

**The Death of Discrimination in the New Economy? – Not likely!
Resurrecting EEO and Diversity dot.com**

**Amanda Sinclair
Professor of Management (Diversity and Change)
Melbourne Business School, the University of Melbourne**

Abstract

Diversity has overtaken the EEO agenda in many parts of business, the public and educational sectors. But both are being eclipsed by the e-commerce infatuation which expects that issues of discrimination will recede in the speed and agility of the new economy's free market. In this paper, I argue that EEO and Diversity, far from teetering off into irrelevance, provide essential new ways of seeing what's going on. The model of Managing Diversity adds fresh impetus, contemporary justifications, relevance and resources to the issues facing women and other minorities in organisations. Diversity also appeals to a wider range of women and men who don't want, as they see it, to be co-opted into the women's agenda. At the same time, EEO's tradition of critical, feminist thinking is crucial to charting the new forms that old obstacles are taking and to conceptualise new ways of increasing equality. There is a widespread view that we don't need either EEO or diversity theorising and intervention in the new economy. Taking three issues: I argue that we need to update our critical understanding of diversity and EEO to understand what's happening to work and its effects on women.

As we launch (or creep, depending on your mindset) into the new millenium, the language of women's issues and equal opportunity are being dismantled after an always fragile existence - and in some quarters replaced with diversity. In this paper I argue that our response to this should be proactive rather than nostalgic. Diversity provides opportunities but only if we anchor our diversity practice in the feminist and critical theory that has emerged from studies of women and EEO.

In 1995, when I was being interviewed for my current position as Professor of Management (Diversity and Change), I was asked what portion of my work was concerned with women and gender and what portion with other aspects of diversity such as multicultural issues. It was clear that admitting an emphasis on women was the 'wrong' answer in these circumstances. I had previously been advised that gender research was poor career planning. As this experience shows, researching women continues to have a low priority in most university environments.

Australian universities are increasingly subsuming gender under the sexier banner of diversity and globalism. In a piece coinciding with International Women's Day, UWA Vice Chancellor, Deryck Schreuder, argues the need to shift from a focus on gender in higher education to the 'new analytic and conceptual framework (which) has emerged - "diversity". While it incorporates concerns about gender, diversity is a much broader equal opportunity concept' (2000:42). This "broader" concept is clearly more appealing to universities. It links with business imperatives to attract high quality students from around the world as well as within our multicultural population. It makes bottom-line sense, as well as connecting 'seamlessly' to other elements of the managerial discourse of global higher education.

Public and private sector networks are labelling their interests as diversity as research centres. The Swinburne Centre for Women has recently been rebadged as the Centre for Gender and Cultural Diversity. Put bluntly, there are more opportunities and resources for diversity work than for work focused on women.

Looking at the changing relationships between the discourses of diversity and gender is also timely. In 1998, the Australian Affirmative Action Legislation which was put in place in 1986 was reviewed by the incumbent Liberal Government. The Review, *Unfinished Business* (1998), reflected some important shifts in the discourse and direction equal opportunity would take.

1. The belief that the principles of AA did not justify what were seen as high compliance costs was embedded in the Review's scope at the outset – to reduce costs to business.
2. The terminology of Affirmative Action was rejected as implying quotas and a violation of principles of merit to significant sections of the market.
3. The Review followed the view put by business that 'the current administration of the Act is too far removed from the realities of industry and that the Agency operates in isolation from other stakeholders'(1998:23).
4. Finally, the Review argues that due to changes such as de-regulation, restructuring and globalisation, 'the goal posts have shifted since the Act was designed'(1998:3). Taken together these changes 'have all meant equity for women in the workplace is now a strategic human resource management issue' (1998:3).

