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Transformational Leadership, Femininity, and Race: The Complexities of Transformative Leadership at the Intersections of Gendered and Racialized Expectations

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree Doctor of Education

in

Educational Leadership

by

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2023

The Dissertation of Rachael McGlaston Espinoza is approved, and it is acceptable in quality and form for publication on microfilm and electronically.

University of California San Diego

California State University, San Marcos

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my daughter, Nayah. While I know this of you already, I want you to find that you hold within you the power to do anything you want in this lifetime. With that in mind, I hope that you always choose to lead from a place of faith, dignity, humanity, integrity, honesty, and, above all, from a place of love. I love you, baby.

This is also dedicated to my mom, Sandy, for without whom I wouldn't even think to care about the innate badassery that is a woman in charge. You are the reason for this research in more ways than one. I love you, poodle.

This dedication is also to my two favorite guys in the multiverse: my husband, Jason, and my son, Jordan. I know behind every strong woman is a person (or several people) who make her strength possible. Jason, you give me the foundation to be as audacious as I want to be. Thank you for loving me, and I love you more.

Second to last, this is dedicated to all of the women in my past, present, future, and to those whom I will never know. We know everything that's in this work, but our next step is believing it and then acting on it.

Finally, this dissertation, and every single moment that I spent working on it, is dedicated to my grandma. I don't have the words to express how much I wish you were here to read these words for yourself, but I know that you knew they would eventually be here…just like we always talked about. I love you, Omi.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

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Carolyn Hofstetter, Chair

The changing ways in which organizations serve society combined with the rapidly changing demographics of the people that these organizations are comprised of require us to reexamine what we need from our leaders. While transformational leadership has received a lot of attention in organizational

leadership research and organizations have placed increased attention on shifting their leaders' styles to being more transformational, not enough effort has been made to understand how to develop transformational leaders from traditionally marginalized communities. Despite historically and continually being natural leaders in their communities and society at large, women, and women of color in particular, remain an untapped transformational leadership resource in organizations. This dissertation examined the existing research on the style and effects of transformational leadership and leaders, the relationship between race, gender, organizations, and leadership, and the stereotypes and perceptions that women in leadership positions face. The research methodology was a three-phase process, utilizing Grounded Theory to inform each subsequent phase, and included an observation phase of all participants in a setting showcasing their leadership function, an interview phase with one participant from each site, and a focus group phase that grouped the women together by their job site. Participants consisted of 7 women from two different sites with at least 15 years of work experience, including at least two years in formal leadership roles. This research has a wide range of future implications, including illuminating the ways in which successful female leaders leverage emotional labor in their leadership roles to engage transformational leadership qualities, and highlighting opportunities to foster these traits in other future leaders. This research identified various implications for researchers, multiple social institutions and organizations, leaders, faculty members, and practitioners

to positively impact women leaders' entry into and advancement through leadership positions.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

How we as a society conceptualize what it means to be a leader and what leadership is must begin to reflect the needs of the changing social landscape. Organizations, like society, are becoming more diverse with relation to race, ethnicity, gender, level of education, and age. As such, organizations have begun placing more emphasis on finding and developing transformational leaders who can adapt to the rapidly changing needs of the people they serve. In exploring the paradigm of transformational leadership, leadership goes well beyond the individuals at the top of an organization and, in fact, occurs at all levels and by any individual (Bass et. al, 2006). Beyond that, leadership research illuminates the importance for leaders to develop the leadership skills in those that are below them. Internal leadership development promotes employee retention, can improve organizational culture, and aids in overall success by giving employees the feeling that their experience and expertise are valued and are important for the continued growth and success of the organization (Byron, 2007). Today's most successful and resilient organizations are those that are quicker to respond and adapt to changes related to the intersecting needs and wants of those they serve, and retaining and developing leadership talent from within allows this to occur more seamlessly (Lindebaum & Cartwright, 2010).

Transformational and liberatory leaders inspire those that follow them to achieve outcomes beyond expectation while simultaneously working towards

developing one's own leadership abilities. Bass et. al (2006) explained, "[t]ransformational leaders help followers grow and develop into leaders by responding to individual followers' needs by empowering them and by aligning the objectives and goals of the individual followers, the leader, the group, and the larger organization" (p.4). While this model of leadership sounds simple enough, many leaders find themselves struggling or unable to lead in this way. Traditional leadership theories and culture may explain this struggle, given that many of today's leaders were promoted into their positions through the more traditional, "transactional" styles of promotion, in which an employee *gets* something for *giving* something. Many of today's leaders were promoted into their leadership positions by "working their way up" or giving their time in order to meet certain expectations and were then rewarded by being promoted, and this has undoubtedly had an effect on how they view what it means and what it takes to be a leader. Furthermore, these traditional styles of leadership have been shaped and dominated by White men, which significantly affects how we understand leaders and leadership compared to how we might if we considered these things from a more intersectional perspective (Grandey et al., 2019; Henderson, 2008; Wingfield, 2021).

