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How is co-leadership enacted in the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand?

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ABSTRACT

This research report explores the enactment of a gender-balanced co-leadership throughout the organisation of the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand. This small-sized political organisation has had representatives in parliament since 1996. Its experimental model of a male and a female sharing positions arose out of the social movements of the baby boomer generation. Gender-balanced co-leadership was devised as an exception to the norm of a single leader (frequently presented as a heroic man). The metaphor of theatre is used to frame a description of the stage-managed performance of Green Party political co-leaders. I show how co-leaders have been portrayed over the life span of the party as if they were characters in play. The re-presentation of co-leaders is illustrated by images, primarily taken from the party magazine. Experiences of the enactment of this co-leader model are interpreted through five interviews with key informants who have all held formal positions of authority within the organisation. I provide an auto-ethnographic account as a party insider illustrated by snapshots. The Green Party's co-leadership model has endured over 25 plus years. By virtue of longevity it has demonstrated a viable way of sharing position power between two genders in a political party. Sharing positions in this organisation requires a significant investment of effort to maintain the desired presentation of the relationship. The lead actors are constrained to conform to the stage-setting. Parliamentary politics imposes isomorphic forces of order and hierarchy. The enactment of co-leadership has become increasingly gender stereotypical. Gender-balanced co-leadership is an experiment that has become a conventional routine.

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Politics is a relational process. This has been a work in progress over several years which began as a critique of heroic leadership, meandered through a cathartic drama and ended as a new beginning. This report is an inadequate prelude to the full symphonic complexity of leading in a social and political movement. My gratitude to the supervisors who have guided me from the conception to the completion of this research; namely Dr Andy Asquith for his wit, Dr Farah Palmer and Dr Suze Wilson for their guidance and A/Prof Craig Prichard for his erudition. Thanks to John Chapman for his evocative photographic contribution. I am grateful to Vernon Tava and Anne-Elise Smithson who aided my partial recovery from campaign management.

1. INTRODUCTION

*All the world's a stage,
And all the men and women merely players
They have their exits and their entrances,
And one man in his time plays many parts.*

Jacques, As You Like it, Act II, Scene VII

The act of leading a small-sized political organisation is to be interpreted in this report through the device of dramaturgy. The subject is a single organisation the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, a political party which currently has 14 MPs and around 4,000 members. Pedersen (1982) highlights a lack of studies of small parties which remains a valid observation even today. He identified four discrete phases to the lifespan of small political parties in liberal democracies, each with a threshold to pass. They have to declare an intention to stand for public office, become authorised or registered, gain representatives and finally have influence when elected. The concept of life-span assumes that parties are mortal organisations, which suggests that the possibility of decay is always around the corner. "They are, as it were, born; they pass through infancy, youth, adulthood and old age; each of these passages can be scrutinised" (Müller-Rommel, 2002, p.3). As Macbeth lamented, echoing the melancholy Jacques who foresaw toothless oblivion: "Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player who struts his hour upon the stage and then is heard no more" (Act V, Scene V). Yet, there is a process of rebirth and renewal of political organisations since "the rising generation experiences frustration that politics is mired in the present" and holds a belief that it can do better (Johansson, p.86, 2009). This report presents a diachronic narrative from the start of the Party to the present. The Green Party has become a mature political organisation. Several of its lead actors have entered and already

exited the political stage. It has yet to fully pass the threshold of influence remaining out of government.

Organising any large social group to work towards a shared purpose requires a specific and institutionalised set of routines and practices (Mangham, 1979). These routines can be seen as if they were part of a play and the actions of its protagonists can be interpreted as scripted presentations of their role. Goffman (1959) used dramaturgy to show how we construct identities as if all public life was a theatre in which we act out our social roles. From this perspective, desired selves are presented by actors playing characters in a script staged for an audience.

Language itself is a routine activity. Expectations about leadership are repeated uncritically as the word itself is reified. Leadership is even evoked even as the saving grace for humanity (Gabriel, 1997). However, because leading it is an emergent and situated phenomenon, there is not good or bad leadership *per se* so much as specific enactments and various perceptions of the role of leader (Mangham, 1979). In this report the word leadership is used simply as the collective noun for a group of individuals with position authority in an organisation. Leadership is not abstracted, rather it is situated and personified. Leading is acting in both senses of the word because it involves action and pretence. The political drama of the NZ Greens is presented in its actuality through artefacts, including the Party magazine, photographs and the media. Images are used to present the *dramatis personae* as individuals act out the co-leader role. Five narrators who have played lead roles in the Party describe and interpret their experiences of co-leadership in the Party. I am a back-stage, bit-part actor participating in the drama and provide an auto-ethnographic observation as a final narrator. Then this critique or review of the play of co-leadership is discussed. Last future possibilities are suggested to address the limitations of gender-balanced co-leadership and the wider implications for leadership studies are explored.

I begin by setting the scene with a brief description of the Green Party, its origins as a social movement and the creation of its model of gender-balanced co-leadership.

The Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand

The peace, women's, gay-rights, anti-capitalism, cannabis law reform and environmentalist protest movements were bound together in a New Zealand innovation. These social movements were intertwined into a political organisation to seek democratic representation, first in the Values Party and then subsequently the Green Party. These alternative movements can be seen in the context of a post Second World War baby boomer "generational shift" of attitudes linked to a post-industrial society which saw a shift in values away from materialism. Inglehart (1979) identified that younger people of that generation were more likely to have post-modern values which emphasised quality of life and self-expression. Inglehart co-ordinates the world values survey which suggests that these anti-materialist values have been retained through the life-cycle, which may explain something of the endurance of the NZ Green Party (Sigelman, 2006). New social movements arose around the world that questioned the ethics of capitalist organisations and activists advocated for changes in values and power structures. To endure "a movement has to be constructed and carve out a career for itself" (Blumer, 1957, p.147). Standing for public office is one effective mechanism for organising to a common purpose.

A desire to replace structures of male-domination was foundational to the Green political movement. Green politics was conceived as an alternative to patriarchy which was perceived as oppressive and violent both to women and to nature. This generalised belief arose out of a prosperous post-war environment conducive to social change and the strain between generational values (Smesler, 1962). Political parties were seen as run by men for men, as exemplified by a preponderance of men in parliament. The causal attribution to patriarchy in general and the blaming of men in particular can be regarded as a hostile social

belief. Hostility to an omnipotent scapegoat may be necessary to overcome a sense of victimisation (Smelser, 1962). Blameworthiness requires that the actions are seen as intentional (Shaver, 1985). Blame suggests redemption, that the actions of individuals can be remedied by others. The sinking of the Rainbow Warrior Greenpeace ship in Auckland in 1985 can only have added to a shared sense in New Zealand of a continued failure of social control in the face of reactionary force. At this time there was more and more scientific evidence pointing to a potentially catastrophic climate change and ecological degradation. The Green Party in New Zealand can be seen as founded on a set of shared counter-cultural alternative values and an optimistic belief in the benefits of mobilising social action in a new political organisation.

A desire for different ways of doing politics and the blaming of 'patriarchy' drove experimentation with diffuse or de-centralised organisational structures. The Green Party endeavoured to be a new kind of a political organisation with more distributed power structures. The Party's website states that the current Party started in 1992 with four 'speakers' and no formal leaders (The History of the Green Party, n.d., para. 15). The Party established its current model of a male and a female co-leader in 1995. This was the first application of the principle of gender-balance to the leaders of a New Zealand political party. Hartshorn-Sanders observed that:

The Greens were the first New Zealand elected political party to use a model of coleadership at the executive level. The establishment of coleadership for the Green Party was a combination of experience from its predecessor, the Values Party, and the Greens' involvement in initiating deputy co-leaders in the Alliance Party of which it became a part. The Green Party was the first political organisation in New Zealand, and anywhere it was aware of, to use the co-leadership model (2006, p. 43).

Subsequently the Māori Party have had a male and female co-leader. European Green Parties founded through the 1980s have commonly had shared or distributed leadership models and the largest, the German Greens, adopted gender-balanced co-leaders.

However, this report does not include a comparative analysis. The focus is exclusively on a single organisational context, albeit one which is likely to have been a prototype for the adoption of co-leaders by other parties. The NZ Greens are part of an international movement of Green parties which share characteristics and adaptations to parliamentary politics. The story of the German Greens has parallels with other Green parties. For example, there is often conflict between the so-called 'realos' or political realists and the 'fundis' or fundamentalists (Mayer and Ely, 1988; Kolinsky, 1989). However "given the broad disparity in political opportunity, context and setting, it is no surprise to discover that Green Party evolution and electoral fortune follows different patterns from country to country" (Burchell, 2002, p. 64). Each party has a different set of routines and practices; each is part of another play on another stage in a different language.

The Green Party's co-leadership model reflects the organisation's origins in its predecessor, the Values Party founded in 1972. The Values Party was one of the first organised environmentalist political parties in the world, following the Tasmanian Greens. Founder Tony Brunt is said to have observed: "Values was something more than a political party; it was also, to a certain extent, a social movement" (Dann, 1999, p. 47). Values was a movement that mobilised resources to challenge the status quo of capitalist materialism and neo-liberalism, a movement that the Green Party continued. The Values Party elected the first female Deputy Leader of a New Zealand political party in 1974. The Values Party also had the first female Leader, Margaret Crozier in 1979 (The History of the Green Party, n.d., para 11). The Values Party fractured at the end of the 1970s. It had failed to secure its purpose of gaining Parliamentary representation in a first-past-the-post political system. As the Green Party website account of the Party's history puts it: "Between 1981 and 1989 the Values/Green Party existed largely in spirit rather than in practice" (The History of the Green Party, n.d. para. 12). The Green Party then emerged as a successor organisation inheriting people and practices from the Values Party.

The story of the Values Party was written by Browning (2010) as an environmentalist manifesto for the Green Party as much as an historical narrative. That it was produced in collaboration with a founding Co-leader, a yet to become Co-leader and a Green MP gives the account some authority as a useful source. It states that the Green Party's structure reflects a distrust in hierarchy and so it is designed in such a way as to prevent the caucus from dictating to the membership: "There are checks and balances upon political power within the party, so that Parliamentary Members of the party represent, rather than dictate, the wider party's views, and power is not concentrated anywhere" (Browning, 2010, p.27). The Members of Parliament and the co-leaders can influence Party policy, but not dictate. Rather than set policy they can shape and pick out their preferred policy priorities from an exhaustive menu of policies set by the membership. There are three strands (so-called 'petals') to the Green Party organisation. That is an Executive consisting of Party officers and provincial representatives, a Policy Committee consisting of Party members and the parliamentary caucus. Policy Committee and the Executive include a caucus representative so the strands or petals intersect. The Policy Committee and Executive members are elected or nominated by Party members. In the case of caucus, MPs are ranked by a list voted on by members. In practice, it is rare for a sitting list MP to be replaced which suggests a degree of deference in how members exercise their authority.

The attempt to avoid pre-dominant authority by the Members of Parliament caucus through structural checks and balances is supported by a commitment to participative and consensual decision-making processes. For example, decisions on AGM remits require a 75% majority and a vote is only taken on remits if a delegate decides to block consensus rather than merely record or state their disagreement (Constitution of the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2012). Another demonstration of the routines of 'non-hierarchical' shared decision-making is that I have rarely observed anyone at the head of a table in a Green meeting. It is the usual practice to sit in a circle and the word facilitator is used rather than chair or chairperson. Even the Party Executive sits in chairs and sofas arranged

around the room with no table. Occasionally members sit or lie on the floor. These meetings can last for two full days. This arrangement could be said to resemble a group therapy session with a facilitating pair more than a decision-making forum.

The current Green Party has a number of formal rules to maintain gender-balance. Each standing committee is facilitated by a male and a female voted into office by Party members. Clause 9.2 of the Party Constitution states that the Executive must include: "Two Party Convenors (one male, one female); two Policy Co-Convenors (one male, one female); and two Leaders (one male, one female) elected by General Meeting" (Constitution of the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand, 2012, p.6). However, some influential officer positions are not shared, such as General Secretary and Treasurer due to the legal and practical requirements associated to these positions. The Party list of MPs must be at least 40% female. Whilst the Party list can be adjusted for gender balance by the Executive, this has not proven to be necessary on most occasions. This is in part because many members alternate male and female on their preferred list. At all levels of the Party organisation, including provinces and branches, leadership or facilitator positions are shared between a male and female representative. This is gender-balance by constitution. The caveat is that gender is self-ascribed and there has been at least one occasion of a transgender "female" co-convenor (of the Young Greens). Co-leadership in the NZ Green Party requires an essentialist male/female split.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review consists of four parts. The first part looks at political leadership and the infectious influence of the Western ideal of heroic individualism (an ideal which the NZ Green Party attempts to counter). Second, experiments with an alternative model of co-leadership in organisations are described and the concepts of distributed and relational leadership are considered. Third, the dramaturgical perspective is introduced as a way of observing the enactment of co-leadership in the NZ Green Party. Forth, the use and interpretation of photographs is discussed.

Heroic leaders

Biography remains a popular form of description and analysis of political leaders. Thomas Carlyle lectured in 1840 that history is nothing but the biography of great men, perpetuating a heroic narrative much as had Plutarch before him in his *Parallel Lives* (1943). However, there was not a word for lead or leader in Ancient Greek or Roman as the operative word was ruler; neither was there the equivalent to the modern day role of politician or business manager. At times of war, which were common, the generals held command. According to Thucydides (2006) who is a more discerning and contemporary source than the fable-telling Plutarch, during the Peloponnesian Wars Athens came to be governed by the first citizen, Pericles. Nonetheless position authority was distributed and Pericles was only one of the ten generals. His temporary authority was contingent upon the support of the majority of male citizens and required the backing of the other generals and their combined forces. The classical Athenian model was one of democratic shared leadership in contrast to the barbarian tyrannies and in contrast to other City states variously constituted. Likewise: "The Roman Republic embraced a system of co-leadership that thrived for over four centuries before dissolving into the dictatorship of the Empire" (David, 2002, p. 84). However in the modern era, the single leader at the apex has become the predominant model upon which

government is organised. In representative democratic systems, position power is concentrated in a few hands (usually a cabinet of senior Ministers) rather than the citizenry. In the Westminster system that is applied in New Zealand the Prime Minister has pre-dominant position authority and sits at the head of the cabinet table.

The heroic representation of political leaders is typified by Jacques-Louis David's majestic paintings of Napoleon crossing the Alps. The charismatic general points ahead and upwards towards victory. His other hand is on the reins in control of a rearing stallion frightened by the mountain storm. Napoleon looks back undaunted into the eyes of the viewer, his perfectly straight hat atop his determined and chiselled countenance. Napoleon is reported to have said he wanted to be seen calm on a spirited horse and not with sword in hand because battles were no longer won by the sword (Brooker, 1980; Roberts, 1989). Even military defeat cannot extinguish the heroic conception of Napoleon as he symbolises the self-image of a defeated nation. It is as if he personally represents France's heroic struggles and inextinguishable spirit. In the foreground inscribed into the rocks are the names of Charlemagne and Hannibal alongside that of Bonaparte, suggested he is their successor as the Holy Roman Emperor on this conquering journey across the Alps. The painter does not attempt to accurately represent the events of the Italian campaign in this piece of political propaganda. It may have been calm not stormy and Napoleon may not have crossed with his troops at all. Indeed, he crossed on a mule and refused sit for the portrait (Brooker, 1980; Roberts, 1989). The aim of the artist and the subject was to represent an ideal form of the leader as a strong man of action in control of natural forces and in charge of armies of followers. The commission was so successful that five versions were painted to order.. These paintings are attributed solely to David despite the fact that he had an atelier full of assistants (another example of attribution to a single great man of the work of a group). David was kept busy for years painting Napoleon as a heroic leader, making revisions as requested and chasing up payments for the work. As Brookner suggests "for all the vigour of David's idea, it is quite clear here that he is being guided by

external controls” (1980, p. 147). This and David’s other paintings of Napoleon Bonaparte are political propaganda broadcast on the largest and most visible contemporary medium.



(Kunsthistorisches Museum, 1802).

Tolstoy (1869) tells an alternative story of Napoleon as a remote and flawed general. The unappreciated Russian general, Khutuzov, communes with the day-to-day *esprit de corps* of

the army and says everything comes to those who wait, “tout vient à point à celui qui attendre” (p. 744). Khutuzov is portrayed like an exemplary ‘servant leader’ (Greenleaf, 2002). The leader can perhaps force some limited action but not dictate the whole series of events: “It is not hard to take a fortress, it’s hard to win a campaign” (p. 744). Tolstoy sees history not as a creation of great men. He claims instead that it is the result of millions of individual chains of cause and effect too small to be analysed separately. Thus the great men of history merely have the delusion of agency:

“And it was not Napoleon who ordained the course of the battle, because nothing of his disposition was carried out and during the battle he did not know what was happening in front of him. Which meant also that the way these people were killing another occurred not by the will of Napoleon, but went on independently of him, by the will of hundreds of thousands of people who took part in the common action. To Napoleon it only seemed that the whole thing happened by his will” (p. 785).

Tolstoy suggests that whilst leaders appear to be in charge, a general is not capable of imposing order upon the chaotic events of a military campaign. By extension, Napoleon may be more powerful in his idealised portrait than on the battlefield as the psychological impact of leading can be influential even when events do not match the ideal. To foster a soldier’s sense of purpose and an army’s cohesion may require the idea that they fight for a great general. The heroic leader is a belief that must be followed. Leaders are integral to the process of ‘sense-making’ and in the ‘management of meaning’ (Weick, 1995). We may need leaders to make sense of our world and express the collective identity of the organisation. Together leaders and followers can construct a shared set of values, beliefs and assumptions to guide organisational behaviour and to identify each other as part of the same group. The leader is the referent for authority and belonging. Yet these organisational leaders can only ‘satisfice’ or “muddle-through” (Lindblom, 1959 and 1979) as they are limited, flawed and mortal holders of titles and positions of command.

A political campaign is like a military campaign in that opposing parties in different colours fight a campaign over a defined territory in which there will be victory or defeat. The leader basks in the glory of victory whether it was by accident or by design. The spoils of war go to the victorious leader, even if they were not capable in field. There is a circularity to the attribution of greatness - a great leader must be great because they won; the loser must be a bad leader because he or she lost. A default answer to defeat is to replace the leader, the manager or the coach. However, a Napoleonic heroic defeat can be presented as a temporary set-back due to ill-fortune, or be ignored in the fullness of time as other events overtake the collective memory. For example, Popper points out that despite their respective military failures, George Washington and Abraham Lincoln are revered in retrospect as heroes as befits the founding fathers of a nation. The passage of time allows us to retell stories to recreate great leaders. "Perhaps the fundamental bias is the great weight ascribed to leaders by all those concerned" (Popper, 2012, p. 24). It may well be easier to attribute qualities to a dead person than to a person to whom we are up close to in the present where facts and behaviour may get in the way of a heroic narrative. To be too close may shatter the idealisation and challenge follower's identification (Gabriel 1997).

