



## **LEADERSHIP NUCLEUS: A DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF GOVERNANCE DYNAMICS IN A TEXAS-BASED NONPROFIT ORGANIZATION**

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The National Center for Charitable Statistics (2004) noted that the U.S. nonprofit landscape includes 850,455 public charities, 104,276 private foundations, 463,714 other types of nonprofit organizations (i.e., chambers of commerce, fraternal organizations, and civic leagues that are registered with the IRS), and 377,640 congregations. As of 2004, nonprofits accounted for 8.3 percent of the wages and salaries paid in the United States. According to the Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies (2003), the nonprofit sector is a major economic influence in the State of Texas, where 1 out of every 25 paid workers is employed by a nonprofit. The 360,272 nonprofit employees in Texas earned over \$8.6 billion in wages as of 2000. Considering the significant socio-economic impact of nonprofits, it is important for scholars to examine leadership dynamics that affect organizational continuity and effectiveness in the charitable sector. Nonprofits can be better understood in light of the leadership that guides these organizations. This study analyzes the discourses of leadership at DY, a nonprofit organization that provides after-school reading programs to inner city, under-privileged children in a Texas metropolis.

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The United States has long been considered “the land of nonprofits” (Glaeser, 2003, p. 143), with organizations spanning a wide array of fields including religion, education, health care, arts, childcare, social services, and others (Hall, 1987; Salamon, 2003). Nonprofits (NPOs) are estimated to produce one-fifth of all American research and development, most of the economy’s human capital, many important cultural products and services, and most health care, education, and social services (Malani, Philipson, & Don, as cited in Glaeser, p. 181).

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Also, according to the Johns Hopkins Center for Civil Society Studies (2003), the nonprofit sector is a major economic influence in the State of Texas, where 1 out of every 25 paid workers is employed by a nonprofit. The 360,272 nonprofit employees in Texas earned over \$8.6 billions in wages as of 2000. While more than half, 52 percent, of nonprofit employment in the state is in the health services field, 18 percent is in social services, which includes services such as after school reading programs.

Considering the significant socio-economic impact of nonprofits, it is important for scholars to examine leadership dynamics that affect organizational continuity and effectiveness in the charitable sector. Nonprofits can be better understood in light of the leadership that guides these organizations. This study analyzes the discourses of leadership at DY, a nonprofit organization that provides after-school reading programs to inner city, under-privileged children in a Texas metropolis.

### **Theoretical, Ontological, and Epistemological Orientation**

This research project seeks to demonstrate that discourse constructs social reality and organizational processes, phenomena, and concepts, including leadership. This view is supported by an increasing number of scholars. Applying a social constructionist view to NPOs, Herman and Renz (1997) argued for “the value of treating nonprofit organizational effectiveness as a social construction” (p. 6). The authors remarked that when one assumes a social constructionist stance, concepts like “organizational effectiveness” become dependent on the actors who use these concepts. Scott (1995) eloquently echoed this concept, stating, “in the social constructionist view, individuals do not discover the world and its ways, but collectively invent them” (p. 50).

Putnam and Pacanowsky (1983) advocated the use of qualitative studies to better understand the role of organizational communication from a social constructionist perspective. One strategy suggested as a means for researching organizations is implementing discourse analysis. Following that call, the last two decades have witnessed a surge in the number of discourse analysis studies covering numerous areas: leadership (Fairhurst, 2007; Grint, 2000), conflict management and negotiations (Putnam, 2004, 2005; Putnam et al., 2005), organizational communication (Putnam & Fairhurst, 2001; Putnam, Phillips, & Chapman, 1996), decision making (Mauws, 2000), organizational change (Heracleous & Barrett, 2001), identity management (Phillips & Hardy, 1997), inter-organizational collaboration (Phillips, Lawrence, & Hardy, 2000), collaboration and conflict (Hardy & Phillips, 1998); organizational discourse (Alvesson & Karreman, 2000; Chia, 2000; Grant, Keenoy, & Oswick, 1998; Hardy, 2001), discourse and social change (Fairclough, 1992), critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 1995), and organizational storytelling (Boje, 1995).

Ontologically, in discourse analysis organizations are viewed as social constructions formed at the intersection of discursive interactions among organizational actors. Phillips and Hardy (2002) claimed that the world (i.e., organizations) cannot be known separate from discourse. Discourse analysis examines how language constructs

phenomena (e.g., leadership) in organizations. Fairclough (1992) stated that “discourses do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct and constitute them” (p. 3). Phillips and Hardy (2002) added that while other methodological approaches “interpret or understand social reality as it is,” discourse analysis exposes the ways in which reality is produced and how it is maintained over time (p. 6).

Epistemologically, discourse analysis provides the strategies necessary to unpack and explain the production of social reality by indicating how language is constitutive rather than representative or reflective. Discourse analysis is conducive to reflexivity on the part of researchers, who incorporate their own research method and practices into the study itself. Holland (1999) highlighted the benefits of increased reflexivity enabling researchers to see how their investigation processes shapes the outcomes of their research. Finally, discourse analysis is “subversive” in that it challenges entrenched assumptions about organizations, processes, society, and relations (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Knowledge about organizations is contested, created, and procured through discourse and analysis of discourse.