Women, people of color, and members of other historically marginalized groups bring something completely new and different to the table as leaders (Grandey et al., 2019; Henderson, 2008; Hogue, 2016; Wingfield, 2021; Sczesny et al., 2004). Because their experiences both inside and outside of work tend to

differ from those of the hegemonic group, leaders who are from typically marginalized groups may choose to prioritize issues that have traditionally been ignored and lead in ways that are more naturally transformational compared to traditional leaders (Patton & Croom, 2017; Sczesny et al., 2004; Wingfield, 2021). Transformational leadership traits are rooted in more communal and relational practices compared to traditional leadership traits, which are rooted in transactional practices between leaders and subordinates. Leadership and gender studies have respectively examined the role of gender bias in leadership, which typically places women at a disadvantage relative to men (Eagly & Carli, 2007). This bias is frequently explained as a mismatch between the culturally understood categories of woman and leader, with the conception of leadership often being more masculine, or agentic, than feminine, or communal (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Hogue & Lord, 2007). Agentic leadership involves displays of assertiveness, dominance, self-confidence, and control, while communal leadership involves displays of supportiveness, nurturance, relationship-building, and modesty (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Carli, 2007).

While there may seem to be obvious advantages for developing diverse groups of transformational leaders, organizations struggle to diversify and develop transformative styles in their leadership base. According to the 2019 U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, women make up nearly 50% of the labor force, but just over a third of managers. The disparities become even more extreme when these statistics are further broken down by race: White women represent about

a third of these management positions, Latinas comprise 4.3%, Black women make up 4.0%, and Asian women make up just 2.5% of managers. With limited representation in leadership, minorities in all ranks within organizations aren't able to see themselves as leaders and may not be having their own leadership abilities recognized or developed by those in higher positions (Henderson, 2008; Wingfield, 2021). Perhaps even more interesting is the fact that while organizations are scrambling to find, hire, and develop more transformational leaders, they seem to simultaneously ignore the wealth of transformative leadership power already at their disposal: the female workforce (Lindebaum & Cartwright, 2010).

Further, between trying to achieve the ideal worker status and enacting a style that falls somewhere between stereotypical understandings of agentic and communal behaviors, women employees and leaders have to expend a great deal of emotional labor at work (Vroman & Danko, 2020). Women often find themselves tending to others' feelings at work, finding ways to connect peoples' humanity to the work being done, motivating and empowering colleagues when morale is low, and serving as a role model for how the team should function (Hogue, 2016).

While diverse and transformational leaders set the foundation for innovation, creativity, and growth within an organization, it is unclear how much of the emotional labor work that women do for organizations is taken for granted instead of being recognized as the same traits that organizations are

looking for in transformational leaders. Some research has highlighted how emotions such as authenticity have become a salient phenomenon of *expected* leader behavior, despite the tension and dissonance surrounding leading authentically when understood through the lens of emotional labor (Kepmster et al., 2019); however, this line of research generally fails to examine the role of gendered expectations in these expected leader behaviors. Furthermore, I'm curious about the experiences that women of nondominant races have in leadership roles and in developing or utilizing their transformational leadership skills, which is also next to nonexistent in the literature. With the emphasis that organizations are now placing on developing and promoting transformational leaders, one may assume that there would be many more women and women of color as leaders given their tendencies to be more communal and transformational, yet this is not the case. This study explores the relationship between emotional labor, gender, and transformational leadership as well as how these factors may serve as barriers to having more women and women of color in leadership positions.

Purpose of the Study

This research centers the typically unrecognized and informal leadership practices of women by highlighting the ways in which the normalized acts of emotional labor performed by women are actually synonymous to the highly sought-after behaviors of transformational leaders. Furthermore, this study examined the paradox that women of color, and Black women in particular,

experience when aspiring towards leadership roles. Through the literature review, we are able to gain a broader understanding of the current leadership research landscape, deepen our conceptualization of emotional labor and its relationship with both gender and race, and conclude with the examination of the intersection of each of these concepts. The purpose of this study was to examine the ways in which women, particularly women of color, embody transformational styles of leadership vis a vis their regular emotional labor work while filling both formal and informal leadership positions, and how Black women, especially, are caught at the intersections of stereotypes regarding leaders, women, and Blackness.

Research Questions

To further construct an understanding of the intersection of the above concepts, the following research questions will be used as a guide to this research study:

1. For women who have achieved formal leadership roles, what practices do they engage in that have helped them succeed?
    a. How are these practices aligned with the conceptualization of transformational leadership?
2. How do women of color, particularly Black women, describe their experiences in leadership roles?