Leaders can become the personification of a community of memory, perhaps a generational unit of identity to which individual can attach: "The psychological basis of the attraction to leaders (as stories) lies in the extent to which they represent themes and values that can potentially enhance the follower's self-concept" (Popper, 2012, p. 71). The heroic male military leader has been a foundational myth of Western civilisation and continues as a grand narrative of history up to the present day. Gabriel (1997) describes dominant follower fantasies about leaders from a psychoanalytic perspective "to explain why, in organizational narratives, we sacrifice factual accuracy for poetic effect" (p. 318). The military heroic leader resembles the Freudian father substitute, "the aloof paternal leader, who rewards and punishes" (p.324). As Gabriel observes, there is a "fundamental asymmetry in most leader-follower relationships" (p.328). An alternative construct of the leader in the phantasies of

followers is “reincarnation of the primal mother” (Gabriel, 1979, p. 5) which may satisfy a narcissistic desire for fusion. Mangham describes the organisation as “a series of scripts which broadly uphold improvisations around collegiality and authority” glued together by emotions (1989, p. 51). These emotions are contradictory, for example, belonging may overwhelm and authority may remove personal autonomy. Hence repeated dysfunctional patterns emerge. The key point is that leaders are constructed by followers to meet their unconscious and emotional needs. As these needs cannot be fully met, the leader is bound to disappoint in one way or another.

Fast forwarding to the present day business leader, Guthy and Jackson (2005) analyse portraits of CEOs as iconic representatives putting their faces to the modern corporate organisation. They contend that “organization studies as a whole pays scant attention to photographic evidence” (p. 1063), a limitation that they suggest extends to other social science disciplines. In this report I have taken and applied to political leaders the suggestion that:

In order to more fully understand the photographic representation of corporate leadership, organizational scholars will also have to loosen their dependence on the certainty of empirical data and draw upon aesthetic insights and interpretive methodologies from the humanities, from art history, and from photography theory and criticism (Guthy and Jackson, 2005, p. 1078).

All images of leaders are created and as such the portrayal of authenticity is the ironic expression of an artistic and rhetorical device. Then as now, the leader is supported in their efforts by organisational structures and resources. Leaders are resourced by support teams who construct the preferred leadership narrative which is presented to the public media of the time. Clark, Guthy and Jackson describe how business leaders are cultural commodities constructed by a celebrity industry that produces and distributes celebrities as manufactured icons: “The irony of the business celebrity system is that it takes the efforts of so many people to reinforce the idea that certain gifted individuals dominate the world of business”

(2009, p.40). This report is a dramatist enquiry, as was Jackson's 2001 critique of the fantasy themes represented by business gurus. This report is a situationally focused exploration centred on ethnographic details such as costume and showing the construction of the lead characters.

The context has shifted from the battlefield to the boardroom, but the discourse of a leader's use of power continues to be of a benevolent patriarch. The leader is portrayed as a masculine superior being transforming the lives of feminine or child-like followers in order to uphold the social order. Co-leadership is enacted within the context of, and in response to, this heroic leadership discourse which conditions what is, or what even can be, discussed. A dominant discourse of the strong leader (Brown, 2015) formulates leadership as the actions of a single individual, rather than as a description of events enacted by a group of people. This construct is driven by, or implies, an ideal projection of a heroic leader with superhuman qualities. "It is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together" (Foucault, 1998, p.100); here power and knowledge are joined into the personhood of a projected perfect leader. Leading others is a matter not merely of influence but of power (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2012). The heroic leader is both an aspiration and an organising construct that legitimises the exercise of position power. The Greeks' conception of the ruler or statesman, the European conception of the great man who wins the war, and, the present-day charismatic or transformational leader all connote authoritarian values.

Miller and Mintrom contended that few systematic studies have been undertaken into political leadership, especially in New Zealand: "The literature on political leadership is surprisingly small & narrow in scope" (2006, p. 3). There are descriptive accounts by and about leaders which are told predominantly within a leader-centric discourse. The political media present election contests as if having the right or best leader was a sufficient condition for national success. Members of party and parliamentary teams are conceived of as followers or rivals. There is a lack of analysis of the construct of political leadership itself:

Leadership is a universal idea. In the realm of politics it is also a word invoked ad nauseam, never more so than during an election year. Scholars, commentators and citizens observe our political leaders; they compare their characteristics, discuss them, and demand that they 'show leadership' to solve society's problems.

Accordingly, we feel, we sense, and we think about 'leadership' every day. Yet few people, even in scholarly discourse, explain what they mean by the term (Johansson, 2004, p. 2).

Leadership is an abstract idea that disappears under examination, an ideal that is contradicted in practice as demonstrated by field studies (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003). Post-structuralist deconstruction of the concept tends towards the conclusion that leadership in discourse is an idea and a value rather than a 'thing-in-itself' that exists 'in-the-flesh' (Ladkin, 2011). It has been argued that the reification of the concept is a psychological defence against anxiety which leads to alienation, collective de-skilling and organisational dysfunction (Gemmill & Oakley, 1992). To employ the construct of leadership as a subject of research is not value neutral because it has tended towards:

An implicit political and ideological bias—the strengthening of asymmetrical social relations and the construction of social relations alongside a leader/follower dichotomy and providing people with reassuring promises of good, effective leadership taking care of all problems—key parts of it are close to being openly propagandistic (Alvesson & Kärreman, 2015, p. 7).

Theories of leadership transpose Anglo and US-centric cultural values of meritocracy and individual achievement that privileges and prioritises leaders over so-called followers (Collinson, 2009). So called leadership roles that give power, control and status to a few in an organisation do not depend upon the incumbent being transformational, charismatic, visionary or authentic for them to be obeyed (Wilson, 2013). Leader-led relations are not inherently consensual even when leaders and followers manage impressions so that there is the appearance of consensus. Position authority to command others in the modern organisation is softened by the language of influencing and motivating followers. The

transformation of staff values justifies using organisational resources to correct those who do not demonstrate compliance or who dissent, even if only in attitude. The leader is not necessarily benign for those followers who may be required by the organisation members to either fit in or leave. The organisation may operate more for the benefit of a well-paid elite than for its members. The organisational leader performs a role in a way that defines the situation to their own advantage and seeks to extract as much value as possible from its human capital. The members of parliament and their staff are the beneficiaries of a political party which relies on volunteer activists. Party political leaders have the most status, autonomy and financial reward in the organisation. They can make or break the reputation of others and have the power of patronage in allocating roles to MPs. They can appoint their own senior staff to support them in their roles. The popular worship of leaders even provides them with a parachute to rewarding jobs outside of the party provided they maintain the right impression and so they retain an option to leave for greener pastures.

Discourse about leadership and management contains an unspoken assumption that the individuals at the top of the organisational hierarchy determine organisational performance. It seems as Grint (2011) suggests that "we appear to have an amazing capacity to attribute organisational success to individual competence on the basis of virtually no evidence at all" (p.9). The burgeoning literature on leadership over several decades both demonstrates and perpetuates the importance with which we invest the concept. Western news and business media tends towards an 'anti-determinist bias' in assuming the agency of individual leaders (Chen & Meindl, 1991). It is difficult to describe complexity in a way that an audience can identify with in order to make rational choices. Instead political leaders seductively symbolise societal desires in a popularity contest. The belief in the agency of leaders appears to be like an article of faith and a primitive one at that: "Today's extraordinary trust in the power of the charismatic CEO resembles less a mature faith than it does a belief in magic" (Khurana, 2002, p. 66). Managerial and political leaders are treated with an almost religious deference and hostility; the discourse is binary: leaders are good or they are bad, saviours or villains,

strong or weak (Collinson, 2005). “Leadership appears to have been sanctified and to play a key role in our phenomenological construals of organized activities and their outcomes,” (Chen & Meindl, 1987, p. 92). An implicit socially contagious theory construes leaders as instrumental to change spreading a shared construction of the ideal leader, like an invisible virus infecting our ability to reason. The concept itself is numinous and has a brilliance that exceeds the limits of normal scientific inquiry (Meindl, 1995; Meindl, Ehrlich & Dukerich, 1985). A belief in leaders is a belief in individual human control and agency in a complex and at times frightening world. The heroic leader gives the possibility of rescue should things go wrong. This psychological desire or need for leaders gifts to them a symbolic potency to lead.

Studies of leadership that focus narrowly on the top-down superior at the head of an organisational hierarchy perpetuate the ideal of heroic individualism; they take “a narrow, leader-centric view” (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2012, p. 204). For example, Greenstein (2000) analyses the “qualities that relate to presidential job performance” (p. 5) that shaped their leadership as if an individual’s overall performance could be objectively identified and assessed from a distance. It is popular to classify managers as leaders according to an assessment of the kind of influence they have upon their followers, often by surveying ‘followers’ about ‘leaders’ and tracking correlations (Bass & Avolio, 1990; Bass, 2008). By implication leaders can be taught to lead better if the required leadership qualities and skills can be identified. The leadership concept is so popular that organisational managers are routinely sent on leadership programmes (Ford & Harding, 2007). Charismatic leadership is ever prominent in accounts of top managers and the notion of transformational leadership also took hold as a formulation, as in turn authentic leadership has gained currency (Avolio et al., 2009). These seductive studies make common assumptions (Hunter, Bedell-Avers & Mumford, 2007) and share similar conceptual weaknesses:

They include ambiguous constructs, insufficient description of explanatory processes, a narrow focus on dyadic processes, omission of some relevant behaviors,

insufficient specification of limiting conditions (situational variables), and a bias toward heroic conceptions of leadership (Yukl, 1999, p. 286).

Yet positivism remains popular in “neo-empiricist qualitative methods” advancing scientific knowledge (Alvesson, 1996, p. 456). This report takes a reflexive-interpretive situated approach as Alvesson advocates. Leading is a verb and involves persons interacting a shared space. The complex context in which mutual leading and following occurs cannot be readily quantified into distinct categories. Attempts to categorise leadership according to the desirable characteristics, traits, styles or behaviours of a select number of individuals at the top of organisational hierarchies do not tend to distinguish clearly between actual leadership events in context and nominal leadership or headship. It is entirely possible that the person at the top may not be the one getting things done on the ground. Trying to measure leadership can be akin to measuring God as leaders are presumed to have almost superhuman prowess (Gabriel, 1997).

“Distributed leadership has become a popular ‘post-heroic’ representation of leadership” as a group activity, rather than something done by a few to the many (Bolden, 2011. p. 251).

Leading is shared or distributed, it flows and emerges through the workers of a collective or organisation (Gronn, 2000, Conger & Pearce, 2003). Knowledge is socially constructed and distributed through relationships, not ‘mind stuff’ possessed by individual entities. Leading is “a social influence process through which emergent coordination (i.e. evolving social order) and change (e.g. new values, attitudes, approaches, behaviors, and ideologies) are constructed and produced” (Uhl-Bien, 2006, p. 655). More democratic and distributed models of organising have come to the fore as organisations shift from mechanistic ‘Taylorism’ suitable for manufacturing to functioning in a post-industrial international, technologically networked and complex operating environment (Uhl-Bien et al., 2007; Gronn, 2002). No one member of the group has all the expertise to direct the whole group. The heroic deeds of strong, transformational, authentic, visionary or charismatic leaders are not a

necessary condition for success; they may hinder as much as help an organisation to deliver collectively beneficial outcomes.

Co-leaders

Formal co-leadership in organisations is where there are two positions appointed to head an organisation (or a part thereof). Co-leadership emerges in management studies in the 1950s focused primarily on situations where two leaders shared one leadership position. Dual leadership or 'co-leadership' has been researched and described in other disciplines. For example, in social work and group therapy "co-leadership and mixed gender co-leadership in particular are very commonplace" (Nosko & Wallace, 1997, p. 3). Co-leadership has also been tried in the boardroom of companies, particularly in relation to succession (Heenan & Bennis, 1999).

An example of co-leadership experiments can be found in schools. Court (2003, 2004) describes international and New Zealand co-principal initiatives. Each was initiated by women subverting inherited headship and involved elements of distributed leadership across a wider group. There were a variety of approaches to the sharing of tasks and responsibilities. These initiatives took place in New Zealand in the early 1990s at a similar time to the emergence of political co-leadership in the Green Party. Court's study showed that dialogue about differences as part of honest and open communication are important to successful shared educational headships, as did most of the international studies reviewed. Gender and leadership experiments were a feature of that era, but only a few have endured. Hartshorn-Sanders interviewed the Co-leaders of the Green Party caucus in 2006 about their ten years leading together. Both also saw dialogue and openness between Co-leaders as an integral to the success of their co-leadership.

Dramaturgy

The Green Party co-leadership experiment is to be viewed in this report through the metaphor of theatre. After all political leadership, of all walks of life, is arguably more like theatre than most. Political discourse commonly employs theatrical metaphors, such as the widespread use of the terms role and performance. In politics, as in theatre, a knowing audience collaborates from a distance to suspend disbelief. The audience feel the authenticity of the portrayal despite knowing that it is all an act.

Dramaturgical theory emphasises how we interact with others face-to-face to create impressions. There are similarities to the symbolic interactionist view that “society consists of individuals interacting with one another” noting and decoding symbols. (Blumer, 1969, p. 7). Meaning and identity is generated by social interaction or joint acts. It is assumed that facts are carved out to meet the needs of self-reflexive individuals and that “through interaction, people acquire the ability to interpret and use significant symbols” (Sandstrom, Lively & Martin, 2014, p. 7). The leader is a symbolic representation of an organisation being continually reinvented by those who choose or have to follow their wishes and instructions.

Goffman in ‘The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life’ (1959) uses the theatrical metaphor to describe how we establish ourselves through playing social roles. He postulates that we all put on masks and act out performances to create a desired impression on others:

The expressiveness of an individual (and therefore his capacity to give impressions) appears to involve two radically different kinds of sign activity: the expression that he gives and the expression he gives off (Goffman, 1959, p. 2).

That is, there is the denoted message communicated and the connotations of meaning from the manner of its presentation. Social actors start with the particular definition of the situation that is in charge of the situation that we enter as (Goffman, 1961a). We seek to collaborate in a working consensus in order to act out plans for co-operative action:

Together the participants contribute to a single over-all definition of the situation which involves not so much a real agreement as to what exists, but rather a real agreement as to whose claims concerning what issues will be temporarily honoured (p. 10).

Goffman describes techniques which we use to maintain the desired impressions. Events can disrupt the desired definition of the situation, hence “preventative practices are constantly employed to avoid these embarrassments” (1959, p. 13). Leaders and teams seek to hide discrepancies such as secret pleasures and the ‘dirty work.’ People perform parts, routines and acts as sequences of behaviour. Scripts are created for communication between actors. Audiences observe and participate in these performance events.

The setting for interaction in these scenes defines the situation where the action takes place. There are front and back-stage regions which are kept separate to avoid the display of discrepant roles. The metaphor of theatre helps to separate the political or public sphere and the personal, private world (which is off-stage). This report is only concerned with the public actions of Green Party leaders in their role as Green Party leaders.

For Goffman, the theatre provides an “apt terminology for the interactional tasks that all of us share” (1959, p. 255). After all, the language of theatre pervades our language of the social self and it permeates our discourse whether we see it or not. It is perhaps impossible to avoid metaphors: “Without recourse to metaphor it would probably be extremely difficult to comment on organizational life at all since metaphor is, at its simplest, a way of proceeding from the known to the unknown” (Mangham 1979, p. 2). The use of language itself is a terministic screen that directs attention: “Much of what we take as observations about ‘reality’ may be but the spinning out of possibilities implicit in our particular choice of terms” (Burke 1966, p. 46). The metaphor is always misleading because “any way of seeing is simultaneously a way of not seeing” (Mangham, 1979, p. 3). Mangham summaries the value of applying theatrical concepts and devices to organisations and their management:

The idea of the world as a stage, of men and women as actors assuming and discarding different roles, and social reality taken to be a drama, has been familiar in literature for hundreds of years...In all recourse to metaphor or analogy lies the shock of recognition, but the idea of life as theatre appears to be particularly fecund ... we readily use the terminology of drama and the theatre as a means of understanding human action itself (2005, p. 956).

The metaphor of theatre pervades our language and it is as unavoidable as it is fertile. It can help demystify events by creating a vantage point from which to view social phenomena.

Dramaturgy is a device used to describe and analyse events that is only as valuable as the insights it generates. Burke warns that similarity should not be confused with identity when employing an insightful metaphor (Manning, 1992). Sometimes we are alone and not in face-to-face communication or presenting ourselves to others (which is when the theatrical metaphor best applies). Other metaphors are employed by Goffman, such as that of ritual, of game playing and of frames; each would provide a distinctive take on the action in this report. Goffman saw the conceptual framework of dramaturgy as providing a perspective, as a useful way of ordering the facts. The metaphor provides a perspective by incongruity (Burke, 1955) to create a new world-view out of the everyday. The metaphor of acting changes the field of study from examining truth to exploring pretence and impression management.

Importantly in Goffman's view, social role becomes the basic unit or building block of self-image and the enactment of that role determines identity: "A self, then, virtually awaits an individual entering a position" (Goffman, 1961a, p. 87). A leader, then, has a ready-made role in a defined social situation to which they conform. At the same time they are allowed a certain amount of counter-activity and improvisation. Goffman suggests we are a multiplicity of selves like a holding company. People belong to a number of groups and the self "can be seen as something that resides in the arrangements prevailing in the social system for its members" (Goffman 1961b, p. 168). From this perspective, there is no authentic self in

social relations because the self is fluid and varies depending upon who we are with and where we are. However, there must be some kind of an inner 'I' managing this social self with a kind of individualistic cynicism (Burns, 1992). The implication of the notion of the staged self is that character is the fluid expression of a role and not a fixed personality trait. Attempts to categorise and rate the personhood of the leader, seem redundant if the leader is interpreting a role that is already set out for them according to the situation they face. "What we call our 'self,' therefore is a compound of interweaved performances" (Mangham, 1989, p. 90). Mangham is however sceptical about the Goffmanesque perspective of strategic interaction and conscious manipulation. Rather he argues that the dominant pattern of organisational behaviour is unconscious and repetitive routines: "Most people most of the time improvise behaviour with little or no conscious reflection" (Mangham, 1988, p. 50). Indeed the organisation itself consists largely of boring and predictable patterns of behaviour which may be termed 'situational scripts' (Mangham, 1979, p. 43). From this perspective of organizational life, the role of the critic is to point out and unstick undesirable routines; the critical observer may make the familiar unfamiliar by using techniques such as alienation and reversal which can be enabled by dramaturgy.