In organizational communication, Fairhurst and Putnam (2004) promoted the social constructionist view in their article on organizations as complex discursive constructions. According to these authors, researchers typically adopt three main orientations in the relationship between language and organizations:

- Object – this orientation “casts the organization as an already formed object or entity with discursive features and outcomes” (Fairhurst & Putnam, 2004, p. 9). Organizations produce discourse. Discourse is an artifact, and the organization is a black box that records these discourses.
- Becoming – this orientation presents the organization in a continuous state of becoming and discourse as being formative. Organizations are presented through *organizing*, which takes place in sharing of power/knowledge systems between various organizational actors. The use of language and the interaction processes produce organizing or the becoming effect.
- Grounded in action – this orientation looks at organizations as anchored in action and discursive forms. Organizations emerge from the association between humans and objects who produce and reproduce the social system.

This study adopts the perspective of the “becoming orientation” in that discursive exchanges between key actors constitute the process of organizing; leadership is not static, but is evolving and morphing as individuals interact with each other. Fairhurst and Putnam (2004) captured the connection between discourse and organizational processes, phenomena, and concepts:

Discourse exists prior to organizations because the properties of language and interaction produce organizing. Specifically, organizing emerges through linguistic forms that signal relational differences (such as, requests versus commands), align group members into categories (high status versus low status),

legitimate actions (affirm versus reject), enact powerful versus powerless speech forms (for instance, interruption, hesitations, nonfluencies, forms of address), or signal domination (specifically, monopolizing turn taking and controlling topic shifts). This perspective, then, actively rejects the role of language as an artifact and embraces discourse as constituting the micro- and macro-aspects of organizations. (p. 13)

Thus, organizational processes, phenomena, and concepts such as leadership can be understood as the creation of interacting individuals who invoke and manage specific discourses.

While there is an increase in the number of qualitative leadership studies (Alvesson & Sveningsson, 2003; Bryman, 2004) and leadership studies as discursive constructions (Fairhurst, 2007; Grint, 2000), most leadership research, especially in the United States, is still anchored in the positivist camp of traditional empiricist methods (Conger, 1998; Knights & Willmott, 1992). The traditional empiricist studies firmly demarcate leadership at the intersection of individual and situation (Grint, 2000). The positivist epistemology looks at language as reflective of reality. Communication simply reflects and describes leadership. Leadership becomes static with boundaries rigidly delineated.

### **Leadership in Nonprofit Organizations (NPOs)**

The leadership studies in NPOs are no exception. Two major schools of thought dominate the NPO leadership domain. On the one hand, *the BOD-centered leadership model* of the traditional prescriptive literature claims that the board of directors (BOD) has the ultimate organizational power, while the Executive Director (ED) is hired to serve and implement the purposes of the BOD (Carver, 1997; O'Connell, 1976). On the other hand, *the ED-centered leadership model* of more recent empirical studies presents an emerging model that posits the ED at the top of the leadership hierarchy and the BOD somewhere toward its periphery (Herman & Heimovics, 1991).

#### **BOD-Centered Leadership**

The prescriptive literature on NPO leadership points to the BOD as the actual leadership in nonprofits (Carver, 1997, 2000, 2001). The BOD leadership constitutes the hierarchical model of leadership in NPOs (Conrad & Glenn, 1986; O'Connell, 1976). This model places the ultimate responsibility on the shoulders of the BOD (Herman, 1989). The legal perspective on NPOs supports this hierarchical, traditional, normative, and prescriptive approach. The BOD has ultimate legal power, and the Board Chair (BC) can delegate responsibilities to the ED (Oleck, 1986). The BOD is at the top of the hierarchy, and the ED works under the BOD's jurisdiction.

This traditional BOD-centered model relies on the assumptions of the "managed system" theory, which holds five propositions (Elmore, 1978):

- Organizations have goals;
- All the parts of the organizations operate as unitary, rational actors;

- Hierarchical control leads to rational unity of action;
- The top of the hierarchy is responsible for managing operations and achieving goals;
- Effective management is characterized by effective information gathering, scheduling tasks for optimal goal attainment, and monitoring performance and goal attainment.

This model is the type of structured and regimented thinking that has encouraged NPO practitioners and consultants like Carver (1997, 2000, 2001) to create the Policy Governance Model. Under Carver's leadership model, the BOD provides vision for the NPO, defines the ends (the goals or the human needs that need to be met), defines the means (the limits or boundaries for the ED and staff), clarifies its relationship with the ED (how it delegates authority to ED and how it evaluates the ED), and determines its own philosophy, accountability, and specifics of the BOD job. The BOD is the leader. Both the BC and the ED are under the BOD. The BC and the ED are instruments of the BOD. The ED specifically works for the BOD. Carver (2001) suggested that the BOD should engage in rigorous and formal monitoring of the ED performance; the board should demand the ED "to prove" his/her information and reports. According to Carver (2000), all the NPO problems are rooted in the BOD either rejecting or partially implementing the Policy Governance Model.

Along similar lines, O'Connell (1976) delineated the separation of ED and BOD roles, pointing out that the ED supports the BC. Leduc (1999) suggested that the BC-ED relationship is transient since an ED will experience several BCs during his/her tenure. The conclusion of his study noted that it is the ED's responsibility to adapt to the style of the new BC. This was confirmed by Eadie (2001), who mentioned that proactive leadership on the part of the ED is necessary when dealing with the transient nature of the ED-BC relationship. Also, Eadie added that the role of the ED is to support the BC by providing key information and sharing his/her knowledge about the NPO. The author argued that the role of the BC includes but is not limited to: orienting BOD, representing the NPO to the community, holding leadership responsibilities, leading the NPO with the BOD, recruiting new BOD members, holding ED accountable, overseeing all the committees, and motivating the NPO board and staff. O'Connell (1976) also delineated the duties of the ED: serving as expert and source of information for the BOD, assisting the BC, managing the staff, and fundraising.

