to help and including the senior management team come and help and so. Like for me, I think strong leadership is about Sort of leading by example And mucking in and I feel like in my experience of working out various different festivals and arts organisations that Most senior management do muck in and help And it doesn't feel like hierarchy compared to probably other industry” (Jessica)</i>
A-9.5.3.1	<i>“And I think the greatest lessons that I have learned as a leader are from the people who have led me. I have learned what bad leadership looks like, and I have learned what good leadership looks like. And from that I have tried to shape and grow myself as a leader. But at the same time, acknowledging that I am not perfect and I have more to learn and that within that I want to make space for other people. So I think that's a long winded answer. I think of what you were looking for.” (Melanie)</i>
B-9.5.3.1	<i>“Here at the festival, I'm quite strict with myself about not working massively long hours, so you know I'll do what I need to do and if I need to do something to home I will. But I thought of trying to model that, you know, I'll go in and I'll do like 9:00 to 5:00 or 9:00 to 5:30 or whatever, but</i>

	<i>I'm not gonna be there till 7:00 o'clock every night because I think it's quite important as a leader to tell your staff to feel like they can leave and you know, and I know certainly when I was younger and sort of earlier on in my career if my boss was doing a 12 hour day, then I felt I needed to do a 12 hour day so I feel quite strongly about that, and I also feel quite strongly that people can only actually work so many productive hours in a week, and so if they're there for 15 hours, they're not working and they're not any more productive than someone is there 35 or 40 or whatever you know. So I've been trying to push that quite a bit at the festival as well you know, the best way I can do that is by modeling it, I think.” (Kate)</i>
B-9.5.3.1	<i>“This behaviour kind of stems from the fact that about 6:00 o'clock your boss doesn't get up and walk out then you kind of feel like, OK, am I going to be penalised for getting up and walking out, you know, and this was just regular practice that just everyone's kind of waiting for someone else to get up and leave and nobody gets up and leaves. And that's just me talking about my sort of more junior role that I was in, let alone now that I feel like, OK, there's so much more weight on my shoulders.” (Maddie)</i>
B-9.5.3.1	<i>(talking about poverty that creates bad working conditions): “And I think that's something that I would like to make sure that anywhere any working environment I create doesn't have people feeling like they have to do that.” (Isabella)</i>
A-9.5.3.2	<i>“Because I feel there was a period when I worked at the festival, where I was not looked after very well, I tried to look after my team, because I don't want them to have that experience.” (Anna)</i>
A-9.5.3.2	<i>“I'm fully committed to creating cultural fairness and inclusion so of course. Yeah. So here I was quite specific because we've got equal opportunity policy in place. Covering inequality, diversity, inclusion and my leadership style creates. I believe I hope an inclusive culture where everyone feels valued” (Emma)</i>
B-9.5.3.2	<i>“And in terms of like seeing myself as a as a leader in the arts, because I do, because we have to and we have to believe in ourselves and something that I appreciated a lot when I was working at festivals, was acknowledgement from those leaders so that was something that I really practiced as much as possible when I was on the ground. I spoke to everyone that was involved as much as possible, thanks to people individually, you don't always have time for it, but if you do, I think it's really important. As a woman, I'm constantly telling young women that they can do it, but it won't be easy. I don't sugar coat things. I'm a real real. I think it benefits people to go in with your eyes wide open and I have hope for the future” (Lucrezia)</i>
A-9.5.4	<i>“There's a lot of women that are in senior positions (...) I do think there's a very kind of, you know, it's an industry which encourages women to move into senior positions” (Mary)</i>