The application of dramaturgical approaches in re-presenting the story of the Greens' co-leadership is further discussed in the methodology chapter. I complete this literature review by setting set out an approach to interpreting the captured image.

Photography

Political leadership is a performative and visual role. Only those with a particular special interest are likely to read a sustained piece of writing by a leader (and only some leaders write sustained pieces). The spoken word, presentation and image are more likely to be received by a wider audience through direct experience and media reportage. The use of photographs as artefacts creates an added dimension to interpretation (Bell, Schroeder &

Warren, 2014; Jackson & Guthy, 2005). Photographs show us the physical appearance of the Co-leaders. They provide democratic or open evidence in the sense that we view the same image and each person can interpret differently on the basis of the same information communicated in a snapshot. The fixed images enable an ethno-methodological approach to investigating the production of social order by examining that order's material detail (Livingston, 1987), such as costume which is a dominant feature in the presentation of the Co-leaders. Goffman was after all an observer of everyday life, albeit that he attempted a metaphorical perspective. In 'Gendered Advertisements' Goffman uses photographs to demonstrate stylised gender behaviours. He suggests that "gender expressions are by way of being a mere show; but a considerable amount of the substance of society is enrolled in the staging of it" (1976, p. 8). Gender is performative, such as when advertisers choreograph gender stereotypes. How male and female Co-leader roles are staged is a central concern of this report. Photographs are used as evidence of the patterns on display in the NZ Green Party show.

Barthes describes some particularities of the photographic medium. There is a realism to the subject of a portrait photograph, greater than the realism of a painting where the hand of the artist is generally visible through the medium of expression. The photographic subject is captured present at that moment in the flesh, unlike the images of Napoleon which are recreated by the painter whose skill we detect and admire. Through the photograph we look into the eyes of the captive person(s).

Like a painting, the photo can place a symbolic gesture in a permanently captured scene that carries the viewer back in time. Photographs can be re-examined and re-interpreted over a generation and beyond. The message of a scene and gesture can be continuously reinterpreted in the light of the present. There is a co-conspiracy of presentation by the subjects with the photographer. Like a portrait painting, the photograph is an artifice in which the subject and the artist collaborate to present a preferred front: "In front of the lens, I am at

the same time: the one I think I am, the one I want others to think I am, the one the photographer thinks I am, and the one he makes use of to exhibit his art" (Barthes, 1980, p. 13). The photographer's skill is more often mundane in the official Green Party portraits than it is art exhibited. The dominant part of Barthes' equation for a political portrait is probably "the one I want others to think I am" although that may become hard to distinguish from the one I think I am if the persona takes over the person. The images used in this report are more posed and performed than a common family photo. They are perhaps more akin to wedding photographs that are carefully staged and professionally executed. These are the images the Green Party presents of itself, the photographs that Party and media photographers take and publish to present a story created to appeal to and seduce its members and the potential voter.

Barthes (1980) names two elements for the observation of a photograph. One is 'studium' meaning what is intended by the photographer and the subject. The other is 'punctum' which he describes as the accident that pricks, an element that arises from the scene and pierces like an arrow. Punctum is a detail that attracts the observer and reveals how the photo affects the viewer. It is a personal and emotional response, a feeling that is not readily put into words: "The incapacity to name is a good symptom of disturbance" (1980, p. 52). The punctum reveals something of what may be behind the intended messages. However, it may be latent and a feeling of dissonance may emerge later in the memory or through re-viewing. An official portrait shows more than the intended definition of the situation. A photograph can bring to the fore the dramatic irony of an actor unconscious of aspects of their performance and a knowing audience. To analyse Co-leaders' portrayal in officially sanctioned photographs I scratch the surface to look for what lies behind that presentation, or rather what can be revealed from within it. As Barthes posits "it is what I add to the photograph and what is nonetheless already there" (1980, p. 55).

In summary, the term 'leadership' has been applied broadly in a multitude of contexts to describe many different things. Authoritarian values are hidden behind the discourse of the superior human being, the heroic leader. The heroic leader is the referent for much leadership discourse. Research that has focused on individual traits and qualities neglects the situation and social context within which leadership is enacted. Leadership is a set of actions by actors situated in a social role in an organisational setting. I look at the presentation of co-leadership in the NZ Green Party from a dramaturgical perspective and view Co-leaders in a role as if they were actors in a play. This critical perspective explores impression management created by a production team rather than the inner world of the private individual. The theatre is an alternative to the military construct of heroic male leadership. Photographs as artefacts are used as an alternative to the dominance of the written word to reveal what is concealed and capture the actors in action.

3. METHODOLOGY

I aim to describe how the phenomenon of gender-balanced leadership is enacted in the Party from its origins to the present day from a dramaturgical perspective. I use several qualitative research methods in combination to interpret the enactment of co-leadership in the Green Party. Semi-structured interviews with expert participants provide different perspectives on and interpretations of co-leadership from close-up. Photographs and artefacts are analysed to show how co-leadership is presented over time. An auto-ethnographic account prompted by snapshots enables me to enter the story as another expert participant. Each interview, image and reference sheds light on the enactment of the Green Party political co-leadership experiment. The process of analysis was iterative and the sources were repeatedly re-investigated to discover thematic interpretations.

DiMaggio (1995) suggests that there are several approaches to theory. This report is a hybrid of two of those: the narrative approach and enlightenment by defamiliarisation (p. 391). I am not looking for general laws nor seeking an objective truth because “like it or not we do not see a *real* world that is truly there; each of us *interprets* his [or her] environment and copes with it by fitting it into meaningful patterns” (Mangham, 1979, p. xi). The crafting of this report was an iterative process of re-interpretation and re-presentation. As the researcher, I am an informed participant who held local, regional and national Green Party paid and voluntary roles over five years up until 2013. I have been a member of the Party Policy Committee and of the Party Executive and was employed as a Party Campaign Manager. As such, I was immersed in the Party culture and organisation. Initially I wrote an account of critical incidents, responding to and testing my own interview questions. Then I conducted and analysed interviews with people known to me in the Party. Last I wrote and re-wrote reflections in response to a set of photographs taken for this purpose at the 2012 AGM. I approached the subject as a former participant, as well as an observer and

researcher. My aim was to shed light on the co-leadership experiment using my own experience of the enactments of co-leadership as illustrations.

Next I will explain my approach to the interviews, then the artefacts I use to show how co-leadership enacts and last my approach to presenting the results.

Interviews

The research interviews were undertaken to hear the subjective reflections, meanings and stories that individuals interpret from their experiences of co-leadership. I interviewed five past or present members who were able to present rich views of co-leadership. Their experiences within the Party ranged from the start of the Party to the present day so they could demonstrate how co-leadership had changed over time. There was a balance of gender (three men and two women) so as to explore the experience of both male and female role players. Two of the five identify as Māori so as to explore a Māori or bicultural worldview. This group of five provided a small and fairly homogenous sample to examine the research question in depth (Smith & Eatough, 2007). As I was not seeking general laws there was no particular benefit to eliciting more interpretations within the confines of a report of this length. The interviewees had played a variety of elected roles at different levels and parts of the Party organisation. As such they present the viewpoint of team members in Goffman's terms.

My understanding of the interview process was that the interaction can be a therapeutic and cathartic experience. As the researcher I enter into the lifeworld of another person with a particular frame for the mutual benefit of increased understanding and perhaps acceptance of past experiences. I presume that the interviewed subject is 'defended' and anxious (Hollway & Jefferson, 2008). The interviewee chose the setting for the interview so it took place in their space not mine. Our conversation was about the Party and its leaders,

including themselves. Having set the scene, I facilitated the interpretative effort of the interviewee in reflecting upon their experiences. This collaborative effort is referred to by interpretative phenomenological researchers as the 'double hermeneutic:' "The participants are trying to make sense of their world; the researcher is trying to make sense of the participants trying to make sense of their world" (Smith & Osborne, 2004, p. 52). I entered into an empathic re-interpretation based upon the interviewee's reflections of their experiences. I reinterpret my experiences as a result of the interview exchange. We shared experiences of attendance at Party events and meetings. The interview consisted of moments of recapture like a photograph of the past seen afresh. Each interview was a social event in which our memories were exchanged. The interview performance was one of 'reflexive pragmatism' (Alvesson, 2003). Our common purpose was to shed a spotlight on a co-leadership experiment to which we all had a shared affinity. The routines of co-leadership are established and not ordinarily questioned. We were trying to puzzle it out together, this enactment of co-leadership and what it signified.

Interviews were 'semi-structured' with a short schedule of questions (Appendix 1) as my guide. The conversations were unhurried (they lasted between 38 and 48 minutes) and followed a similar sequence. My initial questions were about specific memorable events and about their relationships with other Party leaders. Then we switched to photo-elicitation which shifted the focus to the artefacts, with the interviewee handling the physical magazines. I elicited stories and avoided 'why' questions, paraphrasing to seek further clarification or exploration. We entered into more of a dialogue at the end with the voice recorder turned off. This off the record conversation was the start of our reinterpretation. I centred questions around critical incidents, asking the interviewee to reflect first on their own presentation. I encouraged them to recall the feelings and sensations they had at that time. I also asked relational questions about conflict to open up the emotional content of their lifeworld.

Part of an approach of perspective by incongruity was to ask about what the interviewee wore at key events. I wanted to locate 'leadership' as an embodied, tactile phenomenon. I drew their attention to their own physical presentation as leaders in the Party because "the constant interplay between routines and reflexivity that characterizes human reality is always mediated through the body and bodily experiences" (Alasuutari, 2004, p. 169). The risk was to be seen by the interviewees to be concerned about trivial matters and so lose their engagement in the interview performance. A limitation of the dramaturgical approach is that it may not reflect the perspectives of those who are subjects of the research (Sandstrom et al., 2014, p. 37). In this instance my interest in image and presentation appeared to be shared by the interviewees. Costume was a theme that was picked up on by them who had a good deal to say about their choice of clothing and that of the Co-leaders.

The conversation was recorded thereby capturing each person's idiomatic nuances of tone and wording. Quotes are elided for concision using intelligent transcription to remove fillers and repetitions. I have used the direct words of the interviewee as extensively as possible so that they speak for themselves. I have treated each as a narrator with a particular voice and character. Each had a dominant theme which enabled my identification of them as representing different viewpoints held within in the Party. Collectively they become the co-narrators.

Artefacts

Photo elicitation was used to enter into the concrete, actual of moments and events, the physicality of acting. I asked questions about photographs of people (including themselves) that captured memories. The Party memberships' magazine publication, *Te Awa*, was my source. The editorial of Issue 1 of *Te Awa*, May 2004 says:

Welcome to the first Issue of Te Awa The River – a new magazine for, and by, Green Party members. The magazine in your hands is the artefact of a dream – a dream to

see a world transformed by an ethic of peace, justice, sustainability and democracy. And we believe this magazine can contribute by providing a place for the expression of Green Party identity (p. 2).

Te Awa is intended as a deliberate expression of the Party's internal identity. The editors are a board of members elected by the Party members at the AGM. The magazine provides a time-series of how the Party presents itself. It has remained consistent in size, shape and design over a dozen years. It is published online and is also printed in colour and posted to all members (unless they opt out). This material is published and is not private. It is the publication of the Party talking to itself, but doing so in public.

The interview occasion was the first time each interviewee had seen the whole set together. Flicking through the magazines was itself for them the discovery of an archive like sitting down with a relative to browse through a re-discovered family photograph album. I invited the interviewee to select a few magazine covers that stood out for any reason and then to say what stood out to them. As Parker (2007) concludes the visual is a dominant form of communication and allows for a closer approximation to the experiencing of phenomenon so can unlock barriers, trigger disclosures and offers new avenues for analysis. Ryan and Ogilvie support the potential benefits of this approach in management research, suggesting that "the photograph captures the outside image of what a respondent is sensing and feeling inwardly, providing a prompt for the respondent to drive the interview with their own words, language and values" (2011, p. 31). The use of the magazine cover also allowed the interview to move from a dialogue in a dyad in which each of us was performing according to our expectations of the situation, to a relaxed and mutual critique of a tangible object that was shuffled and utilised by the interviewee as a point of focus. Supplementary artefacts I refer to in the report include media articles which are cited for images and provide commentary upon co-leadership from a critical perspective. The media material provided a narrative of how the Party was seen by others and of how it presented itself to the media for re-presentation.

Photographs of the 2012 Annual General Meeting of the Party were taken by a Party member who was also professional photographer. I asked him to take snapshots showing co-leadership in action for the purposes of this research. A candid view was achieved by that photographer's skill at capturing the event. I use these photographic 'snapshots' to illustrate particularities of the Party's presentation and my own relationship to it. The stage I looked at was not in the theatre of the Beehive, but in the hall where the Party faithful gather each year. The setting of the AGM is a ritualised expression of the Party's collective identity. It is where, for a moment at least, the membership is in charge. The re-confirmation of the leaders is in itself a ceremony as leaders have to be (and have always been) re-elected each year. The photographic lens is focused on the performance of co-leadership, its appearance and production to Party members. The main stage on which the actors are observed is the Party's annual congress. The viewpoint of this research is looking from the inside out, from the back-stage to the front.

Representing the story

Goffman does not actually reproduce the core feature of drama, which is dialogue. Mangham even suggests that: "Presentation of Self purports to erect a dramaturgical framework but he shows next to no awareness of such a frame" (Mangham, 1988, p. 154). Goffman uses the language of theatrical categories to analyse situations and rational responses. His ideas are illustrated by extended citations and his own ethnographic observations. I too have used my own observations from back-stage, captured in a so-called Epilogue. The internal scripts that the Party members speak are not available directly in this report. The dialogue that takes place between leaders and back-stage at meetings is by definition hidden or secret. I have not attempted to craft or repeat dialogue. Like Goffman, I have resorted to a range of sources as available evidence to try to illuminate the situation and the parts people play. Arguably the most dramaturgical empirical element of the review

that follows is the centrality of costume. From my perspective as the researcher, the language of theatre took over my perception to the extent that I could no longer see politics as anything other than theatre. I could no longer view political leadership without noticing how the language of theatre is used to frame the political scene and permeates our understanding.

A device of the theatre is employed to tell the story in this report. The interviews and artefacts are re-presented as if the enactment of co-leadership in the Green Party was in fact a play. The representation is not a script, but rather a review and critique. What follows is a review that is structured like a play into acts and scenes according to each Co-leader pair. As described above, the interviewees are treated as if they were narrators with short citations throughout. There are three reasons for presenting the results in this way:

The first reason is to enhance perspective by incongruity. That is, by presenting the results in an atypical fashion the intention is to reinforce the dramaturgical metaphor to facilitate fresh insight. A disadvantage was that some rich material did not fit the narrative sequence and some interview citations are included in the discussion.

The second reason is that the literal dramatic structure provides narrative coherence. The material is organised to tell the story from inception to the present. This lifespan approach is used Pedersen (1982) as a way of organising a description of the trajectory of small parties. Pedersen however does not go far into explaining the dynamics of this trajectory. I contend that the trajectory towards relevance responds increasingly over time to the isomorphic forces of parliamentary democracy. Each Co-leader pair in turn passes into a higher threshold or respectability and acceptance within the framework of conventional political discourse. One alternative approach could be presenting the Co-leaders overall in a thematic structure. This could have had the benefit of drawing out overall observations more

readily. This approach was not taken because it could disguise the different characteristics of each Co-leader pair and may not clearly depict each stage of the party's evolution.

The third reason for the dramatic structure is that several (but not all) of those interviewees who provided further comments on an initial draft of the report responded that the presentation of the results in that way engaged their interest. That is, it enhanced the accessibility of the material to them and provided a perspective that they could relate their experiences to. A limitation of identifying the interviewees as narrators by the dominant themes they introduced was that their presentation could become one-dimensional or caricatured. This limit perhaps remains and rich passages of their narratives could have been presented as a whole (rather than in short citations) to convey more fully the reflections and interpretations of participants. My intention was to focus more narrowly of co-leading than on the wider dynamics of the Party. The material directly relevant to co-leadership shared by the interviewees was often phrased succinctly during the interview in which they tended to reflect more generally upon aspects of the whole organisation and its evolution.

Perhaps the best defence of the approach I have taken is made by Goffman who adds a caveat to his work that his use of dramaturgy is not to be taken literally:

Now it should be admitted that this attempt to press a mere analogy so far was in part a rhetoric and a maneuver. The claim that all the world's a stage is sufficiently commonplace for readers to be familiar with its limitations (1959, p. 254).

Notwithstanding its limitations and despite the possibility that it is forced and artificial, the material is organised in the following section by acts and scenes with the interviewees as narrators.

4. REVIEW

The review is divided into the acts of each Co-leader pair as below: -

PRELUDE Entering Parliament

ACT I	Scene I	Founders: Donald and Fitzsimons 1995 – 2005
	Scene II	Interregnum: Norman and Fitzsimons 2006 – 2009

ACT II	Scene I	The wedding: Norman and Turei 2009 – 2015
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ACT III	Scene I	Adonises: the Male Co-leadership Contest 2015
	Scene II	Grey Greens: Turei and Shaw 2015

EPILOGUE Exiting the stage

The Narrators

Each of the five interviewees is named, using their own words, to reflect and indicate the dominant theme of their interview. The narrators are: -

Nouveau Green - "I was talking to a member of the Party and she said, "Oh you're nouveau Green." I've not heard it since, but that's the best way to explain what I represent." Their theme is the pragmatism of a younger generation.

Task-focused Green - "I'm very much outcome and task focused." Their theme is the emotional toll of co-leading.

Older Green - "For older people like me it's not the same." Their theme is the devaluing of experience in the presence of youth and beauty.

Anarchic Green – "the party became less anarchic and more centralised." Their theme is the loss of spontaneity.

Professional Green - "That was the key word that I was repeating *ad nauseam*: professionalism." Their theme is imposing structure upon anarchy by management.

PRELUDE

Entering Parliament

The NZ Green Party's decision to have leaders at all was a subject of some debate. At first it did not have a designated leader, but had four 'speakers' and a larger quantum of 'spokespersons'. The Party joined the multi-party Alliance in the early 1990s. Fitzsimons became one of the two deputy leaders of the Alliance so she held something akin to the top position authority in the Green Party. Donald and Fitzsimons were elected at the first co-leadership contest at the 1995 Annual General Meeting. Fitzsimons's nomination was uncontested and Donald won the vote of delegates in a contest. Other options presented to the members had been a continuation of four speakers or the Alliance structure of a leader and two deputies. Anarchic Green recalls being told about the early debates:

There was a lot of discussion about whether there would be leaders at all. The early Greens were pretty anarchic. Co-leadership was a bit of a compromise between those who wanted leadership and those who didn't, some people said political reality is that you gotta have some people who are the figurehead.