The general leadership roles of the BOD are summed up as inspiring, leading, governing, fundraising, reporting, accounting, conducting public relations, monitoring activities, and rewarding/motivating key players in the NPO (Carver, 2000, 2001; O'Connell, 1976). The BOD leads and the ED manages. This clear separation of duties is outlined in several other studies (Axelrod, 1994; Chait et al., 1996; Eadie, 2001).

Scholars typically agree that the BOD-ED relationship is characterized by tensions between the BOD's role of nurturing and supporting the ED and the BOD's role of monitoring and assessing the ED's performance. Chait et al. (1996) remarked that EDs considered the BC's nurturance of the ED as the most important contribution of the BC toward the effectiveness of the NPO. The debate arises from deciding which of the two parties has the upper-hand or political leverage in the leadership equation of the NPO. Traditionally, scholars and practitioners have claimed that the BOD fills the leadership

position in the NPO. However, in the last fifteen years, more scholars have challenged the traditional view and contended that the BOD-centered leadership model is too broad, seldom fully achievable, and lacks a complete account of the multiple roles other organizational actors play (Herman & Heimovics, 1990). These scholars have proposed an alternative and narrower ED-dominant leadership model. Middleton's (1987) review of the empirical literature revealed three chief findings: BODs often fail to do their job, the BOD-ED becomes an ambiguous boss/employee relationship, and the ED sometimes surfaces as the de facto leader. This accumulation of empirical evidence points to the ED as the leader in the NPO (Herman & Heimovics, 1990, 1991).

### **ED-Centered Leadership**

Herman and Heimovics (1991) are influential scholars in challenging the BOD-dominant leadership model while advancing an ED-centric leadership alternative:

The traditional view of the NPOs with the board at the top is a reflection of much of contemporary management theory and practice. This theory is based upon a hierarchical logic and certain assumptions about rational action... however, the reality of nonprofit organizational life is that it is much more dynamic than the traditional, hierarchical model. (p. 129)

According to the authors, the empirical evidence points to an alternative, emerging model that establishes the ED as a key player in the leadership of NPOs. In a similar study, Herman and Heimovics (1990, p. 168) added, "in spite of the wide-spread popularity of the prescriptive standards, the actual performance of boards often seems to fall short of the ideal." Based on their research and observations, the authors challenged the hierarchical model and concluded that the BOD is highly dependent upon the ED for information.

Moreover, the ED has stronger motivations for the success of the organization since his/her job is at stake. Reporting the results of their empirical studies, Herman and Heimovics (1990) remarked that the EDs are considered responsible for the success of the NPO, while BCs see themselves as of little influence with regard to organizational outcomes. EDs are more powerful and influential than the BOD because they have access to the information and the expertise, which the BOD often lacks. Herman and Heimovics (1990, 1991) remarked that the ED has better leadership skills than the BOD. Often, the BODs fail to assume their obligations, and it becomes the duty of the ED to help BODs meet their responsibilities (Herman & Heimovics, 1991). The authors' empirical evidence resulted in their conclusion that EDs, "not boards, are centrally responsible for the success and failure in nonprofit organizations" (Herman & Heimovics, p. 112).

Therefore, EDs are "generally assumed to be the principal agent of success or failure in their organizations, even though it is usually much more difficult to assess the connection between leadership action and outcomes in nonprofit organizations than in business" (Herman & Heimovics, 1991, p. 30). These authors added that "the board has ultimate hierarchical authority and is the executive's boss, though seldom the center of leadership responsibility" (Herman & Heimovics, p. 90):

Nonprofit chief executives are centrally responsible for the success and failure of their organizations. The unique position they hold is based on a leadership of responsibilities rather than a leadership of formal authority. This central leadership position does not square with the traditional managed system which places ultimate responsibility and authority with the board. Especially effective chief executives have discovered how to deal with this paradox. They have created and enacted an alternative model. (p. 128)

This argument is further supported by O'Connell's (1976) criticism of the traditional model, which artificially assigns leadership to the BOD and management to the staff (ED):

The worst illusion ever perpetrated in the nonprofit field is that the board of directors makes policy and the staff carries it out. This is just not so. The board, with the help of the staff, makes policy, and the board, with the help of the staff, carries it out. Unless volunteers are committed and involved in the action phase of the organization, the agency cannot develop, and in fact, should not be characterized as a voluntary organization. Also, it is naïve to assume that the staff doesn't have considerable influence – usually too much – on policy formulation. (p. 44)

O'Connell seems to have crossed the bridge between Carver's (1997) traditional, prescriptive, normative BOD-centered leadership model and the emerging alternative ED-centered leadership model promoted by Herman and Heimovics (1991). Leadership in NPOs is presented as a complex set of relationships and interactions between staff and board, which Middleton (1987) labeled a set of "strange loops and tangled hierarchies" (p. 149).

Chait et al. (2005) observed that some NPOs seem to operate under the alternative ED-centered leadership model. The prescriptive, hierarchical model proved to be ineffective since complex governing issues cannot be reduced down to simple aphorisms. What NPOs are seeing today is that more EDs are providing leadership and that a portion of the governance portfolio seems to have migrated to the executive suite (Chait et al.). According to this recent model, the BODs have been left behind. Chait et al. stated they would like to see more BOD leadership, but said they are cautious in delineating relative power between BODs and EDs since previous attempts to distribute formal authority between BOD and ED have led to stalemates. Chait et al. called for renewed intellectual effort to re-conceptualize NPO governance in light of new knowledge about leadership and organizations.