What is being accomplished with these shifts in the words and way equal opportunity is defended? *Unfinished Business* is well-intentioned, steering a path of retaining a regulatory structure for EEO in a business climate overwhelmingly opposed to government intervention. At the same time the Review endorses a prevalent ideology: that AA legislation hasn't worked, that matters of equity would be better served under managerial control and within a 'strategic human resource management' framework. This positions EEO as another HR issue, like remuneration or selection, better left to managerial prerogative and a free market where, so the hope goes, the irrational practice of discrimination will be driven out by competitive forces with employees, shareholders and consumers exercising choices away from discriminatory organisations.

Why diversity is good for women

There are three obvious reasons why diversity is a valuable frame through which to view women and to advance the interests of women and equal employment opportunity.

1. Diversity connects to arguments for internationalisation and provides compelling business justifications for utilising and retaining the talent of people from different backgrounds. In our current research on diversity leadership, almost all CEOs and senior executives are worried about how to operate better internationally. Diversity, when located in the globalism discourse, is enormously marketable.
2. Strategies which recognise 'broader' dimensions of difference have the potential to be more inclusive, to elicit less backlash and to generate the support of management, including their time, attention and resources. According to Stringer: "...if the definition (of diversity) includes everyone in the workplace, then everyone has a vested interest in understanding diversity and participating in

identifying ways to be most effective across differences” (1995 p.45). Cox elaborates: “If the language of diversity encourages people to think of diversity as referring only to members of minority groups, then the definition of the term itself can be used to polarize people and reduce cross-group collaborative effort to promote work related to it” (1994, pp.52-3). It is also argued that the diversity approach reduces backlash, though as Linnehan and Konrad note backlash is to be expected and confronted rather than avoided in the interests of lasting change.

3. For some women and men diversity provides a better way of working for change in their organisation. This particularly applies to the new economy environment where the ethos, if not the reality is ‘no rules, everything is possible’. Younger employees have a vested interest in believing that hard work and ability will not be undercut by systemic barriers. The individualistic ethos of diversity fits with the ‘do it yourself’ approach to career and rejection of the constraints, ‘invented’ by an older and hardened generation.

The problems with diversity for women

However, there are a number of reasons why the interests of women and equal opportunity are not necessarily well-served by diversity. There is now a considerable critical literature on diversity (see Linnehan and Konrad 1999; Prasad *et.al.* 1997; Hage 1998) and here I will summarise some key arguments.

All diversities are not equal. There is a very clear hierarchy of various racial, cultural, gender and other differences that pervades our society and our organisations. The argument that because we’re all different, we are all the same in our difference, is dangerously flawed.

Discussions of diversity management often start with frameworks which itemise what is included in ‘diversity’. These frameworks show overlapping circles with core dimensions of difference in the inner layers and more superficial and changeable aspects of difference on the outer layers. The inner layers – in my framework – include gender, race, disability, ethnicity – the permanent and visible markers of difference. On the second layer are sexual orientation, first language, religion – equally permanent but not so visible markers of difference. On the outer layers are dimensions of difference including professional training, preferred team style and so on.

While useful for demonstrating the differences between differences (in visibility and amenability to change), these frameworks also impose a false unity on differences that are in their experiences of being disadvantaged, radically different. Importantly, the bases of resistances to women and to racial and ethnic diversity are fundamentally different. Different aspects of male identity and power are challenged in different ways by women, by indigenous people and by people from NESB backgrounds. Thus the personal, organisational and leadership strategies for change are necessarily different, addressing a full range of sensitivities and prejudices, norms and rituals. Organisational climates which are open to and have been reasonably successful in attracting ethnic diversity, still experience major and lasting problems in developing and promoting women to senior levels.

Different forms of diversity remain undiscussed and undiscussable in very different ways. Issues of women are widely discussed, even in corporate environments. Race, racism, ethnocentrism are not discussed and remain undiscussable in the Australian corporate context. I suspect that some would argue that this is because there is none – racism or ethnocentrism – or that in corporate environments, racial and ethnic background is simply irrelevant. This is an interesting corporate extension of the phenomena historians have noted in Australian society – that our professed egalitarianism is built on an entrenched and unacknowledged racism. We can think of ourselves

as tolerant precisely because we can't and won't see how we have been racist (Thompson 1994; Reynolds 1999).