B-9.5.4	<p><i>"I think especially my whole approach to inclusion and childcare and supporting women through maternity and supporting women through care with their families.(...) Responsible for care or support in that sort of way I think I think I I I think I hope that as I I create a really supportive and enabling environment both personally, but then also professionally if if I say that people need training or they're less skilled in one area than another then we'll sit down and talk about that and talk about what's the best route for support for them. Is it coaching, is it a an MBA is it?" (Juliet)</i></p>
B-9.5.4	<p><i>"The women who work who are like in director roles for the XXX Festival and have introduced things like smarter working policy where we can work from home some days of the week and we can, we've got a core hours, but we can flex either side and I think that's something that is up flexibility from having women in those roles who can acknowledge that people will need that. And so I do think it is. It's a bit more flexible and it is nice and welcoming" (Paula)</i></p>
A-9.5.4.1	<p><i>"(Asked if she experienced the Queen Bee Phenomenon): I would say if the majority of my experience was positive and I think I only really have experienced that twice. And not in experience hell kind of way. And I think one person maybe felt a bit threatened by and that's specifically me, but by the other younger women. And I would say the other person, yeah. Was that like, well, I put up with it. Why don't you kinda thing I think maybe there's a little bit of it in terms of using that as an excuse like, oh, I'm sorry. It's really hard, but you know, it's just always been like this in festivals which kind of bugs me more because, Well, you can change it now. You're at the top, I mean that's how I always felt looking to the future was making it better for the people who came behind me. Yeah, the idea of don't stand on those below you, but pull them up with you" Lucrezia</i></p>
B-9.5.4.1	<p><i>"I mean, I am, the interesting thing for me is that my experience of women in high, it's sort of in, in sort of very director level jobs. It's not always good for other women so my, you know, we had a as CEO of the XX a few years ago, XX XX. She wasn't very good at getting other women into senior positions, and I it ends up being that the women that are in the very senior jobs end up acting like men. And I don't know again why it's obviously that's a sort of old school thing where they think they've got to behave like men in the kind of boardroom" (Mary)</i></p>
B-9.5.4.1	<p><i>"I think oftentimes as well like at the senior level, it does tend to be more men, more men, leading organisations, so I think sometimes in order to be heard or in order to make that environment work for you, you can end up kind of like playing a certain role that's about, you know, being very amiable, being very kind of, allowing them to show off and you kind of like support that. Or on the flip side of that, being very assertive and like I've noticed several women that I know quite well when they're in male dominated environments behaving quite differently. And I understand why, particularly when you're trying to mirror or emulate behaviour and make</i></p>

	<i>sure that people understand you're on the same level as them, but I sometimes don't think that's really helpful for anybody really involved.” (Olivia)</i>
B-9.5.4.1	<i>“I think I think a lot of women are very competitive with other women, and they often feel threatened by other women. So I don't think women are necessarily always kind to other women” (Lucia)</i>
A-9.5.4.2	<i>Women and men are different in the way they lead” (Francesca)</i>
A-9.5.4.2	<i>“Yes, I do, sure answer. And yes I do. But I think it's more complex than that. I think that we aren't entirely one gender as well. You know, I think that as you know, as women, we're all different. We're on a, you know, as a gender spectrum of of how how get again it just comes into that bigger thing of what is gender, how are we generally say but if you think about. Uh, skills that are often aligned to specific genders or that come with specific gender types, different strengths will come naturally between those who are masculine or feminine, or who are male or female (...). I think that. We can't define leaders into those four leadership types of, you know, creative or or driver, a driver or whatever and exclusively. And we can't define leaders into male and female exclusively. Not only are we in a multigender society that embraces how we are all individual. We are individual. I think my key take away for this for you would be that a leader is defined by who the leader is themselves and and you know who we are as individuals really you know every everyone is different and everyone every leader I have had or have worked under has been different. I think that in terms of being a leader, how you connect and communicate with someone is really key and that can sometimes come down to gender in that you would have an affinity or like. I like her a shorthand or an understanding of some things with people who are of the same gender as you, so there would be, yeah, there would be that or Uh, the old women can be nurturing team leaders, misconception. Whereas I know a lot of really pastoral meal leaders who who lead fantastically.” (Melanie)</i>
A-9.5.4.2	<i>So yeah, I think there's still think we I think there's still are differences in gender approaches. (Juliet)</i>
A-9.5.4.2	<i>“(Asked if men and women lead differently): massive generalisation. Of course they'll be that we differences from the normal, this one. But you know, I think as a whole we are more emphatic (...) as a women I I can pick up at someone's not the normal self or someone's being quiet on the call. Yes, I was looking down and not engaging and I've got the little message and I'll be like, are you OK? You need to chat. I was like something alright? (...) think it's a different management style offer that comes out there (...) even though you don't formally have children, there's there's almost a nature of wanting people to help people or to help people grow and to be there for them if you need them. So yeah, it's a different management style, definitely.” (Betty)</i>