Responding to these authors' call, I concur that the BOD-centered leadership model is often ineffective since it is too broad and, sometimes, non-realistic. When twenty or more unpaid board members seek to govern an organization, they risk experiencing role ambiguity (Middleton, 1987) and conflict (Duta, 2008). The leadership becomes diffused among many players, and the board as a whole may lose effectiveness (Duta, 2008). In these situations of leadership ambiguity, the ED might emerge as the de facto leader, as several scholars have noted (Middleton, 1987; Herman & Heimovics, 1990, 1991).

At the same time, I contend that the new ED-centered model does not satisfy either since it is too narrow and exclusive. To their credit, Herman and Heimovics (1990, 1991) have taken steps in the right direction by moving away from the prescriptive BOD-centered leadership models. However, this study posits that they have not pushed their model far enough. A powerful ED might temporarily run the BOD, but in the final analysis it is the BOD that hires and/or fires the ED (Duta, 2008). The legal roles of accountability, governance, and purposing assumed by the BOD and the execution, management, and functioning assumed by the ED automatically complicate an ED-centric leadership model (Duta, 2008).

New research needs to re-examine leadership in NPOs by sorting the complex, tangled web of relationships between the BC as representative of the BOD and the ED as representative of the staff. A new relational model promises to illuminate how leadership is constructed through the discursive interplay of EDs, BCs, and the rest of the BOD (i.e., the Vice Chair or VC). This study advances a third alternative, which presents the Executive Director-Board Chair (ED-BC) interactions as *the NPO leadership nucleus model*, one that is not static or hierarchal but a relational dynamic (Duta, 2008; Hiland, 2006; Leduc, 1999). This model seeks to account for the organic nature of the ED-BC relationship as well as the fluidity that these two roles actually experience in the nonprofits.

### **ED/BC-Centered Leadership: The Leadership Nucleus Model**

The U.S. Internal Revenue Code states that the volunteer BC serves as the “CEO” and assumes full legal responsibility along with the rest of the BOD. The BC is the chief volunteer who is responsible for guiding the board in setting policy. However, as the NPO grows, so does the need to hire a full time, professional “CEO” or ED. This ED runs the daily operations of the NPO, while the BC continues to assume legal responsibility for the welfare of the organization as the main volunteer.

Few if any research studies focus directly on the influence the BC-ED tandem has on the processes and outcomes of NPOs. However, snap shots and fragments of the literature seem to indicate that leadership in NPOs is a complex relationship that should not be dismissively attributed to one single person (i.e., the ED) (Herman & Heimovics, 1991; Zald, 1965) or to a formalized, highly structured, and detached body of people (i.e., the BOD) (Carver, 1997) frozen in an organizational hierarchy’s top positions.

Umbdenstock et al. (1990) stated that effective NPO leadership happens when policy and management are meshed harmoniously. The authors added that since the BC and ED are the most visible leaders of the NPO, they should be accessible to each other, synchronize their agendas and goals, develop a personal relationship, and communicate openly and often. Also, Conrad & Glenn (1980) pointed to an ED-BC partnership as valuable to the leadership process in NPOs.

Scholars agree that the ED-BC dynamic is integral to the success of NPOs (Chait, Holland, & Taylor, 1996; Eadie, 2001; Leduc, 1999; Hiland, 2006). The BC is supposed to work with the ED in building the BOD, and the BC operates as the bridge between the BOD and the ED (Chait et al.). The importance of the ED-BC dynamic was eloquently captured by Chait et al., who stated that the ED and BC “must learn how to ‘dance’ together... If board meetings are orchestrated, then the [BC] might be viewed as the



conductor and the CEO or [ED] as the featured soloist. Neither can stray far from each other's gaze nor proceed independently" (p. 123). Thus, the coordinated interplays between the BC and the ED become critical to the NPO leadership.

This study goes a step further, positing that the ED-BC relationship constitutes the leadership nucleus of NPOs. This is somewhat reminiscent of Mintzberg's (1980) "strategic apex," which pointed to the BOD and CEO at the top of the partnership in the for-profit organizations. The challenge with Mintzberg's terminology is in the artificial hierarchical positioning that connotes an element of rigidity, which does not properly reflect the more fluid, flexible, and amorphous leadership process of nonprofits.

There are several differences between leadership in nonprofits and for-profits. First, Chief Executive Officers (CEOs) are highly visible in for-profit corporations. In contrast, EDs in some NPOs are relegated to a less visible position as compared to their counterparts in for-profit organizations. NPOs have traditionally tried to downplay the role of the ED in a spirit of equality and democracy, which seems to characterize the voluntary sector (Allison, 2002).

Second, CEOs in for-profit organizations often occupy an official position on the board of directors. Moreover, the CEO might also share the BC role; this "dual role" only increases the power and visibility of the CEO in the for-profit organizations. In nonprofit agencies, the ED is rarely a board member, though he/she attends the board meetings and is expected by the board to provide valuable input. The ED sits in the board meetings but does not formally serve on the board.

Finally, a significant difference between the leadership in the two sectors is the unmatched degree of freedom and autonomy that nonprofit BODs, BCs, and EDs enjoy in contrast to the more restricted and constrained for-profit BODs and CEOs (Glaeser, 2003). NPOs are quasi-self-regulating due to the marketplace dynamics of resource scarcity. The constant vigilance of donors or clients keeps the NPOs relatively honest. On the other hand, the for-profit sector is heavily regulated due to the propensity of some CEOs and other key organizational actors to cross the boundaries of ethos. The SEC operates as a monitoring organizational agent for the for-profit sector. Due to these unique attributes, the ED/BC dynamic in NPOs promises to be significant and intriguing.