Diversity also promotes incremental change, accepting the dominant ideology of management rather than using evidence of privilege and disadvantage as prompts to advocate radical change in the way we organise. As one critic argues diversity management 'may have more to do with affirming the given than changing it' (Cavanaugh 1997: 34).

Enshrined in diversity is the value of the individual – all individuals are different and the solution is to free individuals to be themselves. This view is enormously attractive because it aligns so well with a neo-conservative economic view of the world. In fact the de-regulation and freeing of markets has, on many readings, created new extremes of inequalities and worse, supported particular ways of measuring inequalities that exclude most non-economic indicators. 'The celebration of diversity is part and parcel of a process of individualism which, far from tearing down discrimination, threatens to propagate substantive injustice' (Prasad and Mills 1997:20)

Diversity is, as commentators have noted, a very seductive noun – it conveys openness and inclusiveness, allowing managers to appear to demonstrate competence and understanding while avoiding harsh realities of discrimination and sidestepping issues of equality. I notice this among my students – happy to talk about diversity and internationalisation, bitterly resistant to talking about prejudice. Ghassan Hage also provides a compelling critique of some of the discourses of diversity and multiculturalism. They engender a politics of 'practical tolerance', which itself reinforces the existence of subjugated others who need to be tolerated by a dominant group. Oseen pinpoints that identifying and categorising difference are political acts: 'processes that construct difference simultaneously construct hierarchy' (1997: 54)

Diversity is a managerially-defined and orchestrated solution to difference. Diversity keeps attention focused on those who are 'different', rather than on the dominant groups' strategies of maintaining advantage (Eveline 1994). Diversity cedes power to managers to solve the problem of diversity thus eschewing solutions and strategies around power distribution, as well as ignoring the critical social and economic context.

In the next section, using three key issues, I want to show how we need to exploit the opportunities diversity presents using theoretical tools and critique from gender research: 'gender research is an example of what is missed in diversity research' (Jaques 1997:82).

3 Issues for Beyond 2000

Leadership

If I was to sum up the most important finding from my research on women and multiculturalism it is the need to deconstruct and reconstruct leadership. Australian business presents a paradox. Australia is known for its multiculturalism, for sponsoring a climate in which people from different backgrounds have achieved a great deal. Yet corporate leadership is characterised by a remarkable homogeneity in cultural and gender terms. Leadership - in practice at least – stands in contradiction to diversity. Diverse is the very thing that leadership is not.

I have been engaged in some new research on what we have called Diversity Leadership asking what is distinctive about leaders who promote diversity and thrive in diverse workplaces? How did they come to be good at this and what are their diversity leadership practices?

Two things are important about this research – it has received support (money from the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs and access to decision-makers) - because it is about diversity, not women. Participants in our study have been keen to be involved because they are hungry for new ideas about how to manage diversity better, particularly in the international context. In making sense of our findings, however, it has been perspectives from sociology, feminism and psychoanalysis on power and the construction of difference that have particularly informed our analysis. Here are a few key findings from this research :