Theoretical Frameworks

This study used Arlie Hochschild's (1983) theory of Emotional Labor and James MacGregor Burns' (1978) model of Transformational Leadership as its frameworks. Hochschild's Emotional Labor is a framework that helps interpret the ways in which the development of the service economy created new forms of work that maintained and strengthened certain gender divisions and inequalities. Hochschild's seminal work, The Managed Heart (1983), explored the ways that work shifted in the late twentieth century to include the commercialization of emotions. In making a distinction between the normal, routine emotional performances in everyday life and the pressure that organizations put on female employees in particular to induce emotions in oneself and others, Hochschild asserted that emotions become subject to commodification.

Burns' model of transformational leadership describes the style of leadership in which a leader works with their team beyond individuals' immediate self-interests to identify necessary changes for the organization, creates a shared vision to guide and inspire this change through positive influence, and executes the change in tandem with the group, which is now more committed to the mission of the organization due to the influence and charisma of the leader (Bass, 1999).

Methods

In order to identify the practices that women perform which constitute transformational leadership practices, understand how these behaviors are aligned with emotional labor work, and gain insight into how these practices are experienced by women of color, a three-phase qualitative exploratory case study research approach using observations, interviews, and focus groups was used. Utilizing grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) as a guiding methodological framework, the themes that emerged after the analysis of each phase informed the questions and topics for each subsequent phase. The sample included seven female leaders from each of the two research sites; one institution of higher education and one healthcare organization. Each participant had at least 15 years of work experience, including at least two years in informal or formal leadership roles.

Significance

The issue of emotional labor done by women in the workplace being taken for granted as a gendered behavior instead of being recognized as being a wealth of transformational leadership capabilities is a largely under-researched connection. Furthermore, the connection between the aforementioned concepts and race are next to nonexistent in the literature. Separately, emotional labor, race and gender in leadership and organizations, and transformational leadership are all thoroughly researched, but this research responded to a significant gap in the literature.

Beyond the significance of adding to the scholarly discourse on these topics, this research has implications for the advancement of individual careers through the development of mentor or sponsorship relationships between the participants. In addition to the implications for advancement for participants' careers, organizations will benefit from this research by gaining an understanding of how to best utilize the wealth of transformational leaders and skills that they already have in their workforce.

CHAPTER 2: REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

To gain insight on the scholarly landscape related to the intersections of transformational leadership and emotional labor with the contours of race and gender, this literature review explores the existing research on leadership - more specifically transformational leadership - race and leadership, gender and leadership, and emotional labor. The section on leadership guides us through traditional theories into the more contemporary research on leadership, including that on transformational leadership. When exploring the literature on transformational leadership, this review focuses on the effects of trust on leadership, the relationship between transformational leadership and higher purpose, and the western context of transformational leadership research to better contextualize the examination of the effects of both race and gender on leadership in the sections that follow. Within the exploration of race and leadership, this review looks at the literature on the effects of racial stereotypes on leadership as well as the relationship between leadership styles and race. This focus allows for a deeper understanding of the role that race plays in how we conceptualize what it means to be a leader and to provide a foundational understanding of how race complicates leadership for those that are not part of leadership hegemony. A similar complication is further explored in the section on gender and leadership, which examines how gender roles, gender stereotypes, and role congruity theory put women in a particularly precarious situation as they aspire towards and move into leadership positions. This review concludes

by examining emotional labor and the nuances that both race and gender provide to the theory in order to set the stage for the location of my proposed research study.

Leadership Research

Modern leadership literature tends to focus on at least one of four theories of leadership: trait theory, behavioral theory, contingency theory, and/or transformational theory (Doyle & Smith, 2001). The more classical theories, trait and behavioral, tend to examine leadership as a set of characteristics that a person either embodies or does not, and those characteristics are what make a good leader effective regardless of circumstance or organizational culture and relationships. More modern theories, such as contingency and transformational, view leadership as situational or relational and do not confine leadership to a set of individualized characteristics.

Early trait theory research argued that effective leaders had identifiably different personality traits than their followers and that a person possessing a certain amount of leadership attributes would be an effective leader in any type of situation (Mann, 1959; Stogdill, 1948). Gardner (1990) concluded that there are 14 traits that could be generalized to all effective leaders; these characteristics ranged from things such as physical vitality and stamina, eagerness to accept responsibility, and skill in dealing with people, to self-confidence and assertiveness. Critics of trait theories, such as Saddler (1997) and Wright (1996), argue that a definite list of traits with no regard to context or

relationships ignore important factors that enable a leader to be effective. Other critics criticize the masculinity of the traits. Rosener (1997) found that when both men and women are asked about each other's characteristics and leadership qualities, both have difficulties in seeing women as leaders. Furthermore, she found that the attributes from Gardner's leadership traits list are typically viewed as inherently male traits.