This paper presents the ED-BC leadership nucleus as an amorphous concept that cannot easily be pinned down on hierarchical charts. This dynamic relationship happens openly as well as covertly. This model seeks to account for the fluidity of the ED/BC roles in nonprofits. The cacophonous or harmonious, public or private, convergent or divergent ED and BC voices constitute key components that are worthy of examination in the process of leadership.

## Methodology

This research project adopts the case study methodology. Qualitative research is rooted in the naturalistic paradigm, which assumes that the researcher cannot be separated from the context that he/she studies (Dahlberg et al., 2001). Reality is understood in context, and the research subjects need to be studied in situ (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). The case study method helps the researcher understand the context, which provides the foundation for the data collection, the data analysis, the findings, and the purpose of the study (Yin, 2003). Moreover, the case study method is best suited when

unpacking “complex social phenomena” (i.e., leadership) since case studies “retain the holistic and meaningful characteristics of real-life events” (Yin, 1994, p. 3).

This study analyzes governance dynamics at DY, a mid-size (half-million dollar annual budget) nonprofit organization working with inner-city children in a Texas metropolis. DY started as a ministry outreach of an evangelical church back in the early nineties. In the late nineties and early 2000s, DY branched out and became an independent nonprofit organization. DY offers an after-school program designed to inspire, equip, and guide urban youth to excel academically, overcome generational poverty, and become contributing members to their community.

Organizationally, DY has a program director, a cadre of volunteer tutors, an ED, and a BOD. The BOD has twenty-five diverse members who hold positions of influence in the State of Texas: university professors, accountants, lawyers, bankers, corporate CEOs, oil business investors, various business owners (car dealerships and restaurants), and ministers. Don Pitt, the BC and also an oil business investor, sits on all the committees and works closely with Jo Hanson, the ED. In 2004, the ED decided to retire. The BC and the majority of the BOD engaged in a vigorous year-long campaign in an attempt to persuade the ED to stay. She stayed another year, but eventually she left the ED position in September of 2005. This case study will examine the interplay between the ED, BC, and other BOD members surrounding the ED’s resignation event.

### **Confidentiality Issues**

This study has been approved by the IRB and has met the standards for protection of the research subjects. In addition, the names of the organization and its participant members have been changed to respect confidentiality.

### **Data Collection**

The corpus of data for the study comes from in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Interviewees totaled 13 members, including the ED, BC, VC, other key BOD members, and senior staff. The interview guide focused on the topic of leadership as filtered through the actors’ roles with the organization, the actors’ specific leadership roles, the actors’ relationships with each other, and the ED-BC relationship as perceived, described, and shaped by all the members interviewed including the ED and the BC.

The interviews ranged from 45 to 120 minutes and were taped with the permission of the participants. The interviews were transcribed, and over 800 pages of double-spaced text were generated. The researcher arrived at theoretical saturation (Creswell, 1998) after the first six interviews (which included the ED, the BC, the VC, and three other interviewees), but continued with the remaining seven in order to increase the validity of interpretations.

### **Data Analysis**

The unit of analysis is the participants’ discourses as captured in the transcribed interviews. In light of discourse analysis, the researcher was situated in the close-range interest of discourse determination. The study’s angle is social linguistic analysis, which

is constructivist and text-based (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). In other words, the analyst stayed close to the text while also being heedful of the context.

The transcribed interviews were analyzed qualitatively according to the analytic coding method (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The transcriptions were read and re-read line-by-line to gain familiarity with the data. Next, the texts were manually coded to capture the leadership nucleus theme. Additional and copious notes were taken by hand on the margins of the transcripts and on separate blank sheets. Memos to self were also generated in order to grasp the data at a conceptual level and to see emerging general patterns. The coding process was inductive as new fragments of data were constantly compared to previous segments of data in terms of similarities and differences. This allowed themes that represented repeating patterns of meaning to emerge.

To ensure validity for the coding scheme, an additional research assistant was trained and employed to code the interviews. The two analyses were triangulated through discussions during and at the conclusion of the coding process. The few minor differences that emerged were quickly eliminated after semantic clarifications. The coding and the categories proved to be consistent. Throughout the analysis, the researcher stayed close to the text and engaged in grounded theory development (Strauss & Corbin, 1998) so that the text informed the development of theory.

## Results

Jo, the ED, and Don, the BC, are locked in an amicable tandem as they jockeyed for centrality within the leadership nucleus. Though there seemed to be friction, as well as questions about who is the main leader at DY, both Don and Jo depended and relied upon each other.

As mentioned in a previous section of the paper, DY was founded in the nineties as a ministry outreach for an evangelical church in a Texas metropolis. In 2001 with Jo at the forefront, DY spun off from the founding church and became a bona fide, stand-alone nonprofit organization. During this inception phase, the ED, Jo, was portrayed by Don as the young idealist divinely called for grand purposes. Her idealism, however, seemed to be offset by implied notions of naiveté (DP 14).

What Jo had was a sense of purpose. She, she was doing what she had been doing for the DY (pause) because she felt called to do it. (Pause) Now for whatever the reasons she may have felt called, I can't get into those (um), I am sure that based upon Jo's relationship with God that she felt it was her duty or that she was being called by God to do that. There may have been other aspects to it... there may have been some sort of romantic notions to it in her mind which would be hard to understand because, you know, she was, she is young.