1. Diversity leadership is a way of working and a way of being. It emerges from an individual's whole developmental history – life experience, background and values, career opportunities, and the meanings and sense of purpose they derive from those opportunities. It is important to begin with this recognition because progress with diversity requires individuals with courage, strength of mind but an unusual level of openness and capacity to trust. Too often in leadership training we pretend that history and backgrounds don't matter – particularly in the area of diversity, it matters a lot. This developmental perspective helps us understand why these leaders care about diversity, why they sometimes identify with those in the minority, why they have an affinity with being on the edge or outside. On this theme an interesting finding is that, in contrast to leaders – who tend to be first born sons – diversity leaders tend to be later in the birth order, often in larger families. This is good news for those of us who are not first born sons – but it does make sense that later borns can't rely on hierarchy to get influence, they have to learn to negotiate and work with difference.
2. Diversity leadership is not just generic leadership. Those who practice diversity leadership are keen to work with and learn from people who are different from themselves. They share a willingness to challenge discrimination and to risk personal comfort in ensuring that people are treated fairly. For some this is evident in innovative work practices – they are prepared to test themselves, go out on a corporate limb, because they believe the principle of making diversity work is important. Although both the underlying qualities - of emotional maturity and moral courage - figure in research as part of general leadership makeup, they are especially highlighted and critical to diversity leadership.
3. We have also found that people who are good at diversity leadership have a history of crossing borders and boundaries – these can be geographical, cultural, economic or psychological - and have emerged with an openness and often a desire to test themselves outside their comfort zone. They may have moved countries as young children or on early career assignments, they might have taken a job involving dealing with people with very different lives. They may have been the only non-white or non-English speaker in a particular environment. The outcomes include identities robust enough to not be profoundly threatened by 'otherness' and repertoires of knowing how to make others feel comfortable.
4. A final more sobering finding is that although in their own teams and work practices there is willingness to challenge organisational traditions and reward diversity, at leadership level there are intense pressures not to foreground their own difference or advocate diversity for the organisation.

Diversity leadership is radically different to the pattern of heroic masculinity which I have identified elsewhere as the template for leadership in Australian organisations (Sinclair 1998). The challenges of international operation and global markets are driving leadership requisites towards greater valuing of diversity. Although here it is important to differentiate diversities – there is more openness

to cultural diversity than women or indigenous issues for example. It is also important to recognise strong attachments to heroic leadership, all the reasons why leadership is likely to stay homogeneous in the foreseeable future. My heart sank when I saw the picture of Paul Andersen of BHP on his Harley in the paper. Parts of the business community seem to think that that's diversity!

Opportunities for Women in the New Economy

In the early days of the 'new economy' infatuation, much was made of the freer and more dynamic organisations that would flow from the commercialisation of new technologies. The expectation that work and the workplace will be different is based on a range of arguments. Research suggests that when people interact virtually rather than face-to-face, there is less opportunity for gender or racial stereotyping. Electronic communication also reduces status inhibitions – people can interact more readily as equals focused on a task. Also the new organisations are emerging, flat and decentralised, populated with young employees, unshackled by traditional expectations and without a vested interest in status and hierarchy. According to the mythology, the new knowledge worker will exercise choice and be ruthless about ensuring career suits personal goals. They will model a new kind of work-life balance that traditional managers can only dream about.

Yet – surprise, surprise – early evidence is that many of the new companies are no more attractive or successful in recruiting women in senior roles. In the popular press, Michael Cave (2000) reports the reasons volunteered for the absence of women from senior levels of dot.com companies:

we were hoping to hire a few but we couldn't find any (male CEO)

women are simply not prepared to sacrifice their families for the 16-hour days required - they have different priorities (male academic)

it is predominantly a technical field and therefore dominated by males (female HR manager)

it is just that when the position comes up, the best person for the role is selected.. people who are part of pre-existing networks are getting invited (to apply), and a lot of those existing networks tend to be male (female exec)(Cave 2000)

According to these commentaries, women are still the problem in the new organisations. Women are, variously, non-existent, too family-orientated, not technical enough and not part of the 'new boys network'. To understand the obstacles to women in the new economies we need to retrieve the deeper understandings derived from gender studies, including the problem with simply seeing 'women as the problem'.

In new companies, work is possible 24 hours a day and technology has removed traditional controls. Employees in many industries are working longer hours than ever and work is overflowing into personal and family time in unforeseen and apparently uncontrollable ways. Travel for work and answering emails (increasingly the work of many) is able, and expected, to be done on weekends and evenings. Early research on the cultures of the new companies provide supporting evidence that the emerging e-masculinities are as excluding to women as more traditional hierarchical structures, although they may be more agile in accommodating racial and cultural diversity. Successful employees are those without family responsibilities and for whom work and play fuse in a consuming desire to be at the technological frontier.