B-9.5.4.2	<i>"I would say I feel more confident and sharing personal things or being completely honest with my female manager then with my male line manager. And I think that's the that's an important point" (Annie)</i>
C-9.5.4.2	<i>"I think it's softening around the edges a lot and some of the more inspired male chief executives that I meet are absolutely tuned into fairness and the personal as well as the professional and supportive and human" (Juliet)</i>
A-9.5.4.3	<i>"I think I'm a lot better now. I'm I think, actually having children really made a difference because I don't know why, but I feel like I'm a lot more, empathetic and I find it much easier to see as I recognise now that people don't come to work to do a bad job, you know, so they might be having a bad day, but they're not coming to, you know, substandard job or whatever. Whereas when I was younger, I wouldn't have seen that" (Kate)</i>
B-9.5.4.3	<i>"I think women tend to be more empathetic and have more of a sense of the person as a whole, rather than just the person at work" (Kate)</i>
B-9.5.4.3	<i>"I would imagine that there might be more maybe like more compassion or like understanding from Women in terms of Like female employees" (Jessica)</i>
C-9.5.4.3	<i>"I think it's interesting that they that there's interpersonal sensitivity there because I think that definitely I feel like you see that much more in female leaders than you do in male leaders and again, I guess it goes back to that thing that we're probably a bit more in tune with our emotions as women and able to be a bit more sensitive" (Nicky)</i>
C-9.5.4.3	<i>"I don't think men are as tuned to the need for that kind of, the need for attention to the culture of organisations as much as the skills and the rules and the jobs, and as women are." (Juliet)</i>
9.5.4.4	<i>"in terms of me I have a small team and I worked really hard to ensure that they were connecting, that I was looking after them, that I was making space for them, you know, through all of that" (Melanie)</i>
A-9.5.5.1	<i>"But I do remember one horrible incident (...) And we just been voted XX venue in the world through XX d(..) from XX, she interviewed me (...) She kept bringing the question back to like how many shoes you have go. I know how big your wardrobe (...) And I said why she keep asking if she not talk about the business (...) And when the article came out. And this was this was, you know written by women. She absolutely stitched me up (...) came with a stash of shoes. But to have to be stitched up by a fellow woman? It's pretty brutal, to be honest. she thought I was some kind of high level fashionista that had like fallen into money not realising I've worked all</i>

	<i>by myself without any assistance from my parents and everything that I had with my own you know” (Betty)</i>
B-9.5.5.1	<i>“You know I've had one just one or two people that stand out in my career, mainly production managers, mainly men who don't like being told what to do or from a woman they've struggled with having a woman as their boss, and they've been very kind of argumentative, and I don't respond well to that. I mean, I can't be bothered with that. I think life is too short to constantly be arguing about what you're doing, but quite often you find to be especially the last chap that I managed, he was very difficult. He just I think he just struggled with the he didn't like the job. I think that was part of the problem. So he just made everything really hard. there's no doubt about it. It's not easy. You know, if you're a woman and you're being bullied by a man who's managing you, that's hard.” (Mary)</i>
C-9.5.5.1	<i>“People can assume that, you know, if there's a room full of people or just a few people, and there's a guy I think quite often they'll assume that he's senior or the manager. Like, I've definitely experienced that working alongside female bosses and being in meetings and there might be a male colleague of mine who's more junior, and if, you know, a supplier comes in for a meeting quite often they'll look to the guy and and assume that he's the manager Which I think can urk some of the female bosses. So I think there is that kind of assumption that If there's a man in the room, he'll be the boss” (Jessica)</i>
C-9.5.5.1	<i>“Things like, you know male customers, who were like “I demand to speak to the manager” and be like: “ohh, that's me. Hello. How can I help? Yes. No, I really am the person in charge.” (Victoria)</i>
D-9.5.5.1	<i>“But there's a huge part of the XX which is incredibly sort of corporate and commercial and structured, and they that they do tend to feel this at the community and the cultural end of it tends to feel, tends to feel and be more female. And the corporate commercial end of it tends to be more male and those are obviously wild sort of generalizations, but they they broadly true and in that space definitely enjoy the conversations that were about vision and value and find the within there, you can still have sensible conversations around commerce and and commercialization and and you know profitability and bottom line and and that you are much more conducive to getting work done on a female to female level whereas in the the slightly more aggressive masculine and the festival you find that you have people take a position that they expect you to come and compromise on. There's there's this idea that you know where the problem solvers as women, we're the ones who will come in and solve the problem and find the compromise. While you know the sort of great thought, they either intellectually marvelous or artistically marvelous men and just sort of get to say what they want. And then it's up to us to fix the problem.” (Victoria)</i>