This so-called compromise of two leaders was nonetheless a radical one as no other New Zealand party had two leaders and there was no other evident political template to follow. The option of male and female Co-leader was an experimental new departure.

The Party did not have MPs at the time of the decision to have Co-leaders. The constraints of parliamentary representation had not yet been imposed on the Party. Anarchic Green describes how the decision to become a political party was itself debated:

At one Green conference I went to there was a big discussion around what are the Greens? And so it was like are we a movement? Are we a political party? The point

of the exercise was to establish that we were a political party and our objective was to be elected into parliament, to be a government.

The agenda that was presented to the members was that the Party had an electoral objective. The script was being written to fit a parliamentary setting. Those members who did not like that kind of a party could be activists elsewhere. As Anarchic Green observed becoming a political party was a process that excluded some people:

There were a lot of Heart Politics people who I don't remember seeing around much of after that, who had an idea what we were doing was building a movement.

Heart Politics is the name of an annual alternative community gathering (Heart Politics, 2016). The notion of heart politics suggests that the choice to become a political party was by contrast of the head; it is a rational strategy consciously entered into to become electable. The decision required compromises and sacrificed the support those who did not fit in.

The co-leaders became more prominent and influential in their positions when they were elected to parliament in 1996. Professional Green describes their transition from spokespersons to Co-leaders as the public voice and face of the Party. It was a response to the demands of the media and a consequence of having capable leaders in parliament:

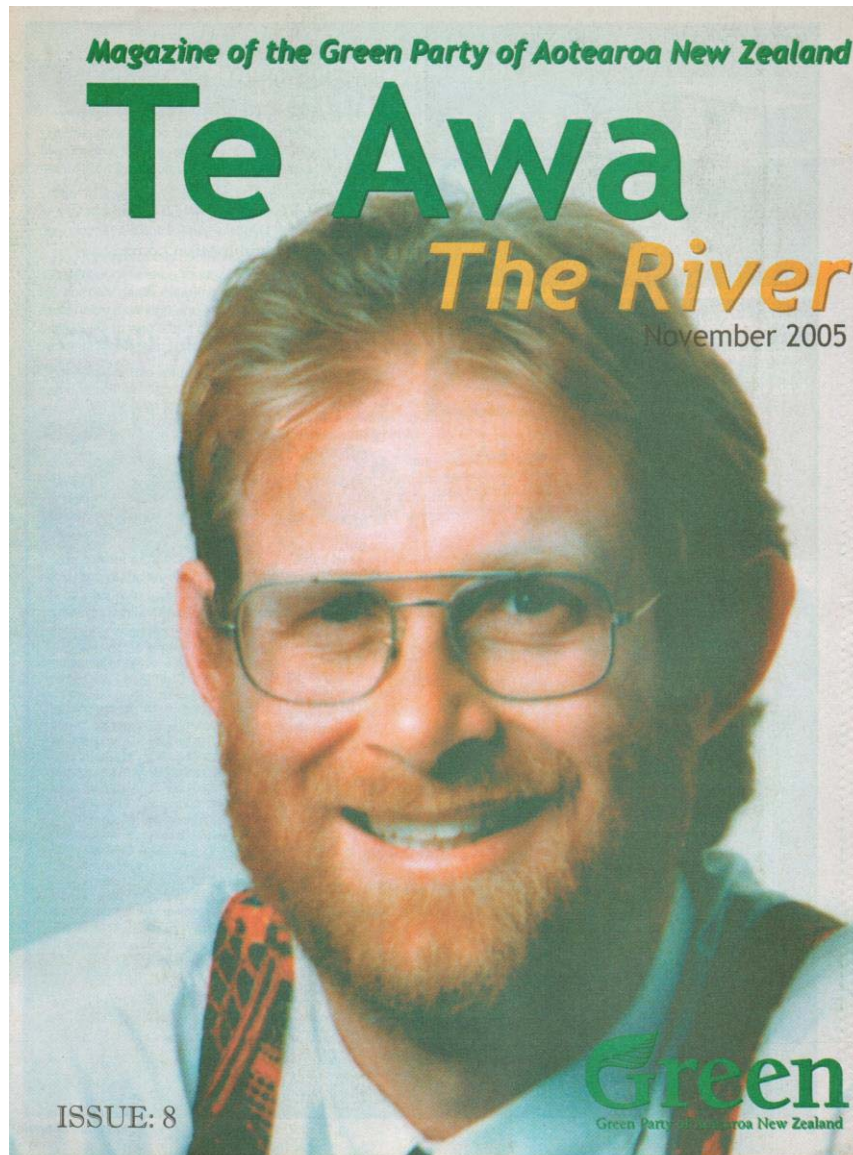
The original belief, well the phrase was everybody was a leader, every Green member is a leader which was wonderfully idealistic, and there's something that sits behind that. But we assigned particular people spokesperson. And that was frankly unworkable because the media would look around to contact the Green Party for a comment and they would need to penetrate sufficiently deeply into the organisation to find out well who the hell is this person who's enabled to speak. Then it became blindly obvious we had two very strong leaders with a high public profile and very effective politically.

At its inception the Green Party had a far from a conventional political leadership structure with non-MP members speaking on issues. Professional Green describes the emergence of two strong leaders who became *de facto* the voice and the face of the organisation. This

was part of the process of adaptation to being in parliament. The Co-leaders had access to resources as MPs, with staff and an office in an otherwise voluntary organisation. They could provide media releases, have research undertaken, ask questions of the parliamentary librarians and have speeches written for them. Professional Green also noted that it was necessary for Co-leaders to act (specifically in this case to speak) with authority in order to communicate the messages they were elected to represent. By 1996 the Green Party had two Co-leaders who were evidently in charge of a Party that was in the process of self-organising towards becoming an influential political player.

ACT I

Scene 1: Founders



Te Awa Issue 8, November 2005, cover.

A smiling Rod Donald was the first Co-leader to appear on the cover of Te Awa shortly after his death. The Party website shows that this was the standard stock photo used by the Party staff for Donald's media releases. The red braces are described as a "trade-mark" on the Party website (The Green Party, n.d.). He is referred to later by a media commentator as having "the image of a man in braces pulling publicity stunts to raise the Green profile"

(Small, 2015, para. 11). The braces became a symbol of Donald and represent a jacket-off, sleeves rolled-up and get-to-it approach. He was a 'doer' as Anarchic Green said. Each picture of him in this posthumous edition of *Te Awa* shows his informality, with the exception of one in a school blazer and tie as a youth activist. Fitzsimons wrote: "I will miss his irrepressible bounciness, his red braces, his bear hugs and his deep caring for our whole caucus" (*Te Awa*, Issue 8, November 2005, p. 4). The loss was as if of a warm father-figure for the Party, a man who baked crumble for his friends and, no matter how busy he was, enjoyed the company of others. His was the first tragic exit. Like his forefathers in political history, his legend had begun. Donald looks in his political prime in the cover picture. The punctus for me is that he is a symbol of self-sacrifice. He died at the end of the campaign just before being sworn into parliament. Donald is not only a founding father, he became like a martyr to the cause beyond reproach. He sets the gold standard of service to the Party cause by a leader.



Te Awa, Issue 21, February 2009, cover.

Fitzsimons occasionally wears a formal jacket, but she looks more at home on the farm where she hosts annual Young Greens' camps. Nouveau Green recalled: *"I love sitting around the fire and hearing Jeannette talk about history, she can really spin a yarn."*

On this cover photo, husband Harry is pictured next to her and they sit like two grandparents with their Green whanau. There is a toddler next to Jeanette. The Green Party flag is proudly held up (albeit without a pole) and all the smiling young Greens are dressed informally, as are their guests. The group are arranged carefully for the photo so that they all fit in the shot. This is a summer camp on the farm to learn how to belong to the Green whanau. The connotation is that the Greens are in safe hands, they are youthful, proud and

happy. This is not the place for ambition or for standing at a podium to contest ideas. It is about sharing in a group as if on a church or a scout camp. There is some mucking-in to be done by participants in these annual weekends, including weeding on the farm. The punctus to me is that Norman is not there. He did not take the same active interest in influencing the next generation. Fitzsimons and her husband continue to host these camps on their farm at the time of writing. She remains the living founder leader, like the mother or perhaps grandmother of the Party. Even when she exits the main stage Fitzsimons retains a strong presence from afar and brings her influence to bear each year in her country residence.

The Model Relationship

Hartshorn-Sanders (2006) observed “when the Greens first began their dual leadership model, Fitzsimons was seen by the Party, and by Donald, as the senior leader” (p. 48) but an equality developed between them over their ten-years as “dual leaders.” Fitzsimons is quoted as saying: “He was my political other half and we were complementary. Our strengths were different, our weaknesses were different” (Taylor, 2005, para.10). They acted like two halves that fitted together.

Fitzsimons was a co-deputy of the Alliance whilst Donald was busy campaigning successfully on proportional representation until 1993. She was also elected in 1999 as the NZ Green Party’s first, and only, electorate MP under the mixed member proportional electoral system. On all other occasions, the ticket to parliament has been via the Party list approved by the Party’s Executive. The campaign message has been ‘Party Vote Green’ under the proportional voting system which gives parties control of their list of potential MPs. The focus on Fitzsimons’ electorate candidate campaign in 1999 would have increased her national profile as a New Zealand politician and Co-leader of the Greens. Donald noted that she had developed a reputation in Parliament on environmental issues: “Fitzsimons retained

her composure and dignity throughout the campaign, regardless of provocations” (Boston, 1999, p. 86).

The relationship story as told by Hartshorn-Sanders (2006) is one of a close personal bond between the Co-leaders. They both lived in the same Wellington house when parliament sat, walked home and ate together or telephoned each other frequently at other times. Good communication was identified by them both as a key factor in enacting co-leadership. They both identified many benefits to the relationship. The personal relationship with an equal stands out as a feature that they both valued highly:

Identified by Donald was the complete frankness with which one leader can speak to the other. Fitzsimons felt that there was a great advantage in having someone to talk to who is ‘not your deputy or your advisor, but your equal and doing the same job as you.’ She emphasised the fact that the equality in the roles did make a difference – in addition to making leadership less lonely – as no advisor knows quite what its like to stand in the leader’s shoes (Hartshorn-Sanders, 2006, p. 45).

They were able to overcome the isolation of a political leadership role and rely on each other. They formed an effective pair, who liked each other. Jeannette saw this liking as a bonus: “*I think that having mutual respect is really important and liking is a big bonus.*” If liking is not an essential requirement for a good working relationship, it seems that this was closer than a normal working relationship. It was an intimate relationship. Mutual liking was at the essence of how the role was enacted. The Co-leader experiment flourished as a result of that good relationship and established a *modus operandi* of two people working hand-in-glove next to each other, united and mutually supportive.

Older Green experienced their personal and political maturity and their differences as if they were her parents:

Rod and Jeanette were chalk and cheese. Between them they were good off-setting each other. I thought the co-leadership model really worked with them. They were a

bit like Mum and Dad actually when I look back on it. They fought, but they were equals. And their strength and determination and capabilities were different ones. But both capable, experienced and dedicated and respected by all of us.

This notion of two co-leaders working together like Mum and Dad was shared by Donald who said that, “Sometimes staff play us off against each other like kids do with their parents.” Fitzsimons said, “We agree that we are not going to appear to give different messages,” (Hartshorn-Sanders, 2006, p. 49). The transference of authority to the Co-leaders by their caucus was of a more than superficial kind and the relationships formed were almost familial.

The two Co-leaders agreed a division of labour with Fitzsimons focused on research and policy and Donald working more on media and campaigns. Anarchic Green and other narrators, identified that there were complementary strengths between the two:

I remember on one occasion where we had some information that was newsworthy, and Rod wanting to put it all out and make a big bang and Jeannette was much more, keep your powder dry and release it one bit at a time, string it out and play it out like that. And, Rod did what he wanted. Rod a few times really pissed people off. It was just what he was like, he was a doer.

Each had particular strengths. Donald excelled in public communication and Fitzsimons’ exceptional cognitive skills meant she was able to make substantive policy gains.

Co-leadership worked well for a decade and was created and became established by this couple. Shortly after Donald’s death Fitzsimons wrote a summary of the achievement of their enactment of the novelty of co-leadership to the point of acceptance:

I have known Rod for 30 years, and for the past ten we have been joined at the shoulder, inventing as we went along a style of co-leadership that was first ridiculed by those who believe in a presidential style and absolute power, then widely accepted, then finally co-opted by the Māori Party who have elected co-leaders

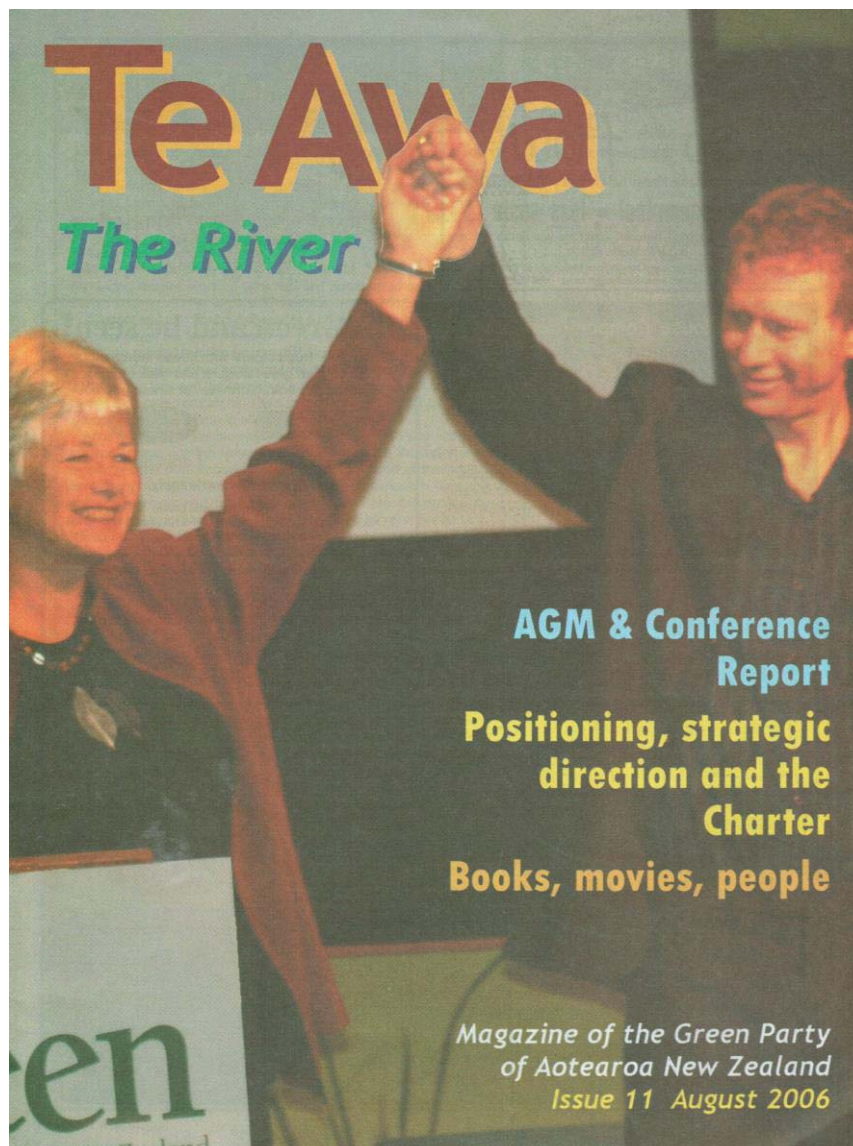
themselves. We shared the job by each doing what we are best at (Te Awa, Issue 8, November 2005, p. 4).

The characterisation is of Fitzsimons, a cautious university lecturer turned politician in command of the policy facts alongside Donald, an ebullient, extroverted activist and player of the political media game. They are close friends and preside together like parents over an independently-minded family consisting of their caucus and the wider Party. Both are long-time lifestyle Greens presenting themselves at all times as authentic leaders. There is little dissonance between them and their public images. There is harmony in their relationship and styles. The loss of the founding father was a tragedy which required a heroic response.

Scene II: Interregnum

The Party took time to grieve. There was an *interregnum* in the Green Party leadership with no new Co-leader for eight months until the Annual General Meeting (AGM) in June 2006.

The succession was decided at the Queen's Birthday Weekend by Party members, as it has been each time there is a contest. A Special General Meeting was avoided and so a sense of continuity and normality was maintained in the face of loss.



Te Awa, Issue 11, August 2006, cover.

This ritual of succession was enacted with an on-stage salute of the new co-leader. Norman is the next generation of leader who has stepped up onto the stage. He was not yet an MP and at 39 was relatively young for a Party leader. The gesture of arms held aloft is a customary salute of victory. It becomes a feature of Co-leaders' repertoire of gestures to raise arms hand-in-hand. Norman looks across to Fitzsimons, acknowledging her as the senior leader. He has not yet got a tie on as he will have for all future such occasions. There is also a sense of fondness in his look. She looks happy, relieved even to be moving on to a new era. The punctus to me is the ghost of Donald. There is a blank screen behind. Norman has to emerge from the shadows in the leadership role, just as he is literally in the shadows in this photograph. The lack of photographic technique with the blurred, low-resolution photograph signifies that the Party's production team at that time was amateur. The front cover image is not as sharp, polished and professional they, nor indeed as Norman, would later become.

Co-leadership had survived the Party's first transition of Co-leader, which was a traumatic one. There was not much of a hiatus as the other Co-leader took charge. Fitzsimons stayed on and waited until Norman was established in Parliament in June 2008, a few months prior to the General Election. She is reported to have said that there had been a succession plan with her to leave first but she stayed due to Donald's death: "Certainly Rod and I had agreed that it was good to stagger the transition to a new leadership and that as I was older I would go first and he would do a further term. I did a further election from the one I had originally been planning" (Dominion Post, 2010, para. 23). In the same article she emphasises that she will miss the familial feeling of the caucus. Fitzsimons did not stand for re-election as Co-leader at the May 2009 AGM to allow for a contest. Hers was to be the second exit, but this time it was according to plan allowing for a continuity of succession.

Dressing-Up

The corporate look that Norman developed was met with approval by the political media commentators. To carry-off wearing a smart suit and tie appears to have been a sufficient condition to signify a break with the past so far as journalists and commentators were concerned. The connotations were different than Rod Donald's braces. For example:

His legacy is thus his crucial re-branding of his party's image away from the stereotypical view of its members as a bunch of lentil-munching Morris dancers. By donning a suit for the television cameras, he changed perceptions of the party overnight (Armstrong, 2015, para. 9).