From a psychoanalytic perspective this old economy/ new economy is classic 'splitting and projection'. All the dreadful characteristics of bricks and mortar organisations are located on old organisations, leaving the dot.coms idealised as the haven of all that's good. Even our Vice Chancellor has been seduced – off on leave to run the dot.com that is Universitas 21.

In brief, to predict prospects for equality in so-called new economy organisations, we need to look beneath the surface of organisational life to see whose interests are served by talking up the dot.coms and why it is important to exclude women and others from leadership roles in them. We need to draw on theories that encompass the role of unconscious processes, issues of identity and masculinities, as well as the social and systemic forces at work in preserving the status quo.

Do it Yourself Careers or Working for Change

Many women in management careers are profoundly ambivalent if not downright hostile towards talk of gender, women's issues or feminism. The tensions between old-style feminism and the 'Do it yourself' approaches are not going to go away. We need to resist the media's desire to set women against women but also find ways of encompassing and supporting all the various personal and organisational career strategies women pursue over their lives.

First we need to recognise why younger women reject talk of gender, women's issues and feminism. A substantial portion of female students steer clear of me and any of my subjects while undertaking their MBA, tackling the 'harder' financial subjects which will be 'more use to their career'. At some less conscious level they see me and my interest in women as a branding, something that will stain their efforts to 'manage' their career and their time at MBS as if gender were irrelevant. This has been quite hurtful – just as when my daughter ticks me off for a rather too militant assertion of feminist principles some times. I understand better now that at early career stages, optimism and confidence are critical. Feminist knowledge about how organisations are gendered can be terribly burdensome information. I want my students to believe they can do anything, aspire to the highest level, see themselves on the biggest stage.

The rejection of women's issues is also widespread among, typically younger and ambitious senior managerial women. The following quote was from a woman in a very senior role in an established IT company.

Maybe you could call it almost blissful ignorance...But if you don't acknowledge that stuff (glass ceiling) then it has no power in terms of your personal career. I have gone through my career assuming that gender is not an issue. Even when I am flanked by a complete misogynist, I try not to even acknowledge that, so it almost doesn't exist. I only have to look at the data to know there are some structural limitations...But that knowledge does not help me manage my career.

A discourse analyst would have a field day with this - the erupting 'almost's - but this statement sums up a widespread sentiment particularly expressed in the context of the so-called 'new economy': Head down, tail up, my gender won't stop me! But it is not insignificant that the speaker is young (30s) and without children. Research such as the Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission's *Pregnant and Productive* (1999) shows how it is not until pregnancy that many women experience discrimination.

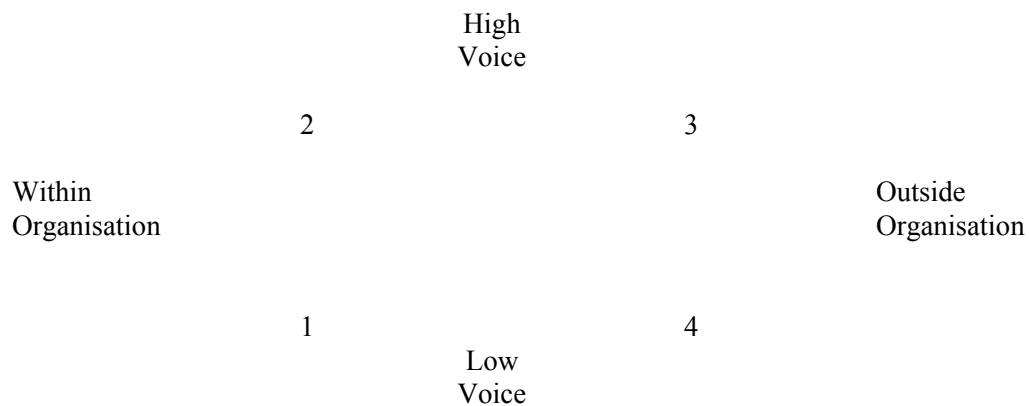
The assumptions of this view are that individual and structural issues are separate; that one can 'manage' one's individual or personal career independently of 'structural issues'. No-one should blame women for trying to avoid gender or being the 'glass ceiling's' spokesperson - it is not a

happy handicap. Men pursuing their career don't have this extra set of tasks implicitly included in the job description.