Jo spearheaded the transition from the initial church-based organization to an independent, autonomous nonprofit. As proof of the ED's preeminence in the governance process, Don credited Jo for selecting him to join the DY board. Don's joining the board of the new entity was a direct result of Jo's decision and initiatives (DP 14).

She became executive director in the intervening period and then she invited me to come back to the board of directors after she had been serving for some period of time, a year, maybe, or a little longer.

Don described the relationship he and Jo shared in terms of a dynamic vertical-horizontal tension. The verticality of their BC-ED relationship due to his seniority and professional experience was balanced by the horizontal friendship/partnership they had prior to DY becoming a 501(c)3 nonprofit (DP 14).

My relationship with her was and is more of a, uh, um, co-worker and friend. (Pause) To some extent there was a vertical relationship, same type of verticality, same type of verticality that exists anytime you have someone that has more experience than someone else. (Um) but it is mostly as a friend and fellow worker.

Jo seemed to concur as she positioned herself and Don in a similar vertical-horizontal relationship of mentor-mentored. Don coached and guided Jo, but it was Jo who initiated the mentoring relationship in the first place (JH 283).

I felt like it was collaborative. I was never forced to do anything I was not on board with; do you know what I'm saying? Whether it's the board chair in his isolated world creating policy, or if it's me as the ED in my isolated world creating policy – no. We met weekly and spent hours in our meetings discussing. His job was the mentor me, to make me think, and it was all collaborative. I asked him to come mentor me. I didn't do anything I disagreed with.

Their relationship was collaborative. Jo invited Don's guidance; however, she critically filtered and processed his input (JH 311-317).

The high-level strategic things, of course, were done collaboratively, and with Don's strong insightfulness, absolutely. The day-to-day stuff – he wasn't micromanaging. Well I wouldn't have wanted the job if I couldn't cast my vision.

The picture of the leadership nucleus at DY acquired intriguing nuances when Lana, the VC, presented the whole board and the ED-BC relationship through the lenses of an organism metaphor. The leadership nucleus was presented in terms of a mind versus heart set of relationship. Don was cast as the master architect, while Jo provided the organizational pathos (LD 420-438).

(Um) but I would say there was a pretty high trust level. It was a (pause) this whole thing was an organism that basically emanated from Don Pitt, and so, I'd say there was a, you know, there was a trust level. OK, the whole board is the organism. The brain was Don, and the heart was Jo. (Laughter)

In 2004, after four years of hard work as ED of DY, Jo became burned out and started the resignation and succession process. "I was weary, you know, we worked hard

to create this organism, and (um), it had plateaued, and so it was time for me to move on” (JH 72). Further demonstrating the ED’s influence, Jo emerged as the chief and sole player who set the entire leadership succession process in motion. She was the one who decided to resign despite the board’s desire for Jo to continue as ED. The board tried to “bribe” Jo with more pay and time off. She even took a three month paid sabbatical as a time to re-charge and re-consider. To the surprise of the board, after returning from her sabbatical at the end of August 2005, Jo gave her two-week notice. September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2005 was her last day as ED of DY.

Don was the one who masterminded and successfully persuaded Jo to maintain her connection with DY by becoming the new BC in order to “maintain a sense of continuity in the leadership” (DP 248). In the words of Don (DP 252-262) the reader can see the significant role the ED-BC tandem played in the succession process:

Certainly Jo was, was influential in that she was the one who set it all in motion. She was very influential in the whole process of succession. My guess is, and this maybe (pause) a case of me being guilty of thinking that I played a role, of thinking that I played a bigger role in this than I actually did. Putting her into the ED’s role is probably my idea. (Um) but she was willing to do it. She understood that it allowed her to stay close to something that she had helped to create. And she understood the benefits of it, and (um) she was willing to do it.

Jo’s joyous response was not surprising given her love for DY, the nonprofit that she helped start and nurture (JH 80):

Don’s invitation struck me with two emotions (uh) subsequent, (uh) simultaneous, one being excitement, that I could kind of have my cake and eat it too, you know. I could kind of go away and be released from the drudgery of day in and day out of what had become of the ED job, and I still would be able to function in a leadership capacity at the organization that I’ve been very passionate about, now in the new BC capacity.

However, Jo’s enthusiasm was not shared by Lana, the VC. Lana was quite critical of Jo, whom she considered a weak leader (LD 420-438).

I think it’s like a dysfunctional parent-child relationship. The child (Jo) is so crippled, the parent (Don) has no idea they’ve done that. At some point in time the wheels come off, and that’s when Jo became, um, I mean, she supposedly needed a sabbatical. So the board gives her, which I didn’t really agree with, but the board gives her I think it was a 3-month paid sabbatical. And she comes back from it and quits! The sabbatical was supposed to refresh her, and she was going to give so much more back to the organization, and she comes back and quits. Basically she got away from it long enough to see that this was not what she wanted to do.

The resignation of Jo from ED and her “promotion” to BC was perceived by Lana as Don’s strategic maneuvering. Don was a masterful communicator. Lana believed that

Don's discourse indicated that he was a master strategist and that Jo was ignorant of his machinations. For Lana, the meaning of these organizational re-configurations was that Don operated as a puppeteer and Jo was his puppet (LD 420-438).

You can only prop somebody up so long, if they are not standing on their own two feet, they all kind of fall over, and that's what I believe happened to Jo. She was heavily pressured to take the chairman position because it was becoming, I think, incredibly obvious that Don was pulling all the strings, and he wanted to not have that perception. So, he wanted to just back away, and he figured he could do his puppet thing from, from a board position.