The legacy described here is the look. It is an exaggerated description, the development of this new look did not occur overnight. The media had presented one stereotype, the hippy. Then they took hold of another portrayal, but this time it was one the Green Party intended. This new Green sartorial conservatism was a deliberate campaign strategy, to be more business-like and to be trusted on the economy:

The new generation of Green politicians was very keen to promote a more respectable image. Greens had long been perceived as 'hippie, sandal-wearers', but now business suits and ties became de rigueur. It was not just in attire that the Greens presented themselves as more conventional (Edwards, 2012, para. 17).

The key word is conventional, the presentation is respectable, as if the Green Party was a part of the establishment. Norman's besuited look was adhered to in Party election and other public relations material. He was rarely featured out of costume, even when the suit was out of place. As a media commentator observed,

It's also a new corporate look for his party. Norman's image is of a man in a suit, even in party poster shots where he's standing gum booted in a stream. Rod Donald, Norman's predecessor, got into trouble for refusing to wear a tie in parliament (Hubbard, 2011, para. 3).

The idea of no longer being in trouble for not wearing a tie sounds like growing-up and wearing the correct uniform after a teenage rebellion. It is hard to not imagine that the tie is a symbol of male potency. The choice made by Norman was to fit in and meet the conventions of parliament and male political leaders, men who are tied to their role.

The post-Donald, corporate-style 're-branding' was a deliberate strategy played out in public. Norman is quoted as saying that he did not want to draw attention to his image, thereby successfully drawing attention to that very image:

Green Party co-leader Russel Norman says he does not want appearances to detract from the party's message. At the party's annual meeting in Christchurch, Dr Norman was the only person in a suit and tie. That, he says, is an intentional move to a more professional image. He says it is really important that he is able to communicate what he thinks are critical messages for the country, without anything getting in the way of that (Radio New Zealand, 2010, para. 1).

The article reports on the occasion of a signature policy speech by Norman at the 2010 AGM with the repeated soundbite "no environment, no economy." In his keynote speech, Norman set out the direction of establishing economic credibility (this was after internal focus groups had identified that even its own voters did not trust the Party on the economy). Several words were repeated frequently in this speech (The Green Party, 2010). One was 'smart' including, a smart economic strategy, a smart economic future, the smart way and a smart choice. The word smart denotes not only a quick-witted intelligence, but also clean, neat, and well-dressed. Indeed clean is itself another repeated word in this speech. Clean denotes not only freedom from the dirt of drugs, corruption and pollution, but also hygienic and stain-free in appearance. A re-definition of the Party image to embrace the language and attire of economic respectability was applauded by the members and by the media critics. For ambitious male Party members, to fit in with the leader encouraged them to smarten up, be clean cut and wear a business-suit and tie. He presented to the members that they not only could trust and believe in a man in a business suit and tie, but to do so

was to be a smart green. Norman did not so much espouse economics as say the word 'economy' and 'economic' a lot. But because the agreed definition of the situation was that a man in the appropriate costume was using the correct language and behaving to the mainstream political convention, he could be co-opted into the political fraternity by the media.

Professional Green describes some of the earlier opposition to the introduction of a more professional approach was that members would have to dress up and wear suits:

People thought if you were going to be professional we were all going to start wearing suits and looking down our noses at anybody that had long hair. People acquainted professionalism with conservatism, the establishment.

Anarchic Green suggests that being part of the establishment in Parliament was reflected in the choice of more formal clothes: *"It was just the trajectory of the Party was we became more and more establishment and part of that was dressing up more and looking more professional."* Older Green saw the transition to more formal dress as representing a political shift towards the mainstream: *"It's this direction of the clothes being everything and how you look and behind it appealing right across the spectrum."* This conscious change of costume was in order to signify a shift in political direction. By dressing-up, the Party Co-leaders were symbolically conforming to the mainstream of politics and society.

Anarchic Green identified this period as one of increasing conformity as *"the Party became less anarchic and more centralised."* He attributed to Norman a step-up in how the Party operated: *"He took the Greens up another level of professionalism if you like and increased support, but at the same time lost something else."* Overall there was *"less spontaneity."* In their different ways, each of the narrators testified that one could not turn up to an event without thinking first what one was wearing. If one did dress too casually, it would be noticed (not least by oneself). The change started by crossing the threshold into representation.

The dress requirements were not only intended to impress business, media and the voter. Looking the part of a 'smart Green' became the expectation by members, or even potential party members, of those who held Party positions. Nouveau Green wore her best clothes at Green meetings: *"In my 9 to 5 job I wouldn't dress so well at all."* On one occasion when she didn't dress-up, she noticed that her appearance did not conform to the expectation of her Party role: *"I felt like someone was judging me. It was a very well dressed man who was new. I remember thinking maybe I shouldn't dress sloppy."* The need to dress up was one part of the perceived requirement to perform the role of parliamentary candidate at the least. One was tacitly encouraged to look professional, even when volunteering. A conventionalising process had worked its way through the organisation from the MPs down to those members who held elected positions as Party representatives. For example, Task-focused Green described his dress at formal Party occasions as a conscious choice of a 'uniform:' *"I do remember exactly what I was wearing. I have a bit of a uniform, obviously. It's certainly at the upper end of formality of wear as far as Green Party members tend to wear."*

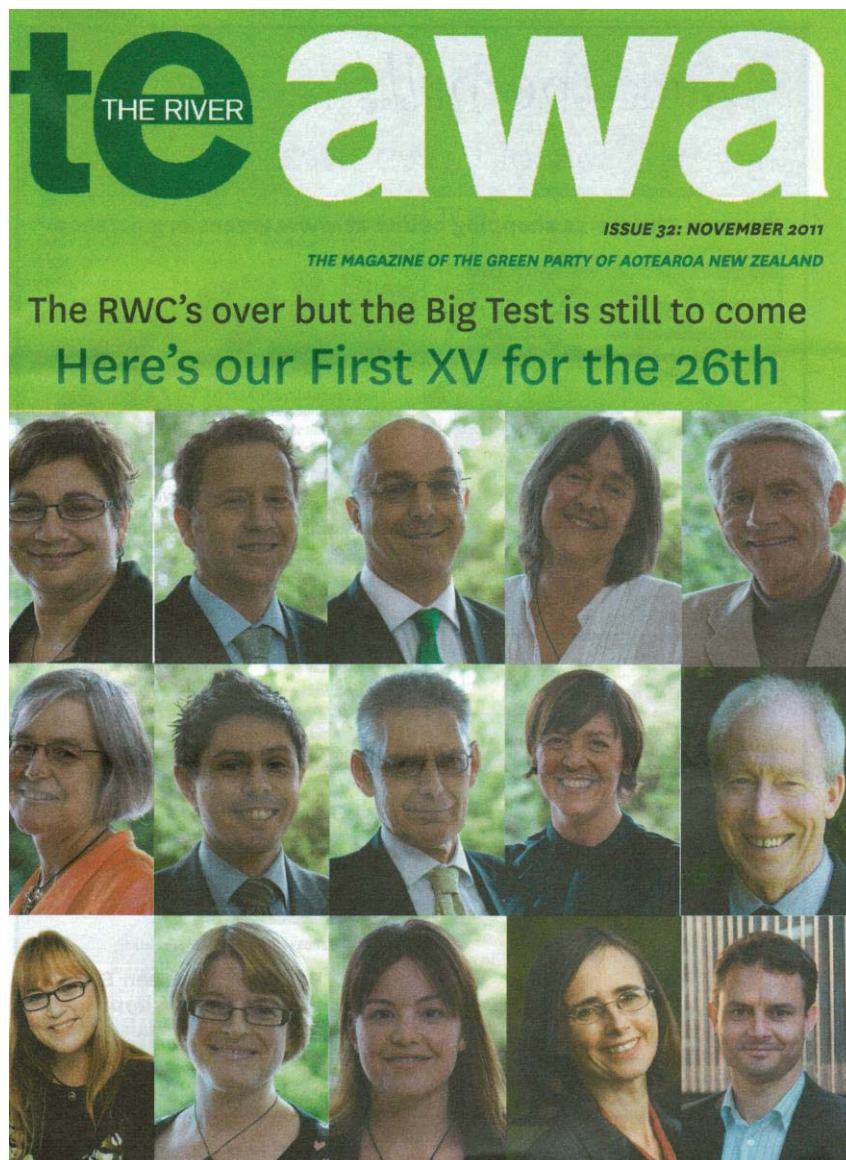
This more formal choice of uniform connotes an awareness of the requirements of a performance in a role at that particular event. The use of a uniform, as opposed to one's personal wardrobe, may reflect a desire to show a formal 'front' so as not to reveal too much of oneself. He notes that most members do not have the same level of formality as he displayed. Perhaps the difference in dress is part of holding a formal position on set occasions or ceremonies. It demonstrates a separate status from the more anti-establishment members and activists who do not tend to wear business shirts. It may also connote an association to Norman's new, 'smart Greens', possibly indicating ambition as a potential MP.



Te Awa Issue 25: February 2010, cover.

This cover photo announces the end of the Party founder era. At this time, Fitzsimons has said that she is exiting the Parliamentary stage. Fitzsimons is shown growing her own, (presumably organic) vegetables in the photo, like an ordinary New Zealander not afraid of getting her hands dirty. She is alone, apart from a cow. The cow is not normally associated with sustainable framing due to the environmental impact of intensive dairy farming. The Green Party were critical of the dairy industry and opposed its growth. Nouveau Green remarked upon Fitzsimons's informal appearance here in contrast to the image cultivated by Turei who was to follow her. The punctum for me is in how Fitzsimons looks somewhat

awkward in an evidently posed shot. Her right hand touches the leek too gingerly for the real-life farmer she actually is. She is showing off a not unusually large or impressive leek, which is not a normal activity. The spade is there as if to show us she really has dug it up herself. As the Party website says “one of the last things Jeanette Fitzsimons did before leaving Parliament was to put together a collection of good farm stories” (The Green Party, 2010, para. 3). The cow stands there in the background as if it was a visual concession to appease farmers. The photo is more like a gauche family snapshot of the vegetable patch on the life-style block than an ordinary political portrait. It seeks to express authenticity, a down to earth ordinariness, yet it is a fake as it is posed to tell a story.



Te Awa, Issue 32, November 2011, cover.

This cover of illustrates increasing conformity. All the team are dressed up, although in formal dress rather than as a rugby First XV as suggested in the headline. The women wear necklaces, the men ties, with the exception of both Shaw who has a trademark no-tie look and Graham in polo-neckline jersey looking the part of the elder statesman. Shaw was number fifteen at the time. This is the Party list voted on by the members as their top team. It does not look like a radical team any more than it looks like a rugby team. Anarchy has been tamed, at least in terms of appearance, in preference for safety and conformity to the political norm. The newer MP team does not wear hemp suits like Tanczos:

Dreadlocked Rastafarian Green Party MP Nandor Tanczos who arrived at Parliament dressed in jeans and sports shoes, is having a hemp suit made to fulfil a dress code dictating that male MPs wear a jacket and tie in the debating chamber. (The Press, 1999, para. 2).

Neither were they as flamboyant as Locke was in walking down Broadway semi-naked in 2005 to fulfil a rash pre-election promise and win some publicity in a piece of street theatre.



Locke plays on the paradox of formal dress by wearing a body-painted suit and carrying a black brief case. Locke is keeping his word, yet tricking the eye and poking fun at his MP status by parodying the public expectation of a Parliamentarian to conform to a formal dress code. Locke is a non-conformist conforming much like the Green Party itself. Dressing up is

a game that Party representatives have enjoyed playing for some time. Playing the fool dates back to the Values Party and indeed the McGillicuddy Serious Party (for which Turei was once a candidate): “Tapping into the idea that politics is theatre, they made a feature and a virtue out of a satirical, highly visual and mischievous approach,” including street theatre (Browning, 2010, p. 55). Playful dressing up is a part of the Party’s culture and is used to create an impression of difference.

ACT II

Scene I: The Wedding

This one cover image was picked out by all five narrators as exemplifying the new corporate look of the Party:



Te Awa, Issue 31, September 2011, cover

The posed and formal shot contrasts to earlier natural and informal images on the covers of *Te Awa*. The cover has a gloss finish whereas usually there is a matt texture to the covers, so even the actual magazine itself is more polished. You can feel the difference. Past

covers of *Te Awa* look like the editorial team had to pick from what photographs were available, whereas this is a bespoke campaign shot provided for this publication.

Older Green saw this photo as: *“Doing their best to look swish and upmarket and appeal to across the centre. The rag-tag and the street politics that people like Metiria in her early days brought into the Green Party is long gone. The street’s gone.”* Her Co-leader role demands a new presentation, although she did not stop dressing up playfully from time to time when ‘the street’ pops-up. Task-focused Green noted that *“it looks like any other corporate picture. Both of them have ‘economy’. It’s indicative of the 2011 campaign which was extremely tightly messaged.”* This is the next-generation, the modern presentation of two, business-friendly, urban Green Co-leaders. Anarchic Green remarked that the strategic presentation of Co-leaders here is *“very presidential.”* Anarchic Green pointed out an incongruity in the contrived hand-written look of the signs: *“I’m a bit drawn by the hand-written signs with a computer font.”* The punctus to me is that despite the contrived staging of the scene, there is something uncomfortable about the pair. Task Green observed: *“One is leaning away from the other. They don’t look very close.”* Perhaps that is the source of a certain stiffness. We are perhaps meant to see the Co-leader pair as close, ‘shoulder-to-shoulder’ as Fitzsimons put it. Notably Fitzsimons and Donald did not appear as a pair in *Te Awa*. They saw no need to reinforce that they were a united pair and did not have a production team putting forward that message. It was simply how they were and not only a ‘front.’

Nouveau Green contrasted the image of Fitzsimons holding up a leek to the extroversion of Metiria’s clothing. One cover photo photograph of Turei stood out to her:

That pink jacket is a little bit Lady Gaga. It’s a power suit. I think that the strong shoulder represents power. The bright pink’s awesome, she really suits it. What I don’t like about this image is that it gets over-used by the media.



Te Awa, Issue 37, February 2013, cover.

This is a relaxed, confident and engaging Co-leader. She is happy, apparently looking at the viewer, speaking from a podium with a microphone as it is a large gathering. A connotation appears to be that Turei is connected to the Party members. The puntcus in the photo to me is in the extent to which the choice of jacket was to become a story in and of itself. This is a new presentation and it looks like power dressing. Political opponents later specifically criticised Metiria's jackets. To respond she even invited the media into her home to view her wardrobe. A journalist tells the story:

Leading the way in, she pulled aside a purple curtain to reveal a makeshift wardrobe. Senior Cabinet minister Anne Tolley had labelled Turei "a list MP who has no constituents, lives in a castle and comes to the House dressed in \$2000 designer jackets". Fellow minister Chris Finlayson accused her of lecturing National on social justice while "resplendent in her Adrienne Winkelman jackets". And a third minister, Judith Collins, hammered in the final nail, calling Turei a "sanctimonious hypocrite" in an "ugly" jacket. "She could sell a jacket and feed a child for a year," Collins said. But Turei was unrepentant yesterday as she showed off another "made-to-order" Adrienne Winkelman suit, hanging from a hook in the castle. "Being a slightly older and more luscious shape, it can be very difficult to find really good quality suits that fit off the rack (McAvinue, 2014, para. 10).

The article notes that Turei's jacket was not unusual for a woman in Parliament and some of her critics wore the same New Zealand fashion label. The political attack on Turei was purportedly about the dissonance between her identification with the poor in speaking up against poverty and her presentation of sartorial riches. The agreed definition of the situation in the Green Party was that Turei was an authentic voice on inequality issues. The membership did not have the view that she had become an affluent part of the establishment having been an MP since 2002 and now a Party Co-leader too with the additional privileges that entails. The attack on her jacket and personhood was sufficient to merit an unusual breach of one's own privacy to let the public gaze inside the wardrobe of one's home, one's castle.

Turei introduced the issue of race into this public discourse, suggesting she was being attacked because she is a Māori woman. The narrators did not touch upon the subject of race or Māori identity in relation to co-leadership, other than Professional Green who reflected upon its later adoption by the Māori Party:

They would have seen a successful working model of a political co-leadership, they didn't have to break new ground to do that. And I think in Māori terms it works very

well because implicit in Māori culture the jokers, the men, sit on the paepae and speak and the women sit behind them and tell them what to say, and there is some truth in that. There are roles for women as well as men. Even in ritual you can't have a powhiri without men and women involved, you simply can't.

Norman did not find himself having to discuss his wardrobe so intimately, nor his body shape. He had already established his business-like besuited image without criticism, but he did not speak as much about poverty. The standard for male dress was clear. For women it was more complicated. Back in 2011, Green MP Sue Kedgley pronounced herself as “intrigued by the Speaker’s ruling today that all women MPs should wear ‘business attire.’ It appears that directing women to wear ‘business attire’ is code for telling women to dress like men” (Kedgley, 2011). On the occasion of that ruling, Turei is reported to have walked out of the parliamentary chamber in protest. She, however, wore the required attire with unrepentant aplomb, apparently liking to dress up and take control of her own image.

Political Marriage



Auckland Pride Parade along Ponsonby Road, Auckland,
22 February, 2014 (Phil Walter/Getty Images AsiaPac)

Nouveau Green recalled this event: *“Metiria was amazing in this chariot and was really the glowing Green Goddess.”* A wedding dress is worn in support of and to celebrate the newly granted right of same-sex marriage which had recently passed into legislation with the strong support of the Green Party. The presentation is as of a couple, or at least of a bride. His look is relaxed with lei and Pacific style shirt, is a departure from his besuited look. Turei’s choice is a traditional white dress and gloves. It appears that these Co-leaders are playfully acting out a wedding at this celebratory event. Homosexual marriage is itself is both a radical change and a conservative fitting-in. This Green couple of radicals have learnt to fit this Ponsonby scene however, they are a male and female couple. The punctus to me is that there is not an apparent consciousness of the implied metaphor of the political marriage

of the Co-leaders. Norman looks a little uncertain. It is a self-confident image of Turei, in which she is playful and in control. She pushes her own chariot along. We do not know for sure who she is marrying.

Professional Green points out that it was a deliberate strategy to highlight and promote the Co-leaders. He regrets that 'personality politics' is required to succeed as a political party, but since this is how it is, one must play to the audience:

People vote for people, not policies. That highlights how far we've moved in terms of our understanding of leadership that, for better or for worse, we do have a presidential style of electioneering in New Zealand, it's all about the leadership. Our strategy was to highlight and to promote our leaders, as Co-leaders of the Green Party, each with particular strengths and together with a very broad array of strengths.