Working for change in the dominant culture of one's organisation, as we all know, can be the toughest task of all. It involves generating enough optimism and energy for change, but also survival skills of pragmatism and fatalism. Developing a feminist consciousness about the range of systemic obstacles facing women can be brutally confronting – but also liberating. Developing a deeper knowledge of the structural issues facing women has helped me enormously in my career and life. But not always. I was not open to these ideas until my experiences forced me to find new explanations. Only then was it liberating to suddenly discover ways of understanding issues which I had individualised as 'my problem'.

In some of my other work I have argued a framework of options for women which include creatively and strategically using one's power to bring more of who one is, as a woman, to leadership roles (Sinclair 1995). The value of this framework is that it recognises that power influences the range of strategies available to women. It also doesn't condemn women for not taking action or trying to 'blend in' but seeks to recognise how circumstances constrain options.

I have developed a new framework focused on expanding repertoires of change strategies for both women and men. The framework draws on the work of Meyerson and Scully (1995) and Bradshaw and Wicks (1997) both focused on change strategies and identity of academic women. The framework contains two dimensions: Voice (high and low) and whether one works for change from inside or outside the organisation. The Voice dimension is derived from the work of Albert Hirschmann and his classic book 'Exit, Voice and Loyalty' (1970) where he conceptualises exit, voice and loyalty as three employee options. Voice is whistleblowing – staying within the organisation but using various channels and mechanisms to register protest and argue for change.



Quadrant 1 is 'subtle subversion' and includes lower level protest strategies such as not conforming to dress or discussion codes, undermining public/private dichotomies by, for example, bringing children to work or breastfeeding at work, challenging jokes and complaining about other discriminatory conventions. It involves resolving in one's own day to day work not to stay silent or allow instances of discriminatory communication to pass unnoticed (see Van Nostrand 1993 for examples of interventions). It includes actions that are integrated into one's personal practice in what Meyerson and Scully characterise as 'spontaneous, sometimes unremarkable expressions of authenticity that implicitly drive or even constitute change' (1995:594). An example is resisting pressures to continually work extended hours or to not take maternity leave. Quadrant 1 activities also include what Collinson describes as 'resistance by

persistence' where employees 'demand greater involvement in the organization and render management more accountable by extracting information, monitoring practices and challenging decision-making processes' (1994:25).

Quadrant 2: 'Change advocate' involves high voice strategies, the use of one's formal authority and opportunities to protest but also to lobby for change. Volunteering for high profile roles and using those roles to voice the need for gender inclusiveness are examples, as are writing papers or submissions, calling meetings and forming networks to focus attention on the need for change. The tools of 'tempered radicalism' (Meyerson and Scully 1995) include discursive courage, deconstructing the customary language of 'insiders' and showing how such language masks important issues. Interpolating gender and diversity issues within forums addressing mainstream business and strategic decision-making are key roles.

Quadrants 3 and 4 involve working for change outside one's organisation. Quadrant 3 can include active whistleblowing – leaving and making a complaint or filing a legal action. But it can also include balancing the frustrations of corporate life with working in other forums for women – speaking or getting involved in groups such as the Women's Trust or professional women's groups such as women in medicine or the law.

The model recognises that minor acts of voice and resistance are important. It also revalues the strategy of leaving an organisation by viewing it as a strategy of choosing. Giving women the label of 'leaving' sounds like failure or defeat. Research shows that the large numbers of women 'leaving' is actually a large number initiating new careers and roles which have radical outcomes on the women, their families and other women who witness this choice and sometimes replicate it.

Conclusion

I commenced this paper arguing that we should beware but not reject diversity as a way of framing and advancing women's opportunities in organisations. Diversity provides new impetus, legitimacy and resources to issues of privilege and systemic disadvantage, but it also universalises and trivialises experiences of difference and hands the 'problem' of diversity to those who are by and large only interested in incremental change.