Jo explained the forceful reaction of Lana, the VC (JH 466):

I think there might have been some jealousy. I believe that Lana wanted to move up and become the next BC. The fact that Don stepped down and appointed me as the new BC did not agree with her. Also, she was an extreme control freak and did not like the idea that the ED who responded to her previously was now becoming her "superior" since I accepted the BC position. And, to compound the problem, the fact that I am over ten years her junior only exacerbated the situation. No wonder Lana tried to undermine my credibility as past ED in order to undermine my future effectiveness as the new BC. I am sure she thought that I was young and impotent as ED.

Don had different opinions. Don credited the ED position with a chief role in the leadership equation of the NPO (DP 324): "the executive director is uh, very, very, very important. I want to say the only important thing... very, very, very important." According to Don's comments, it seemed that Jo was anything but a puppet (DP 298-320):

Let's get one thing out. The board doesn't do anything without the executive director. Period. Anybody that wants to claim otherwise is flat wrong. What the board does, the board shows up once a month, once a quarter, or periodically, and they sit around, they plot, they lay a few eggs, and then they go back to their daily lives. The executive director is there day in and day out. That's where it all works. The board is committed to the organization the way a chicken is committed to the breakfast table: it lays an egg, and then it goes back to the barnyard. The executive director puts the bacon on the table. That means the executive director lives, eats, sleeps, breathes, and dies with the organization. Nothing works unless the executive director works. I tell you that the body of research that says "board, board, board" is a bunch of horse hocky. The ED is the lynch pin. The board is there to support the organization, and the executive director is the organization. Jo did a superb job as ED, and I was happy to keep her around as the new BC.

This succession phase of the leadership process at DY cast Don and Jo as the dominant actors with the most influential voices. Their calculations and actions were consequential for DY. Jo was a great initiator. Don responded well. Don seemed

respectful of the ED position. Also, Jo responded well to the BC's mentoring style. The two of them, ED and BC, constituted the leadership nucleus of DY.

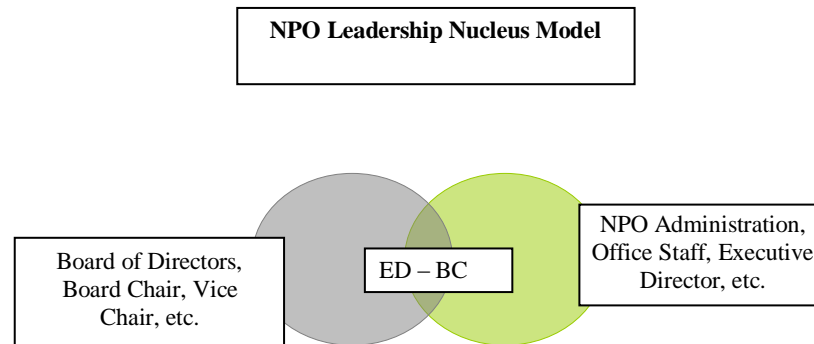
### Discussion

Aphorisms, simplistic a-b-c formulas, and pre-canned strategies fail to provide answers to the dilemmas present on the boards of nonprofits. Discourse analysis is an effective tool that disentangles the knots present in the nonprofit governance dynamics. The disentangling process is arduous. But the results help researchers elucidate what Fairhurst (2007) called the protean tendencies of leadership, or "the elusive, unwieldy, mutable, and maddening error variance in leadership."

This case study analysis illustrates how leadership is a contested process of influence and meaning management, a process sustained discursively through the interplay among key organizational actors (BC, ED, and VC). It is through the collapsing of meanings and the meshing of voices that leadership takes place. Leadership is a convoluted and messy process constructed and sustained by the discourses of key nucleic actors. The ED and the BC stand out as consequential and critical actors in the NPO. By leveraging the board as an outlet, the ED and BC voices collide, converge, and co-author the process of leadership. Their positions galvanize the other organizational members to communicate and act. At the same time, the ED/BC positions are shaped and influenced by the communication and actions of other members.

The contribution of this study rests in the ED-BC leadership nucleus metaphor itself. The metaphor opens a world of possibilities in terms of unpacking and understanding NPO governance dynamics. This study challenged the traditional normative BOD-centered leadership model (Carver, 1997) and even the alternative emergent ED-centered leadership model (Herman & Heimovics, 1991) for being too broad or too narrow, respectively, and not fully reflecting the leadership reality of NPOs. In contrast, the relational leadership nucleus model captures the nuances and subtleties of the ED-BC interactions and their effect on the leadership reality of the organization. This study shows that leadership in situ is a complex process enacted discursively by powerful organizational actors huddled around the ED/BC nucleus.

This study proposes a nucleus metaphor for characterizing ED, BC, and BOD relationships in nonprofits (Figure 1). The nucleus is not at the top but rather hidden and nested in the heart of the organization. Expanding the biology metaphor, the nucleus is a central part around which other organizational parts gravitate.



*Figure 1.* NPO Leadership Nucleus Model

Thus, this model is not about an ED-BC partnership per se; rather, it centers on the two ED-BC voices, harmonious or cacophonous, and the way in which they combine or collide with each other and other voices (i.e., other influential BOD members) during the leadership process.