As part of this strategy, the 2014 election sign portrayed the Co-leaders for the first time. Up until that time the Green Party election hoardings had been distinctive from their opponents in not portraying the party leaders.



2014. Joseph Oxenham, Getty Images

Previous general election campaigns had used pictures, such as of children and the planet, none had had leader portraits. The image is not dissimilar to the *Te Awa* Issue 31 cover

above, although this time their height difference has not been adjusted. The punctus to me is that looks like a registry office wedding shot, evoked by the marital black and white of the Co-leaders' outfits, except it's at the Beehive as an arranged marriage of parliamentary convenience.

Johansson is complimentary about the quality of the Green leadership performance in 2011 delivering the Party's best election result. He also sees the leaders as having complementary strengths:

The result signified the completion of a leadership (and generation) transition that began with Rod Donald's untimely death shortly after the 2005 election. The Green Party co-leadership model – which worked very well with the charismatic Donald complementing a policy-focused Jeanette Fitzsimons – has continued to serve the party well, with the charismatic Turei and the more policy-focused Norman again complementing each other's skill sets (Johansson and Levin, 2012, p. 95).

Professional Green saw how the two Co-leaders complemented each other with their different presentation and policy interests:

It does enable you to have a leader that can appeal to different audiences. People who think that Russel is the best thing since sliced bread might be less convinced by Metiria and vice versa. Meyt can appeal to audiences and influence audiences where Russel just would be out of his comfort zone.

It is easy to imagine that Norman would be more comfortable in front of business leaders. He appealed more to the mainstream and the centre. Turei appealed to the Party faithful and the left-of-centre voter. Indeed she is known by members and activists as Meyt whereas Norman was never Russ. Taking Greenstein's categories of the attributes for the job as a political leader (2009), Norman excelled in his public communication and his cognitive ability helped him to get across a credible economic policy, but he lacked the emotional warmth that Turei displayed and communicated to others.

Turei commented in her review of the 2011 election “*we successfully managed the transition to a whole new generation of political leaders and caucus*” (Johansson and Levin, 2012, p. 141). Success is a relative term. It could be an indication of failure of leadership that all of the original intake of MPs quit or as a success that the leadership endured these successive resignations and retirements. The success referred to was in the management of the transition. The old generation did not disrupt the show of unity as they retired gracefully, with just one exception (that of a defeated rival for the Co-leader contest). The media was positive about the new look. The message members were given by Co-leaders and Co-convenors of the Party was of confidence in the new people coming through and how lucky we were to have such gifted replacements. We greeted the new MPs happily, having voted them high in the Party list rankings in our membership vote. The new MPs slotted into their roles without attracting undue public attention to their appearance.

The transitions continue as lead actors exit the stage to be replaced by the next act. In 2015 Norman stepped aside, as had Fitzsimons before him. The official media line was too much work to carry on with a young family. Norman’s political career had not worked to plan; he was not in government as he had indicated he wanted to be during the campaign. He remained as an MP through the initial transition before exiting from parliament as Fitzsimons had done before. A succession routine had been established. The story of the Party leaders has many exits and entrances. These political marriages do not last a lifetime. The stage was set for a new man to be unveiled at the AGM.

ACT III

Scene I: Adonises



Te Awa, Issue 46, May 2015, cover.

The male Co-leader contest is featured here as a staged shot, one taken on the campaign trail. The colour green is notably absent from their clothes, in contrast to the grass. All four men wear formal jackets, with one in a blue suit. Only one has a tie so there is some concession to informality. All men have polished shoes and dress shirts. The more left leaning or radical candidates stand side-by-side and are relatively more colourful, both with

blue jackets and brown shoes. The more conservatively inclined candidates are side-by-side, both in grey suits and black shoes. It is as if the dress signifies the sides with the greys against the blues. All of these clean-cut contestants have made the decision to dress smart and to look like successors (rather than alternatives) to Norman. They have, "Sharp suits - and rhetoric to match" (Strongman, 2015, para. 1). The punctus to me lies in knowing the result in retrospect. The eventual winner is the most neutrally dressed and has his hand confidently forward. He is apparently in conversation with the photographer or the viewer. He looks in control and to be leading. It is as if you could have seen it at the time. He captures this image. This picture also highlights the obvious fact that under this Co-leadership model the men compete against the men. Usually in political leadership contests, both genders participate.

At the conclusion of this contest, a self-conscious femininity is humorously expressed by the Turei at the Party AGM. Her speech parodies a popular television show:

I have to say I feel a little bit like the Bachelorette. It's certainly been a while since I've had four men chasing after me to become my partner. And while they may not have the rippling abs and paleo diet toned bodies of the TV version, our bachelors are all political Adonises. Their political smarts, campaigning skills and genuine passion for our environment and people make them all worthy suitors (The Green Party, 2015, para. 1).

This contemporary joke generated laughter and media coverage. It was another example of Turei sending the situation up and showing political leadership contests to be somewhat like a beauty contest. Adonis, the young and beautiful man of ancient mythology, is to become her partner. She says their bodies are not the attraction; it is of course a political relationship. As in a game show, the audience will decide her partner. She is voluntarily offering herself to dutifully date him (for as many years to come as she chooses to be Co-leader). Has this game of dressing up and gone beyond the point of self-parody to stereotypical gender-based presentation? Turei has positioned herself as female, leading on issues of family and

children, wearing bright pink (Fitzsimons' jackets were always subdued), inviting the media in to see her wardrobe. Turei is self-consciously playing-up her feminine role in the co-leadership pair and thereby reinforces a discourse about gender difference. Goffman suggests that "once a display becomes well-established in a particular sequence of actions, a section of the routine can be lifted out of its original context, parenthesized, and used in a quotative way, a postural resource for mimicry, mockery, irony, teasing and other sportive intents" (1976, p. 3). So there is a kind of knowing and playful hyper-ritualization in which the lead actor references the fact that they are acting. However, there is also a risk of stereotypical behaviour in which "the tendency of social groups and individuals to create defenses and mindlessly act out rituals results in a flawed process of reality construction" (Gemmill & Oakley, 1992, p. 114). It is hard to differentiate deliberate from unconscious self-parody. One can see some unconscious acts in some of the photographs of Co-leaders in which there is a punctus, an incongruity, a deception, a jarring recognition of the absurdity of the pretence; yet one can sometimes detect a conspiratorial nod, the admission of inauthenticity.

In each Co-leader contest in turn, the winner was not the most experienced. Donald at 37, Norman at 39, Turei at 39 and Shaw at 43 all became a Co-leader at a relatively young age compared to other political party leaders. To take the current New Zealand party leaders by way of example, Key was the next youngest to become a leader at 45. Each of them won against older opponents. The Green leaders have won younger partners, they are seductively desirable leaders (Calás & Smircich, 1991). It may be felt that the more experienced Co-leader can mentor their new colleague and reduce the risk of mistakes. Older Green described this generational transfer: *"They would go for youth, inexperience, beauty, sex. Because the Greens love so these new people, these young people, they worship at the feet of youth. It's what they want."* This criticism compares the members to shallow religious devotees worshipping the beauty of youth. Older Green disapproves of how appearances, the clothes and image are centre-stage in the Co-leader elections. The Party

is judging is who the best match for the role is according to their perception of what is electable. The Party targets the vote of younger voters and of educated professionals who dress up smart to go to work. Which of these actors can play the part in the most congruent manner is a matter of image, style, tone and delivery. The beauty of youth represents hope and aspiration for the future; like putting children on billboards, it is signalling that this is the Party of the future generations offering the fresh insight of an attractive new movement.

Time and youth is itself a force of political change, but not always in the direction of radicalism. The conservatism of youth has been a feature of the transition from social movement to political party. The millennials have supported the adaption to the requirements of the political stage. They have become Party loyalists and followers who are comfortable to adapt their behaviour, rituals and dress to meet the requirements of the wider voter audience to conform to political conventions. The costume is increasingly conventional as the Green Co-leaders dress up more like other political leaders. The man in the suit wins praise whilst the woman power-dressing attracts criticism, but she uses costume to play with dressing up and gender identity. The rhetoric is increasingly gender stereotypical with the woman talking about babies, families, housing, health, food and poverty, whilst the man talks about economics, finance, technology, science and prosperity. Despite the attempt to create gender equality, gendered differences in expression become more visible. The irony is that the actors seem not to be troubled by this. Gender stereotypes become a source of self-parody by the woman in a consciously enacted gender based role and the men tend to play along and put on their smart suits.

Scene II: Grey Greens



Te Awa, Issue 46, August 2015, page 4.

This issue of *Te Awa* introduces the new pair of Turei and Shaw. Shaw is wearing the same or nearly identical suit and shirt as in the Co-leader campaign short; he is again tie-less and this time has his hands in his pockets and is relaxed, leaning against the wall. Turei has chosen matching formal trousers and relatively informal jacket. This was not a time for bright pink, this photo presents Co-leaders going about their business. They both appear fairly relaxed and happy about the situation. The punctus to me is there is a certain coyness about the couple together, their bodies turned towards each other and their faces towards us. This is a posed image for a professional photographer taken at a photoshoot. The *Te Awa*

article describes Shaw as “being inundated with requests for media interviews, and immersing himself in the business of being co-captain of the Greens.” The “leadership team” are “nose to the grindstone.” They announce a new management team at parliament with a new chief of staff. The Co-leaders have asserted their managerial authority, reinforcing the “management team.” They replace the incumbent parliamentary staff manager and promote a younger media manager. The chief of staff is the other man in a team of three at the headship, in a role like that of the director of the production.

The new man seems to meet with approval among journalists who continued the narrative of costume: “*The 42-year-old Shaw does not fit the caricature of a Green Party MP. Forget the hemp suits and dreadlocks worn by former MP Nandor Tanczos; Shaw donned Rodd & Gunn shirts in leadership meetings*” (Edwards, 2015, para. 12). Shaw was criticised during the campaign by his older opponent as being too “metrosexual” to appeal to farmers and unionists (not generally core Party voters). Shaw is quoted as responding: “*A metrosexual is somebody who's comfortable in his own skin, a post-modern guy*” (Davison, 2015, para. 10). The debate here between the leading contenders is about presentation and representation (i.e. presenting on behalf of others). Neither candidate had a substantive policy argument the one against the other. Both were more managerial accountants than radicals by trade and profession before entering parliament. The contest seemed to boil down to the appeal of urbane, postmodern city youth against baby boomer experience in the country seat.

EPILOGUE

My very first involvement with the Green Party in New Zealand was attending the 2007 summer policy conference. I drove from home with my two young children. We arrived late at the event held at Lake Okataina and were welcomed and shown our dormitory. What struck me and my daughter in the morning was that in the bunk next to us was the Co-leader Jeanette Fitzsimons MP. We already had a feeling of belonging and equality. The location was a place of natural beauty where we walked to see glow worms and swam in the lake. My daughter was particularly interested in Tanczos' dreadlocks. The Party felt inclusive, the distance between leaders and followers was no wider than a bunkroom. This was an internal event to discuss policy issues in workshops. Only ex-diplomat, Graham, bucked the relaxed sartorial trend with a more formal shirt, pressed trousers and jacket throughout the event. There was one piece of public theatre that weekend which the media attended by invitation to report Fitzsimons' announcement that she was staying on. Co-leader Norman and the caucus dressed-up in smarter clothes for the media statement. The occasion was low key in part due to the inaccessible rural location. Perhaps too the shadow of the death of Co-leader Donald three months earlier was hanging over the event. I had never met him but I was now part of a new Green 'whānau' (as it was described to me) and drove home with jobs to do for the Party. The Party came to look and feel quite different five years later.

A series of snapshots were taken by a Party colleague for the research at the 2012 Green Party AGM and Value Party 40th Anniversary held in Upper Hutt. These are the backdrops to my last AGM as a Party representative.



This Green Party AGM co-celebrated the founding of the Values Party some 40 years ago. This image of me next to a former Values Party campaigner shows some mirroring of arms and appearance. He was the official photographer of the Values anniversary event. The previous year I'd worn a pin-striped suit with green tie. This year, I sat in the back-row. My campaign manager role in the 2011 election involved me in the logistics of staging 'set-piece' events. The parliamentary staff wrote the script and also looked after the media critics. I'd organised the stage and looked after the audience. We were anxious to prevent disruptive events, such as Anarchic Green described in the early days:

The stuff that people were most concerned about was things like the media got some footage of some people Morris dancing then played it every time they reported the conference.

Men were encouraged to wear a suit, shirt and tie at such events. As MPs and staff we set the example and engaged in light-hearted conversation about who has the best green-coloured tie. One reward for candidates meeting the raised expectation was to be

photographed and have their pictures posted on the Party's social media. A sort of punishment for scruffiness was to be asked to move so that you would not be prominent in any TV camera scan of the audience. You had to be smart to be in the front two rows, which is where most of the MPs sat. They and the Co-leaders set the sartorial gold-standard. Many members did not have the salary to support the same standards as the MPs, but a trend emerged (mainly amongst the women) to seek out and post on social media elegant retro second-hand clothing bargains. More and more members at these events started taking pride in their appearance. They dressed not to show that they were alternative, rather they dressed to show that they were attractive and socially desirable, or at least electable. Party events had become staged shows. We were increasingly front of the political stage with aspirations to government. Most of us became more respectable in our appearance to meet the requirements of our public presentation as smart, progressive Greens.



Every AGM both Co-leaders would present a speech on different days. Support one-for-the-other was made visible. Here we see presidential-style waves as they stand together on the stage receiving the applause. His hand on her shoulder indicates a kind of familial intimacy and male possession. Goffman observed of the “shoulder hold” in advertising: “When employed by a cross-sexed pair, the sign seems to be taken to indicate sexually potential proprietaryship” (1976, p. 55). Noman is above her but she shows no sign of subordination despite that asymmetry. There is a consistency in the physical presentation of the two; both are tied, his is a green business tie and hers a blue-tied scarf and both have dark jackets. They are smart, clean professional Green leaders comfortable and practiced in their roles and in routines such as these.



The embrace of the Co-leaders in front of the camera shows them playing out the role of the couple in the theatre of the AGM. Again there appears to be a familial intimacy between them, almost as if they were husband and wife. They could have shaken hands, but that is predominantly what men do with each other. The media are invited in to film and record these speeches at the AGM and here we see the camera man up close to capture the very expression of the two. They are acting for the live audience and for the TV news audience.

They have chosen to embrace symbolically in celebration of the speech to show the appearance of a happy and harmonious relationship.



Norman's hand is gently on Metiria's back. Again there is a suggestion of familial intimacy in his gesture, an intimation made more candid by the view from behind showing Norman's hand. This is a long standing ovation, as is performed by the Party audience after all set-piece co-leader speeches. It is both for the benefit of the cameras and the applause of true believers hearing their cause espoused by their leaders. The importance of the occasion is demonstrated by the filming which in itself is a source of increased excitement and significance for the audience which must also perform according to the exigencies of the occasion. From time to time the cameraman turns his lens on the audience, as does the stills camera in this shot. I see the communal joy felt by most members present at hearing their values espoused to them. I clapped because everyone else did, but I lacked an oceanic feeling of ecstasy. Not to clap was to have no purpose in being there, to not belong in the congregation, to be an apostate. The Co-leaders walk down a central aisle as if in a processional to re-join their actual family partners. Their husbands and wives then

congratulate them to restore the natural order of human relations. The standard political routine is that spouses stand alongside a political leader at moments of triumph.



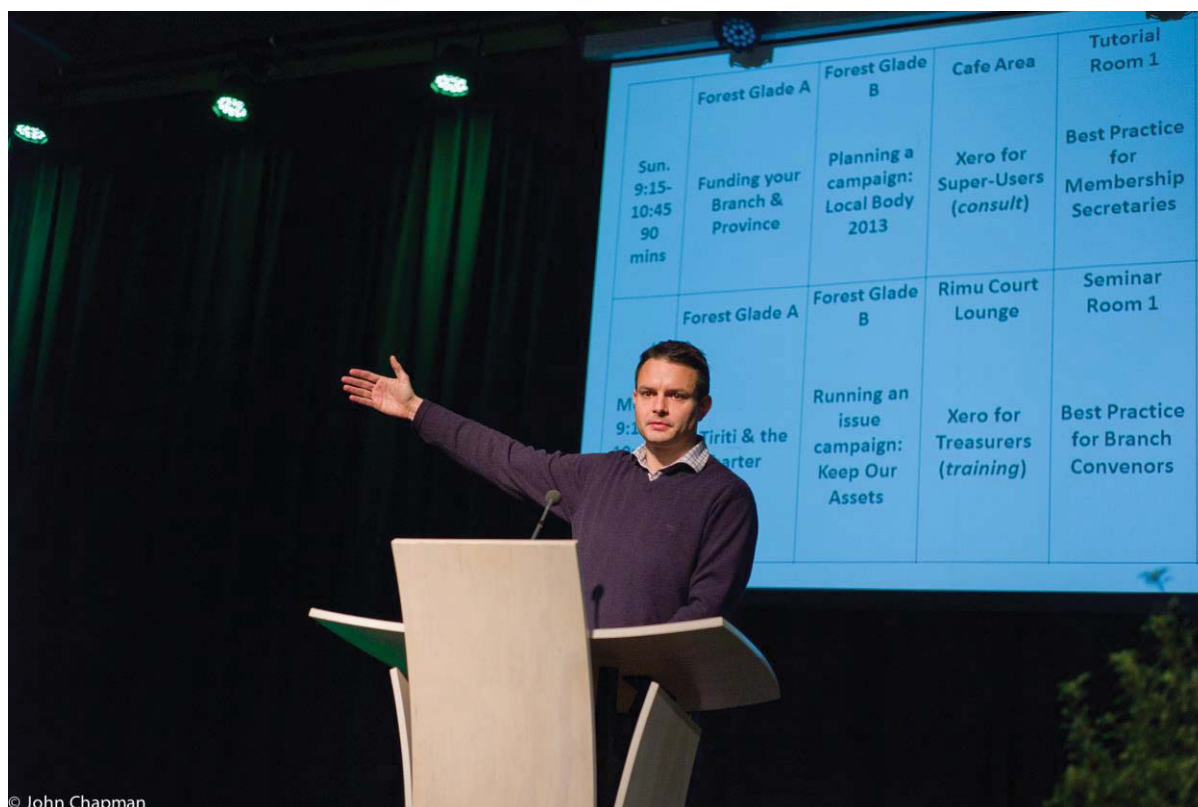
Sign-language was another way of sharing the stage and a requirement for key speeches. The Green Party has New Zealand's first deaf MP and the use of signers was ostensibly for her. It also symbolised inclusion as other parties did not routinely have signers to translate. The photograph reminds me that cheering in sign language involves waving one's hands high up in the air. It felt to me like being in an evangelical congregation performing this ritual of waving. The heart on the screen in retrospect reminds me of Anarchic Green's observation about an early AGM:

There were a lot of Heart Politics people who I don't remember seeing much of after that, who had an idea what we were doing was building a movement. The leadership was saying we're a political party.