A-9.6.1	<i>"It is a long fight for women, it's going to take time (...). I'm hoping that these issues are temporary and we can start to really think long term. Now you know that hopefully like we're coming back to in-person and you know, hopefully we can keep pushing our agenda because I feel like there are more women speaking up over the past." (Francesca)</i>
A-9.6.1	<i>"It's going to take a long time to truly have gender equality. It's been so unfair for centuries for thousands of years, it's going to take a while to change that way of thinking. I think I think it will work its way out, but obviously there's still issues and that but I I'm hopeful and positive they'll work their way out." (Christine)</i>
B-9.6.1	<i>"I do think that diversity, gender or otherwise is not a quick fix." (Reese)</i>
B-9.6.1	<i>"Problems are: covid, restrictions, your background, social status all influence what you will do in a festival." (Caroline)</i>
9.6.1.1	<i>"My wish for women working in this industry, in any industry actually is that they can work however they want to work. That their choice in how they set their life up and their career and their work in schedule is not questioned at all and they are just allowed to do it in the way that they want, just like men are. If a woman does want to work all the hours and you know she doesn't see her kids so much because that's her life. She's just I want her to be able to do that without anyone telling her she's done it wrong. Just as I want a woman to say no. Well actually I want to stop working for a few years to look after my kids. You know the other extreme and anywhere in between." (Christine)</i>
9.6.1.1	<i>"And so at the moment we've got a real influx of young women who are being taught that they can do it, they can't always, but they're still being empowered with that sort of White guy mentality, which is pretty great" (Reese)</i>
A-9.6.1.2	<i>"I hope for women who are working in the festival industry is to know their worth is to be confident in their own shoes and their own ideas, And to not be afraid of failure, I think we kind of live at and it say this for actually" (Juliet)</i>
A-9.6.1.2	<i>"And for me, it's supporting women at any stage of their life because I think for me that's where I can still see there's a there's a gap. But yeah, women can do anything" (Kate)</i>
B-9.6.1.2	<i>"I see myself as a being somebody, hopefully that will help the industry to build on the foundations that we've currently got and, you know, I want to future proof things in the city to encourage more people to come into the industry and I want, you know, I just</i>

	<i>want more investment in the arts and culture to ensure that we remain such a kind of important festival city.” (Mary)</i>
B-9.6.1.2	<i>“always we will never have equality, but we can strive for equity. So I think that it's our responsibility across the industry to strive for equity and because equality in society will possibly never exist.” (Melanie)</i>
C-9.6.1.2	<i>“And I think like in terms of women as a whole, I just think that there needs to be kind of a bit of a, there needs to be a look at the sector as a whole in terms of like resource within the sector because actually I do think part of the reason that the arts is underfunded and badly paid probably does come down to the fact that there's a lot of women and we have we do accept less and actually we need to stop doing that and be a bit more forthright about what we deserve in terms of what we're doing.” (Nicky)</i>
D-9.6.1.2	<i>“It is a struggle climb. One thing we have to do is persevere” (Francesca)</i>
D-9.6.1.2	<i>“I have this like part of me that wants to be like really hopeful and say that gender equality is possible. I have to believe that it's possible because if I don't believe it's possible, what am I fighting for?” (Laura)</i>
D-9.6.1.2	<i>“My hope and my wishes are that women enjoy working in industry as much as I have and also get the same opportunities that I've got and a lot of those opportunities were created not only by myself, but they were created by men. You know, men who could see something in me that maybe I didn't even realise I had (...). I mean I I'm very optimistic about the future and women working and the festivals.” (Mary)</i>
9.6.2	<i>“You can hire coordinators and freelancers that are women and great it looks good in the pictures, when you take a team photo. (...) And the diversity lead and it's like, OK, so you have one person who's Black, for example, who's diversity lead in your organisation. But then the rest of your organisation is still White. (...) I do think that festivals organisations just need to shake things up.” (Francesca)</i>
9.6.2	<i>“I think oftentimes when we talk about gender equality, it quite often becomes a conversation about quite explicit sexism. And I think that gender equality, when it's not working, is more sneaky than that. It's more about kind of attitudes and attitudinal bias. So I think that's one of the something that perhaps a role that kind of could look</i>

	<i>at a unconscious bias and how that impacts upon gender understanding and, you know, really pushes and tries to change.” (Olivia)</i>
9.6.2	<i>“And I've seen the theatre companies struggle to get anybody of colour on the board of any shade, right, because or even in their team and they're like, it's really hard and I'm like you gotta start in schools. You gotta go into schools and teach them because they're not coming out of schools knowing that they can do it. That's why there's nobody here.” (Reese)</i>
9.6.3	<i>“Childcare. The revolution cannot happen without childcare. Honestly, the biggest challenge with any of our female employees who have children, less so the guys, and actually because I think that the burden is done, generally, by the mother of the of a family. But the revolution that could happen if festivals had, you know, childcare, or even for the performers. (...) I think this is a societal problem rather than I think than a festival problem.” (Victoria)</i>
9.6.3	<i>It is possible I have a family and work in the creative industries that that's like my own personal hope like because at the moment it doesn't feel to me, it feels like there's a time limit on how long you can do it with the family. I guess that's my hope, that people don't have to choose between their children or their job. (Anna)</i>