Three tasks are central as we move into the new millenium: ensuring opportunities for women expand not contract in organisations of the new economy; working for change as well as personal career fulfilment and leadership which promotes diversity not homogeneity. For each of these issues we need to look to the pattern of critical scholarship and reflective practice that has developed out of the principles of EEO, women's and gender studies.

References

- Bradshaw, P. and Wicks, D. (1997) 'Women in the Academy: Cycles of resistance and compliance' in Prasad *et.al* *Managing the Organizational Melting Pot* Thousand Oaks: Sage: 199-225.
- Cavanaugh, J. M. (1997) '(In)corporating the Other?: Managing the politics of workplace difference' in Prasad *et.al* *Managing the Organizational Melting Pot* Thousand Oaks: Sage: 31-53.
- Cave, M. (2000) 'It's a guy thing' *Boss (Australian Financial Review) Magazine*, May: 46-47.
- Collinson, D. (1994) 'Strategies of resistance: Power, knowledge and subjectivity in the workplace' in Jermier, J., Knights, D. & Nord, W. (eds) *Resistance and Power in Organizations* London: Routledge: 25-68.
- Cox, T. (1994) 'A Comment on the Language of Diversity' *Organization* 1(1): 51-58.
- Eveline, J. (1994) 'The Politics of Advantage' *Australian Feminist Studies* 19: 129-154.
- Eveline, J. and Todd, P. (2000) 'Managing Diversity: What do students need to know about it?' Centre for Women and Business Working Paper No. 3, Graduate School of Management, University of Western Australia.
- Hage, G. (1998) *White Nation: Fantasies of white Supremacy in a Multicultural Society* Sydney: Pluto Press.
- Human Rights and Equal Opportunity Commission (1999) *Pregnant and Productive* Sydney.
- Jacques, R. (1997) 'The Unbearable Whiteness of Being' in Prasad *et.al*. *Managing the Organizational Melting Pot* Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- Linnehan, F. and Konrad, A. (1999) 'Diluting Diversity: Implications for Intergroup Inequality in Organizations' *Journal of Management Inquiry* 8(4): 399-414.
- Meyerson, D. and M. Scully (1995) 'Tempered Radicalism and the Politics of Ambivalence and Change' *Organization Science* 6(5): 585-600.
- Meyerson, D. and Fletcher, J. (1999) 'A Modest Manifesto for Shattering the Glass Ceiling' *Harvard Business Review* 78(1):127-136.
- Oseen, C. (1997) 'The Sexually Specific Subject and the Dilemma of Difference' in Prasad *et.al* *Managing the Organizational Melting Pot* Thousand Oaks: Sage: 31-53.
- Prasad, P., Mills, A., Elmes, M. and Prasad, A. (eds.) (1997) *The Organizational Melting Pot: Dilemmas of Workplace Diversity* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage.
- Thompson, E. (1994) *Fair Enough: Egalitarianism in Australia* Sydney: University of New South Wales Press.
- Reynolds, H. (1999) *Why Weren't We Told: A personal search for the truth about our history* Ringwood: Penguin.

Schreuder, D. (2000) 'Diversity the key to equality' *The Australian Higher Education Supplement* 8 March: 42.

Sinclair, A. (1995a) 'Sex and the MBA' *Organization* 2(2): 295-317.

Sinclair, A. (1995b) 'Sexuality in Leadership' *International Review of Women and Leadership* 1(2): 25-38.

Sinclair, A. (1998) *Doing Leadership Differently* Carlton: Melbourne University Press.

Stevens, M. (2000) 'Gender Agenda' *Australian Magazine* 22-23 April: 17-22.

Stringer, D. (1995) 'The Role of Women in Workplace Diversity Consulting' *Journal of Organizational Change Management* 8(1): 44-51.

Van Nostrand, C. (1993) *Gender-Responsible Leadership: Detecting Bias, Implementing Interventions* Newbury Park: Sage.