Turei is attempting to preserve that heart; she has had her staff cut one out and project it as a back-drop. It has a rough edged homemade look indicating a faux authenticity as if a child had made the shape (which quite possibly they had). Turei spoke of the heart of politics which was women, children and compassion; the caring and nurturing values symbolised by the heart. By contrast, Norman spoke about the environment, the economy and strength. Observing from my viewpoint of researching gender-balanced co-leadership, the reinforcement of male and female roles seem stereotypical. He is masculine and business-like, she is feminine and flamboyant. He speaks of the 'hard' stuff like money and she speaks of the 'soft' stuff like family.

I felt a bifurcation of consciousness, a discomfort and annoyance at the audience's enthusiasm when listening to Co-leader speeches at successive AGMs. My discomfort was not only the leader-centric worship, but a rising dislike of the division of content by gender. Words often repeated by Norman in his speeches were 'economy' and 'economics', 'smart', 'clean', 'technology', 'finance', 'export' and 'prosperity'. He cites several economists. In none of his AGM speeches does he acknowledge his MP team. Children or 'kids' are usually referred to in terms of their future as potential adults. Turei, on the other hand, frequently repeats 'child' and 'children'. She speaks of the 'heart', 'inequality', 'family', 'teenagers' and 'women'. In several speeches she acknowledges the achievements of the MP team. Children, kids or babies are referred to by her mainly in relation to their current hardship. She uses alternatives such as "tiniest citizens" and "littlest people" in pursuit of a little variety of expression and to emphasise their smallness and, hence, vulnerability. The word 'economy' when it is used by Turei tends to have the word 'compassionate' next to it (such as on the cover of *Te Awa* Issue 31 above). She never cites economists. Turei's AGM speeches were more balanced in theme initially, but from 2011 onwards she speaks more and more about children, women and families. The speech writers are parliamentary staff who seem fixated on their messages, differentiating the two Co-leaders by force of repetition. This double-act is by way of contrast to the founding Co-leaders whose speeches

do not display a repetitious, gender-stereotypical division of subject matter. For example, in the 2005 AGM speeches, Donald used the word 'economy' once and 'children' not at all. Unlike Norman, Donald acknowledged all of his MP team. Fitzsimons used 'children' once, 'economy' not at all and she touched on environmental and scientific themes common to Norman's speeches, such as clean rivers, 100% pure branding, and energy policy. In the transition, Norman has picked up the science from Fitzsimons and added the economy to appeal to the rational self-interest of voters. Turei has picked up the caring and campaigning role played out by Donald, but added motherhood and family to tug at the heart-strings.



In this image Shaw is already confidently a leader, giving directions at the AGM weekend training event. His arm is confidently raised straight with open hand as he looks at the audience telling them which room to go to. To be ranked high on the Party list and become a MP one has to be visible on stage at these occasions where membership delegates gather. Shaw was organising the organisation into specialised, professional-type roles. The punctus

to me is in the words on the screen which show an administrative agenda devoid of policy. The Party is organised into specialist roles and teams, such as 'Xero for Super Users,' activists are being trained up on plans and processes on a Sunday morning. We want to 'Keep Our Assets' and 'explore best practice'. It is as if the accountants have taken over the Party and the anarchists are redundant. The members are managed and as volunteers yet they have roles with job descriptions to fulfil. Managerial control is being asserted and diversity of practice is restricted as a national organisation is built. More Party staff will be employed from a tithe of MP salaries and we are going to have a general manager. This time around, Shaw had been the unlucky candidate who had narrowly missed out on getting into parliament. He does not want to leave things to chance so he has a job for every Party member to do in order to get him elected. His election to parliament duly occurred at the following 2014 general election with the support of a so-called volunteer army. Shaw has become the new millennial Co-leader of a business-like Green Party keen to cross the threshold into government.

5. DISCUSSION

Dramaturgy is used pragmatically as a theoretical device in this report to gain an insight into the public enactment of co-leadership in a small New Zealand political party. I apply Goffman's dramaturgical method by considering three elements of theatre – setting, costume and the script. Then I discuss how this male/female Co-leader model has been characterised in an increasingly gender divided and conventional fashion.

Setting

We start with the setting or the scene where the action takes place. We have entered the parliamentary chamber only fleetingly in this report (to mention criticism in the house of Turei's wardrobe). The dramaturgical metaphor is easily applied when one looks at the rituals and routines of the parliamentary chamber. The chamber is set up for politicians to engage in verbal combat with rules and a referee. Parliament can seem like a form of pantomime with members shouting choruses of approval or disapproval across the floor of the chamber; mockery and caricature is *de rigueur*. Neither have we entered the television studio in this report. Party political broadcasts are a significant part of election campaigns since the advent of television. In more recent times, the TV debate is sold to the audience as if whoever wins the debate or debates wins the election. The viewer is the voter and the audience is polled as if it was a reality TV show. The competing parties express their message through a person on the screen. The impression given-off is visual as much verbal. Most words will be forgotten and critical incidents will be replayed to determine who 'won.' There is a live audience and the studio itself is set up in much the same way as a conventional theatre. Party directors each rehearse their lead actor on a tightly scripted speech. The actors in the debate prepare for questions like actors rehearsing; they refine

the delivery of soundbites and repeat prepared lines to questions. The costume and coiffure are intimately attended to by their production entourage.

To fit constitutional and televisual conventions, the starring role is played by one person in combat with an opponent or a handful or opponents. Parliamentary questions and answers are one-to-one. The political drama is centred upon these duels between champions. The choice of government is reduced to who looks like the most appealing single individual in the presentation of the debate. TV leaders' debates do not include deputies and Co-leaders. There is no extra place for a second party leader from a single party on the stage in these theatres of combat. The performance is all about the front person and their support team is concealed back-stage out of view. The audience collectively maintain the on-stage pretence that the lead characters are real not acts.

Instead of parliament or television, this report has used the Party magazine and AGMs as the main settings for the action. That is because these are in-between spaces, partly back-stage, partly front-stage that reveal the Party's presentation of itself to itself. The magazine is sent to members but is published for all to see. The setting has become more and more professional. Party magazine photos are staged and the publication has evolved to higher production standards. The AGM requires more stage management and more effort is made to avoid disruptions, such as members not presenting smartly or displaying dissent. There are more paid staff and Party managers; the expectations are to look the part of a Party waiting to be in government, not to appear like a social movement committed to changing society.

The Party presents itself to its activist members at its Annual General Meeting. These occasions have dramatic aspects which can be likened to a ceremony or a ritual:

To the degree that a performance highlights the common official values of the society in which it occurs, we may look on it as a ceremony – as an expressive rejuvenation and reaffirmation of the moral values of the community (Goffman 1959, p. 35).

The annual performance by leaders to the members is part of a celebration of the identity of the group. It is a ritualistic celebration of the values of that community, or at least a symbolic display of what brings that group of people together. This is what Goffman means by the claim that “the world in truth is a wedding” (p. 36). The members who comprise the audience contribute to the performances in front of them. Everybody plays their part in maintaining the desired definition of the situation. It is a collective representation of an optimistic and harmonious front. The central consideration is the presentation of the Party Co-leaders through the media to the voting public.

The audience is part of the presentation. Whether by participation in a standing ovation at the AGM or by being a reader of *Te Awa*, the members of the Party form a community which expresses its identity and values through these ceremonies and publications. The term ‘party faithful’ is a common place that illustrates the sense of congregation that happens at Party gatherings. Several narrators, including myself, became alienated from the congregation at these ceremonies of which they were part. A dissonance between the members’ and media’s acclaim for performance of the Party leaders and our own experiences emerged. Anarchic Green disliked a loss of spontaneity; Older Green disliked a worship of sexiness and youth; Task-focused Green disliked a failure to address conflict; Nouveau Green disliked favouritism; Professional Green disliked the personalised attacks on opponents; I disliked the repetitive and simplistic scripts. What appears to be occurring is that the preferred choice of those who dissent is either to leave or to keep criticisms quiet and fit in with the commonly accepted definition of the situation. However, the number of Party activists, members and representatives has risen or plateaued but not fallen as yet. There is a continuous feed of fresh talent to replace those who leave. Others stay and some like Shaw have been there all their adult lives. The Green community is in good heart and

the audience enthusiastically plays its part. If the scene is tightly stage-managed and scripted, then that is seen by members as being professional and electable.

The setting dictates the requirements of the performance of the characters to be acted out by whoever are the Co-leaders at the time. The founders tended to eschew the sharp suits and power dressing and they avoided personal criticism of their political opponents. At each succession there has been a growing similarity to other party leaders from all sides. For example, Turei and Norman adopted power dressing and directed their criticism at the Prime Minister personally. A media article in 2012 neatly sums up the change after Fitzsimons exited the main stage:

This is a new, aggressive Green Party. The party that once eschewed combative politics now boasts that it has professionalised. They wear suits and ties. They're not afraid to put the boot into Key. Her co-leader agrees. After the election, says Norman, they sat down for a chat with Key and his senior advisers. The problem, they told him, was that he and his Government were inseparable. They would be attacking his Government - and that meant attacking him personally. Neither Norman nor Turei seems unduly concerned by this (Milne, 2012, para. 54).

Shaw and new leaders to follow will doubtless change elements of the organisation and its presentation, but not likely in the direction of anarchy and non-conformity. The organisational field of parliamentary politics is well-established and there is limited scope for variation in the operation of political parties. What was different at the start is less so over time as the movement professionalises into an established political party. A kind of institutional isomorphism occurs by a mimetic process of imitation of the more successful parties and due to the normative pressure to professionalise (DiMaggio & Powell, 1983).

Costume

Clothing is integral to the presentation of a person to others. In the public sphere, we chose what to wear to convey more or less self-conscious messages about our status in a group. Costume has been a subject of considerable public discourse about the NZ Green Party and is a matter given attention within the Party. The repeated references to clothing in the political media - from Donald's choice of red braces to Norman's smart suits and tie to Turei's designer jackets - illustrates the high importance attached to the physical presentation of the political representative. An awareness of how to look was present through the organisation. As it turned out, the interviewees or narrators did not resile from questions about what they were wearing at critical incidents, nor did they do anything to dispel the importance of costume as an integral part of the political action. Paradoxically, even those who felt that how one looks should not be important had a good deal to say about the subject and its symbolic significance. Looks seem to count for a good deal in politics and policy substance seems to be imputed from how party leaders look.

The enactment of political leadership is a physical performance. When playing a character, the actor uses their body and their personhood is what is on show. Costume is a public matter, it is clothing chosen for work outside of the home. Their choice of attire shows something of the person of the leader even when they are conforming to staging requirements. The Party leaders' presentation is planned and self-conscious. An individual's wardrobe and coiffure is a personal choice and to change one's appearance has a personal element. The wardrobe itself is a private space, albeit one that Turei invited the media to see after her opponents took issue with her looking like them yet claiming to be different from them.

Photographs provide a means to look critically at people presenting themselves as Co-leaders and in other roles. Party images are more staged than a snapshot (even when it is a

snapshot, it is of a staged event). Even the most apparently natural of images, like Fitzsimons on a farm, portray political messages and are calculated and posed, directed and scripted. A photograph published on the cover of the Party magazine or taken at a staged occasion captures the desired image of the Party, and at the same time may portray unintended messages. Several of the MPs play with their presentation in deliberate parody of the situation. Locke's body-painted suit, Turei's wedding dress and Tanczos' hemp suit reveal anarchic, playful characters. The difference between the self-parody and dramatic irony is hard to detect. These leading Greens dress-up intentionally to display their sense of fun and difference; they dress up to show their individuality. Yet there is something else showing through, possibly a discomfort with their conformity to the parliamentary costume and a need to rebel against convention and establish a connection to their non-conformist followers and their past selves. The lead actors themselves may be engaging in parody, but are they highly aware of their own choices about their appearance. Turei and Norman may be wearing business suits due to insecurity and desire to fit in and be on an equal footing with their political peers. But they were also displaying their status as leaders to the members. A possibility is that the dressing-up in other costumes is a kind of psychological relief, a play to reconnect to themselves in their non-leader personhood, reverting to what they would ordinarily wear, and, to connect to the members and supporters. It is impossible to quite determine the motivations and intentions, even if one was the individual concerned. However, it is not unreasonable to suggest that in the punctus of the images lie unintended connotations of which the actors are but dimly aware. I doubt that Turei meant she was marrying Norman in her wedding dress or that Shaw intended the connotation of colourless and bland in his grey, black and white dress colours. The appearance of anarchy breaking through at moments in acts of deliberate parody is an expression of character by the actors, yet they do not appear to be fully cognisant of the connotations or the expression given-off by what they put on their bodies.

From street-theatre to the parliamentary stage, the NZ Green Party has a tradition of dressing-up. The costume changes and image make-overs signified a conservatism and acceptance of the status quo. There is a notable shift to convey messages that present conventionality, business-like, smartness. Most of the time the leaders dress like other MPs so as to fit in thereby conveying conventional messages to the voting public of being responsible and grown-up. But the anarchy pops up from time to time to show continuation of the politics of protest, albeit protest by parody.

The Script

The impression that is created depends upon the actors, the production team and their audience. The stage is bigger than the actors and they perform the role on each occasion according to the required characteristics. The show of politics demands actors to conform to character. Leaders have limited influence to change the presentation of the organisation they represent and champion: "When an actor takes on an established social role, usually he finds that a particular front has already been established for it" (Goffman, 1959, p. 27). Those with leading roles are constrained to fit the accepted definition of the situation and their part is more likely to be an improvisation on a character with a set of routines than a radical departure from the script. Leadership positions are performed by people who conduct themselves in role according to certain internalised expectations of manner, dress and language. The NZ Green Party Co-leaders act out or front three scripts that have been established for them - the harmonious couple, dressing up, the heroic leader and the attractive youth.

Green Party Co-leaders model an ideal relationship. The romance of leadership (Meindl et. al. 1985) has come to be expressed in the romance of the Co-leaders. The maintenance of the appearance of a harmonious couple is a key part of their role performance. Donald and

Fitzsimons formed the prototype. They modelled playing out parental roles and that part of the routine seems to have stuck, despite the incongruity of increasingly youthful parents. The presentation of the relationship of the Co-leaders is stylised. There is even a standard set of gestures, from hands held aloft to the embrace. A key task incumbent upon Party Co-leaders and Co-convenors is to manage their relationship in order to avoid conflict and to assert authority over others lower in the positional hierarchy of the organisation. This is not an easy task as there is at times an unwanted level of emotional intensity in the relationship and the uninvited involvement of others to prevent or stop the appearance of conflict. The ability of the couple to communicate and manage the relationship becomes paramount. The way that disagreements were dealt with in the Party have served to disguise or hide conflict. Task Green experienced social pressure was to make the relationship work (or appear to work):

When there are conflicts, I've found that you're treated as if you're both to blame, that you both need to deal with it, and that some form of relationship counselling is needed when in fact someone is just not really capable of doing the job they've been given to do.

When there is disharmony in the co-leadership at any level, the situation can become too hard to maintain and one or the other may quit. Task Green identified a significant relational demand involved in maintaining the co-leadership model:

With co-leadership there is a massive added dimension: a real personal and emotional dimension. It's been compared by some, not very comfortably by me, but a lot of people have likened it to a marriage. There's a substantial amount of maintenance work that needs to be done and it's of an emotional nature which can be quite personal and quite draining. I've had some difficult 'marriages' within the Party.

Whereas it appears that Fitzsimons and Donald had a symbiotic relationship, there is not evidence that this endured. Perhaps by requiring too much closeness between Co-leaders as the prototype, the management of incompatibility has not been incorporated into the Party

culture. There is the possibility that Norman withdrew from conflict with Turei and that Turei will do the same with Shaw. Relational conflict is managed back-stage by Party officers and members. However, outside of parliament, the conflicts were not always resolved. Co-leading at the Provincial or Branch level was not supported by the resources of parliament nor did it attract the same talent (or at least commitment). Co-leading appears to be convincing with parliamentary actors supported by a professional production team. Co-leading is less convincing in amateur theatre where the actors may lack direction, may not know the routines and script or do not feel constrained to follow them.

Hartshorn-Sanders suggests that “one of the reasons that co-leadership seems to work for the Greens is that this form of leadership is consistent with the operation of the party at all levels” (2006, p. 52). One can postulate reasons why this may be so, such as familiarity with the routines of shared roles and more opportunities to learn through holding shared roles. However, the Māori Party has established itself effectively in government over the past decade without applying Co-leaders to all representative positions. It seems that the gender shared roles worked less well as you move down the organisational hierarchy. Older Green observed that:

In other places where co-leadership was happening in the Party, you'd see real weakness, or people just taking the job because nobody else was standing.

Gender balanced roles throughout the organisation may be less effective if there is too great an inequality of abilities, or a lack of ability. Co-convenors may not have the same high level of motivation as professional or aspirant politicians. They are not under the same expectation from their audience or the public. Indeed in the Green Party the expectation is to facilitate member engagement and the less senior roles lack the authority or the means to direct members.

The heroic leader persists in the narrative of the Green Party. Goffman (1959) describes a kind of depersonalisation whereby people conform to the in-group prototype and subsequently construct a charismatic leadership persona for their leader:

Finally we find performers often foster the impression that they had ideal motives for acquiring the role in which they are performing, that they have ideal qualifications for the role, and that it was not necessary for them to suffer any indignities, insults, and humiliations, or make any tactically understood 'deals' to acquire the role (p. 46).

Leaders participate in the process of enhancing the charisma of office and their own celebrity. Leaders have to be seen to have certain desired qualities and the desires of the followers are projected onto the leaders who have to live up to their expectations. The strategic decision to focus attention on the Co-leaders since Norman's ascension has meant that a persuasive narrative is built around each leader as an exceptional individual. It is the interests of the leader to maintain that shared definition of the situation that they know what they are doing thereby sustaining the delusion of rational control and exceptional ability. The Co-leaders tend not to communicate the difficulty of maintaining order in the face of chaos, although they may complain about some of their followers. Co-leaders tend to tell stories that make sense of the chaos of events within which they themselves play an instrumental role in achievements. Mistakes and failure are rarely mentioned or scapegoats are identified. The Co-leaders have chosen to be centre-stage and play out the starring role; they act out the lead. When the leader leaves, they say it is because there is so much fresh talent and they have left for personal reasons. There can be no admission of failure, disillusionment or relationship tensions.