The nucleus contains the cell's genetic material and governs the cell's activities such as growth, development, metabolism, and reproduction. Likewise, the BC-ED tandem contributes to the fundamental nature of the NPO through policy-setting, vision-casting, leadership succession planning, fundraising, and operational processes managing. The ED's sphere of influence focuses on the operations, staff, and organizational clients, while the BC's sphere encompasses the board, the moral owners, and an array of various external stakeholders. The ED-BC nucleus bridges the various parts of an NPO, thus both reflecting and shaping the "genetic" essence of the organization. The NPO Leadership Nucleus Model both reflects and influences the organizational ends and means, or the organizational purposing and performing functions, captured in the ED-BC tandem.

Finally, the nucleus has a porous membrane that allows the passage of molecules and particles. Continuing the metaphor, the ED-BC combination is a dynamic relationship that is subject to change as new BCs and EDs join the organization or as other influential board members come in and out of the picture. It is even possible to assume that various organizational actors could also step in or slip out of the ED and BC roles even though they may not share the titles formally. Future studies could pay closer attention to the roles that VCs and other influential BOD members (i.e., the bigger donors on the board) play in light of the leadership nucleus model.

### **Limitations and Future Research**



There are three main limitations to this present work. First, this study looks at only one organization, and this makes it challenging in terms of transferability, which is a valuable aspect of qualitative research. A comparative case study with two or more cases can improve the degree of transferability for the findings. A future research project can look at DY in comparison to another similar nonprofit in order to detect patterns, similarities, and differences. Also, future studies can rely on hybrid methodologies that will invite triangulation with surveys and statistical analysis of larger samples. At that point, the findings can move beyond transferability and be ready for actual generalizations.

The second limitation resonates with the previous one. Unique aspects of DY—such as being a young, faith-based, start-up nonprofit—might have made it more likely that a highly collaborative governance system would emerge during the early stages of the organization. Also, the fact that Don and Jo shared a friendship prior to Jo's assuming the ED position might have primed them for collaborating more than usual. Future studies should seek to identify organizations whose EDs and BCs did not share a prior relationship. These studies could also look at older and more established faith-based and secular nonprofits.

Finally, the time window captured in the study is narrow. Elongating the time span to capture the leadership dynamics during and post leadership succession as part of a phase analysis would only enrich the research. What happened to the leadership nucleus after Don stepped down as BC? Was he still a voice of influence? What about his wife who became the interim ED? How did she and Jo, the new BC, mesh? How was the leadership nucleus sustained discursively by the new actors with their new roles? Were there other voices that contributed to the leadership process during the interim phase? The same questions apply to the post-succession phase when a permanent ED was hired.

Future studies can examine leadership succession and dialectical tensions as the focal point of the research. What effect does the leadership nucleus have on the succession process? How is the succession process influencing the leadership nucleus during various phases of the succession process (pre-, interim, and post-succession)?

There are several tensions that emerged during the interviews: mind-heart, vertical-horizontal, boss-peer, and master-puppet. The research in organizational studies points to dialectical tensions as motors for change (Poole & Van de Van, 2004). A future research project could intersect the study of dialectics with the leadership nucleus model and succession of leadership. A future research question might ask about the dialectical tensions experienced by the BC and the ED during the leadership succession process in the NPO. The study could then examine the strategic choices employed by the ED/BC nucleus in managing these dialectical tensions and ushering change.

### **Practical Applications**

Studying leadership in NPOs is valuable given the significant economic size of the nonprofit environment. Paying attention to the role of communication and the strategic relationship shared by the BC and the ED makes the research useful and beneficial to scholars and practitioners alike.

Practitioners will benefit from viewing leadership as a process that is discursively enacted and sustained by relational dynamics of key actors. The nucleus model captures

the changing and amorphous nature of leadership as a process. The nuclei of leadership change and morph based on the roles, experiences, skills, political agendas, and motivations that various actors share across time. As a result, different nucleic combinations lead to different organizational consequences.

In a moment of candid self-reflection during our interview, Jo, the ED who resigned and became BC, commented on the importance of being sensitive to the leadership nucleus model because of the effects different relational structures have on organizational outcomes, including leadership succession (JH 745-753):

I don't think we were as cognizant of the existent leadership nucleus as we should have been... and we did not pay attention to the implications of what different nucleic structures would imply... (Um) maybe I would have been more aggressive regarding my exit (uh) and with the transition of information. And if I thought there was any chance that the successor would have failed me – especially if I stay in a leadership role in the organization, and the successor failed me – then I would have paid more attention to these dynamics! So, if you start with that foundation, when you stumble and flounder, it's only because of communication!

For practitioners and organizational consultants, the initial lessons that emerged from this study can be captured in a concise list:

1. Map out carefully the relational ties among organizational actors.
  - a. Examine closely the ED-BC relationship and the connections other actors share with the ED-BC nucleus.
2. Appreciate the architectonic qualities of communication.
  - a. Listen attentively to the collaborating and competing discourses huddled around the ED-BC nucleus; these voices drive the organization
3. Realize that leadership is a complex process that cannot be easily distilled to simple formulas.
  - a. Be ready to cope with the unpredictable elements, contradicting discourses, and ambiguous relationships that often characterize NPO governance.

### Conclusions

A couple of decades ago, Mintzberg (1982) called for *new* leadership studies that are simple and imaginative since the *old* positivistic empirical studies have not accomplished as much as it was expected. Discourse analysis of NPO governance seeks to answer that call for action.

Discourse analysis provides a fresh start for scholars and practitioners to understand how leadership is a co-construction of sorts that concerns social and cultural aspects of NPOs (Fairhurst, 2007). Discourse analysis is the methodology that unravels “the mysteries of social construction that produce societies, organizations, individuals” and processes, including leadership (Phillips & Hardy, 2002, p. 87).

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