The Shakespearean citation at the outset of this report signifies the notion of exits and entrances according to age. The lead actor is only the lead actor for a period of time. The great actors may come and go, but the setting remains and constrains. Each new player plays the character set out for a role and adds their interpretation. In the example of the Green Party, we have seen a generational transfer from the baby-boomers to the millennials

as younger aspirants take over. A pattern has emerged that one struts and frets upon the stage for perhaps a decade, but then one's time is up. To quit is preferable to being deposed and each lead actor has understudies in the wings. Age retires and is replaced as if experience is sacrificed on the altar of youth. Age is expected to exit the stage, to make its excuses and to leave. This suggests that the role is hard to maintain, that it is a strain to live up to the desired definition of the ideal couple and the successful party.

Professional Green highlights that smooth leadership position succession under the co-leader model is regarded and used as an advantage:

We've retained a significant continuity and experience. In any given year you might have both Co-leaders standing down, but in terms of succession planning that would be unfortunate if it did happen and we would always endeavour to ensure that it didn't so you get the continuity.

Co-leadership may be a conservative force preventing disjunctive leadership changes. However, what may be occurring as a result is an emphasis on youth and continuity in preference to maturity and change. It is hard for a new Co-leader (or Co-convenor) to stamp a new mark on the leadership as the front or the mould is set. The new leader has been the junior partner at the start with a senior partner to guide them. This makes the younger candidate less of a risk and more electable by the membership. Political success requires more than continuity and the appearance of unity. The electoral progress of the Greens may level off without passing the final threshold of maturity by entering into government. In part that may be due to the over hasty promotion of individuals not yet matured to the role.

Gender Divided

The Co-leader roles are complementary and are divided into specific areas of responsibility so that each appeals to a different section of their audience. Gender shared roles have led to the relationship enacting like a marriage or like parenting. The paradox is that the

constituting of rules to ensure equality of gender representation has resulted at present in a division of labour according to stereotypical male and female roles. To some extent this undermines the intent of a model conceived to overcome a perceived patriarchy in which women have subordinate roles. On the one hand, if equality of representation by gender is the *raison d'être* for gender-balanced co-leadership, then it succeeds by definition and constitution. On the other hand, gender balanced co-leadership is not a necessary condition for female representation in political leadership. Women have held the highest rank in other parties over the period of the Greens' co-leadership. Their aspiration was to change politics and society away from a perceived masculine domination, but that may not have been consistently enacted even within the Party itself.

Goffman argues that gender difference is constructed: "There is only evidence of the practice between the sexes of choreographing behaviourally the portrait of a relationship" (1976, p. 8). The evidence from the portrayals we have looked at is not gender neutral; on the contrary it shows increasingly gender stereotypical role performance. We do have a good deal of evidence to draw upon of the role performances. The subject of gender division can in itself be divisive, so sometimes the narrators in this section are not named although they are the same five interviewees. A meta-narrative from the interviews was that at the start there had been two equals, like parents. Subsequently there has been some kind of fall from that original state-of-grace:

I feel like women since Metiria became Co-leader, like the women in the party don't realize actually they're just making the scones, being sexy serving the men and the men are the real leaders. What's happened with the new male Co-leader is not going to be any different. The men are going to be the real leaders because they are seen as the economic hard-hitters, the financial experts, whether it's true or not is another question, and it's not a relationship of equals.

This is a controversial and possibly jaundiced view but nonetheless it has some substance. Turei has at times acted in Normans' shadow despite being the more experienced of the two

as a Co-leader. She has not rated highly in opinion polls. Her portfolios and her speeches focus on family, children, women and housing. She speaks about feeding children and the home, not about economists and science. The new pair have not changed this allocation of subject matter by gender. It has been rare for MP portfolios not to line up with standard gender expectations. Newer MPs may buck this trend, for example with Genter allocated as spokesperson for finance. The requirement for gender-balance amongst the MPs means that all members of the caucus have been elected in part on the basis of their gender. Rivals for elected positions emerge from within one's gender group. Women are competing against women and men against men for positions that are elected by Party members such as Co-leader. There is also a strong identification to gender based politics and so gender divisions could readily emerge within caucus. Gender is in effect a dividing mechanism in the Green Party.

There is no script or routine to allow for the expression of Co-leader conflict and what is required is a show of intimate harmony. Co-leading may become like a forced marriage in which the female may play a subordinate role in line with wider societal expectation. One narrator experienced an unequal relationship with her male counterpart:

I've questioned how much authority I had. I don't think that the other members often showed much respect. And I felt that they did treat me very differently. He was more of a natural delegator and I was more of a natural doer. It was a bit lopsided, I was doing a lot more.

She attributed this to enthusiasm and newness. However, her unequal status could be seen as reflecting issues of gender inequality. That is, the man is more respected and deferred to by the group over the woman who is expected to adjust her behaviour and do the work:

I was told that I needed to change, that I needed to be more accepting, and it was turned on me. I was the person that needed to change my views in a way. It was not explicit, but implicit. To change my stance.

This is one instance and it is hard to discern a pattern across the membership, but behind the harmonious front there are unresolved relational tensions and gender inequalities.

Isomorphic forces have led the social movement to become like another political party. Dressing up is a central part of how the Party displays its identity and is illustrative of its conventions and its conventionalising. The strategy of focusing resources on the leaders becomes like a game of follow the leader for the members, at least in how they dress up. There is a discourse of a perfectly harmonious and complimentary couple who act like parents over their infantilised followers. The conservatism of youth has shifted a baby boomer social movement into a millennial organisation seeking to be mainstream. Gender plays out in a stereotypical fashion with a clear demarcation of male and female roles. The Party has developed scripted routines in which leaders can be like caricatures. And there is little call from anywhere in the Party to change the script now that a certain front and definition of the political situation has been established over a long period of effort.

CONCLUSION

The dramaturgical metaphor fitted the subject readily because the way we enact politics is inescapably theatrical. Theatrical performance is not about truth; it is a revealing conspiracy of falsehood between the audience and their actors. Party members suspend disbelief and applaud the front-stage performance. The media and general public participate in a discourse about what Co-leaders wear and repeat facile phrases reinforcing the accepted definition of the situation of heroic and gifted leaders with deal motivations. Even when parties have similar policies, govern in coalitions and tend towards compromise in power, politics is presented as if individual actors are heroic or failed leaders that can change our collective fate.

There are many alternative models to facilitate and to constrain the exercise of position authority, of which co-leadership is but one option. Any leadership model is an ideal that reflects human aspirations; it is a framework within which people act. Leaders are people who in their role fulfil the needs or desires of a group of individuals, such as for security and safety through hierarchy and order. Language and art are symbolic actions that illustrate the desired type of leadership and the ideal leader. Heroic leadership is a work of art and a fiction, whether a portrait of Napoleon on canvas, a character in 'War and Peace' or an actor on a stage. The creation of the NZ Green Party's new model of co-leadership is responding to, and as such is a part of, the Western individualist tradition of the almost superhuman leader.

In the context of the Green Party of Aotearoa New Zealand the enactment of co-leadership changed and evolved through each new Co-leader pair. The show has become institutionalised and acted out as if it was a scripted play with set characters and roles. An established front has become routinised by each Co-leader pair, with increasing conformity over time to the routines of larger parliamentary parties. This front has come to be tightly

directed to maintain an impression of reliable professionalism. The question as one leaves the theatre is how well has the show been performed and how popular has it been? Is it a hit or a miss? The NZ Green Party has shown that gender balanced co-leadership can be made to work throughout a political party organisation. Its co-leadership model can be advantageous and at the same time, each of these advantages has a flip-side. Here I will address three issues in turn – division of labour, overcoming isolation and succession.

Firstly, there is a potential for complementary strengths between two leaders. The division of labour can allow for two leaders to operate beyond their individual competencies as part of a competent pair. This is evident in each pair whereby there was a focus on particular areas or organising or presenting. Further, a single leader may struggle to appeal sufficiently to all the different groups within the Party so each is more likely to focus on a particular constituency of member or voter. This may be a particular benefit in an organisation that brings together a number of activist strands and which has to balance its internal activist audience with its external public audience. Put simply, by having two leaders there is a choice for supporters, members and activists as to who they can identify with. On the other hand, Co-leaders may display divided attention or lack a unified direction. It may be that there is a fundamentalist versus realist split in the Party as in other Green parties, with each Co-leader representing a faction with no need for a single leader to bring the two together. So to some extent, Turei can continue with anti-capitalist rhetoric while Norman and Shaw take a pro-business stance, each undermining the position of the other in the eyes of the voter. It may be that gaps emerge with neither leader taking responsibility for issues that they are uncomfortable with or that do not fit their desired definition of the situation.

Secondly, overcoming isolation was stressed as an advantage by the founding pair. Their playing of a mother and father role appeared to work for them in maintaining Party and caucus discipline. But it was evident from participants that the maintenance of the relationship can demand considerable effort and may even become the main effort. There

are a lack of mechanisms for resolving conflict leading to more exits when maintaining the appearance of harmony is too great an effort. The co-leadership may be more effective where there are two more capable leaders supported by Party and parliamentary resources. Yet there may be more problems if there is a lack of capability or a mismatch between a pair. This is more likely to occur outside of the high profile and stage managed Co-leader roles and there there is less back-stage support for Co-convenor roles. It could be argued that it is rare to find a capable reader, let alone two. Human resources are limited as the Party is a relatively small organisation and the required number of people in most positions in the organisation is doubled, so it seems likely that there will be mismatches.

Thirdly, succession may be less disruptive or disjunctive than under a single leader. Changing leaders is common for political parties, partly because praise and blame tend to focus on the lead actors front-of-stage where the spotlight falls. The media reportage is leader centric and it is the impression of change that is being conveyed. In short, changing the leader is easier than changing the organisation. Succession in the Green Party is not at a rate dissimilar to other parties. There have been six Co-leaders over the period of 25 years. The single-leader Labour Party has had five leaders over the same period and the National Party has had six leaders. However, the risk of a new and inexperienced Co-leader is mitigated. It may be that this more enables less experienced Co-leaders to be elected as members do not perceive the same level of risk with one experienced leader already in place. However, elevation to Co-leader may occur before the beneficiary has the parliamentary and political experience to be effective. Youth may more easily upstage experience.

A question arises as to whether a senior and, by inference, a junior Co-leader operate as *de facto* a leader and a deputy in the Green Party. That is co-leadership at the apex may be an act that does not match the reality of different levels of influence. There has been a junior and a senior leader in terms of age and experience through this narrative. The Co-leaders are not likely to be entirely equal in skill, status or experience and they have different

portfolios and different constituencies to appeal to. Donald was seen to become the equal of Fitzsimons. The non-MP Norman was like an apprentice to Fitzsimons who then took over as number one. Now Turei is established and a new apprentice has started, although he is a little further ahead than was Norman I already being an MP. It's probable that Shaw will replace Turei in time to become the senior leader if she follows suit and retires. A new incumbent needs to learn the stagecraft of the Co-leader role which has inherent complexities, particularly the modelling of the ideal couple. Shared leadership is already part of the existing institutional arrangement of roles. Donald is reported to have felt that Labour was operating a form of co-leadership under the Clark government, with Cullen very strong in his own right (Harshorn-Saunders, 2006). The subsequent and current Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister show a comparable partnership of equals, one focused on selling the message and the other on managing the finances. Donald further observed that the leadership model may need to be reconsidered in government. The structures of government allow for a number two in the hierarchy, but not for two number ones. There are constitutional barriers since the structures of government only allow for a number one and number two in the hierarchy. Under a Mixed Member Proportional voting system, coalition governments tend to form and that in itself demands power sharing arrangements in which making room for two leaders may be problematic. However a rotation of Prime Minister and Deputy Prime Minister is not inconceivable. Passing the threshold into majority government could require a divorcing of the Green couple, although not when a minority partner as the Māori Party. For the time being the Green political marriage continues to be maintained.

Co-leadership has become integral to, and is embedded in, the NZ Green Party identity. This puts it beyond challenge for so long as it can be made to work. The co-leadership model is well-established and has been accepted by the political media with occasional gentle criticism. It is a constitutionally unique feature that serves to retain a distinct identity and purpose aligned with its origins in post-war social movements including feminism, pacifism and anarchism. However, the enactment of co-leadership in the Green Party does

not necessarily equate to efficiency nor electoral effectiveness. What is convincing to Party members as a way of enacting politics may not play out as well with the voting public who are accustomed to single leadership. The outcome for the Green to date has been longevity in parliament rather than making the transition into influence as part of the government. Co-leaders can work for other small political parties. The Māori Party have had four co-leaders since 2004 and the transition of the pair has been managed without undue comedy or tragedy. Notably Māori customary practices between genders has deeper cultural roots than the post-war social movements who are in the position of creating new rituals and routines. Defined gender roles are contained within long established specific Māori roles, routines and practices. The Māori Party does not have gender balance throughout its organisation headship. That may be advantageous if our narrators are right in suggesting that co-leading is hard to maintain, can be conflicting and requires some equality of capacity to be effective.

Stereotyping can arise from an essentialist division of roles by gender. A problem highlighted by the narrators was that the enactment of the Party appears to reinforce gender stereotypes and conventions of masculinity and femininity. Indeed, over time the female leader has spoken on issues traditionally identified as feminine domain. The male has been given media plaudits talking about issues traditionally in the masculine domain, such as business, jobs, economy and science. Steps could be taken to address this problem of stereotyping, perhaps by undertaking a more critically conscious examination of the enactment of co-leadership in the context of a highly gendered society. The founder pair did not have a gender stereotypical division of labour/ The allocation of portfolios can be altered. After all, Norman had a PhD in politics and no economic qualifications, background or expertise. In effect he pretended to be economically competent, with some success. The problem of competition within gender could also be ameliorated within the existing architecture of constitutional arrangements for gender balance. For example, mentors of the opposite gender could be allocated. The Co-leader pair do not necessarily have to be seen to be joined at the hip and embrace each other at the end of speeches. More prominence

could be given to the backbench MPs in a more distributed style of leadership with Co-leaders *primus inter pares*. The professional parliamentary Party script writers and their actors could be more careful to avoid reinforcing pantomimic caricatures of male and female roles. Perhaps the bigger change could be to ensure that each Co-leader speaks across the full range of issues and learns to be more competent with audiences that are not their constituency by default of gender. The Co-leaders and Co-convenors could be more careful to avoid gaps emerging between their domains or spheres of influence.

A meta-narrative of this report is the transition of an alternative social movement into a conventional political party. The narrators described this as a generational shift (which they themselves exhibited) from 'anarchic Green' radicalism towards 'nouveau Green' pragmatism. I have described how the NZ Green Party has adapted to the political stage. This has been a deliberate and systematic process of conformity to the processes of parliamentary democracy and the system of government. The Party has constructed itself as an Incorporated Society and state registered political organisation. Over a generation of 25 years, there is an increasing focus on the scripted presentation of political Co-leaders supported by the Party's acceptance of mainstream political theatre practices. The conventionalising influence of parliamentary democracy has led towards conformity to hierarchy, bureaucratic order and routinisation. The Party has become authorised as an institution operating within the confines of the parliamentary political field. Normative and mimetic mechanisms set out idealised role models which are difficult to escape or alter once established. Its leaders copy the behaviours of the dominant parties and they value professionalism. As the Party grows so do the number of paid parliamentary staff and the number of Party employees. A hierarchy has emerged with the professional management team at the helm of a well-organised parliamentary group of professional politicians. The Co-leaders, the caucus and the staff exert managerial control over faithful followers.

Party members, the intimate audience and the media, the critics, each have expectations of a scripted and directed political play with set roles and characters. The membership and their representatives engage in the joint maintenance of the 'definition of the situation.' They combine as a team and a congregation or community to praise and promote the purported merits of their leaders. The maintenance of co-leadership has become a central part of the Party's performance. The 'on-stage' action reinforces the intimacy of the pair as if it was a marriage of sorts. The media critics were invited into the Co-leader's domestic wardrobe and comment upon her jackets, whilst they praised Norman's choice of suit and tie. The radical experiment has hollowed-out into stereotypical routines and reverted to replicating conventional leadership. The co-leadership has become like a predictable theatrical production, tightly adhered to by all involved in its creation. The leaders can end up playing out their roles like two-dimensional, cut-out characters fitting neatly into the space that is made for them. To fit into an established front leaves little room for radical improvisation, challenge or anarchy. The impression that is created depends upon the maintenance of this established front by the actors, the production team and their audience. The desired presentation is of a modern professional political party ready for government. And of a harmonious young, heroically gifted couple. As Goffman suggests "a certain bureaucratization of the spirit is expected so that we can be relied upon to give a perfectly homogenous performance at every appointed time" (1959, p. 56). The performance has become a set of routines.

This report has taken the exemplar of a small political party in New Zealand and considered how it has attempted to subvert the referent of heroic charismatic or messianic leadership (Mangham, 1979, 1982, 1988; Gabriel 1997). The empirical description of a unique experiment has been achieved through interviews with key informants, auto-ethnographic interpretation and the examination of artefacts, particularly photographs. The metaphor of dramaturgy has led to a focus on costume and the modelling of the characters and their relationships. Goffman's categories helped shape the analysis of the material, particularly

the importance of the setting and the presentation of a desired self to match established front in pursuit of a desirable shared definition of the situation in which discrepancies are avoided and hidden (Goffman, 1959). The centrality of costume to discourse about the Green Party become more evident due to the focus on presentation and drama played out by real actors. The abstraction of leadership is a long way from an ongoing discourse about suits, ties and jackets. What has been revealed is that to experiment with and retain a new model of organisational leadership is not sufficient to avoid hierarchy and stereotypical role performance by leaders and followers. What may be necessary for change is care and conscious attention to unstick from repetitive routines in order to continuously create and enact fresh improvisations.

APPENDIX

Interview Schedule

1. What positions of co-leadership have you held in the Green Party?
2. Tell me about a time when you were co-convening a Green Party meeting. What do you remember about the meeting? How did you work with your Co-leader?
3. Did you share tasks equally between you both? Did you each have specialised roles?
4. Tell me about a time when you disagreed with each other. What happened? Did you resolve your disagreement? How?
5. Tell me about a Green Party event you have been to. What was the occasion like? What do you remember most vividly? What were you wearing? What was it that left a lasting impression?
6. Tell me about an experience you had of the political co-leaders which you remember strongly. Can you remember what they were wearing? What stands out in your memory?
7. Choose two or three Te Awa magazines by looking at the cover. Tell me what drew you to that image and what it says to you.

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