Another early leadership theory examined the ways that leaders' behaviors influenced their efficacy, and this also led to a change in focus from the individual leader to more generalizable behaviors within leadership. With the development of Blake and Mouton's Managerial Grid (1964), patterns of behavior began to be grouped together and labeled as leadership styles. This grid became a popular way to help people identify and develop their style as a leader and could generally be categorized in one of four groups: Concern for task, the style within which leaders emphasize the achievement of specific objectives and prioritize productivity; concern for people, in which leaders view their followers as people first by prioritizing their needs, interests, problems, personal development and so on; directive leadership, which is characterized by leaders making decisions for others and expecting them to follow instructions; and, finally, participative leadership is the style in which leaders attempt to share decision-making power with others (Wright, 1996). While this style of leadership gained major popularity in leadership studies in the late 20th century, critics have argued that it lacks consideration of the effect that both context and

followers have on leaders' abilities to effectively lead, regardless of their behaviors (Sadler, 1997; Wright, 1996).

The importance of context with regards to a leader's ability to lead first appeared in the literature when Hersey and Blanchard (1977) studied leadership style and situation. They identified four different leadership styles that could be drawn upon based on the context of a situation: telling, which is a task-based approach that requires the leader to give a great deal of direction to subordinates and to focus primarily on roles and outcomes; selling, also known as coaching, which is both a relationship and task based style that requires leaders to encourage their followers to "buy into" the task; participating, in which leaders identify problems and solutions in tandem with their subordinates and their primary role is to facilitate and communicate; finally, delegating leadership is a style in which leaders identify issues that need to be resolved, but leave the matter of figuring out the solution to their followers. From these four styles came a greater consideration by researchers to understand how context or situation mattered in how a leader is able to be effective. Fiedler (1997) further developed contingency theory by arguing that effective leadership was dependent upon the interaction of two factors, leadership style and the degree to which the situation gives the leader control and influence. Critics of contingency theory have argued that it doesn't give enough consideration to cultural differences, in regard to both ethnic and gendered differences that affect the contexts in which a leader performs (Bolman & Deal, 1997). Without

considering the cultural norms of both leaders and their subordinates, contingency theory erroneously assumes that all leaders and followers will interpret situations the same and therefore the context that shapes control and influence will be the same for all individuals.

The concept of transformational leadership derives from the early works of Burns' (1977) consideration of transactional versus transformational leaders. In this work, Burns asserts that transactional leaders "view their followers with an eye to trading one thing for another" (p. 4), while transformational leaders are visionaries who seek to appeal to their followers' better nature and connect them with higher and more universal needs and purposes. Bass (1985) was critical of Burns' framing of transactional and transformational leadership styles as being complete opposites and argued that, instead, we should consider the ways in which transactional styles can be drawn upon while simultaneously moving towards transformation.

With this foundational understanding of the development of leadership studies, we now turn to a deeper examination of transformational leadership.

Transformational Leadership

Bass (1985) describes a transformational leader as one who "raises our level of awareness, our level of consciousness about the significance and value of designated outcomes, and ways of reaching them. [They get] us to transcend our own self-interest for the sake of the team, organization, or larger polity...[and] alters our need level (after Maslow) and expands our range of

wants and needs" (p. 213). Bass' (2006) expansion of the theory of transformational leadership describes the behaviors of effective transformational leaders by focusing on four specific leader behaviors: Idealized Influence, Inspirational Motivation, Intellectual Stimulation, and Individualized Consideration. While researchers have defined and explained these behaviors in a myriad of ways and some have added additional behaviors to describe transformational leadership (Arnold et al., 2007; Ayman et al., 2009; Avolio & Bass, 2009; Bass, 2006; Liu, 2010), the general understanding of the traits are as follows: Idealized influence is when the leader provokes the trust and respect of his or her followers by consistently doing the "right thing" and leading by example. Inspirationally motivating leaders maintain high expectations of their followers and encourage them to achieve more than they thought possible, in their roles in and out of work. Intellectual stimulation happens when leaders encourage their followers to challenge the status quo and seek and find the answers to their own questions. Finally, an individually considerate leader treats each employee as an individual and focuses on their humanity, they spend time coaching, rather than "bossing", their employees, and they show appreciation for their employees' achievements. These behaviors are in contrast to transactional leadership, in which focus is placed on the exchanges between leaders and their followers and is characterized by reward and punishment systems based on goals and performance and laissez-faire leadership styles (Carli and Eagly, 2012; Eagly et al., 2003; Kaminski & Yakura, 2008).

The Effects of Trust in Leadership

Bass' transformational leadership theory further posits that effective leaders are those who create a transformation in both their followers and themselves (Ayman et al., 2009). These transformations include work-related topics such as job satisfaction and performance, trust in the leader and organization, belief in the organization's mission, and increased perceptions of unit cohesion (Arnold et al., 2007; Sparks & Schenk, 2001). Research has also proposed the idea that transformational leadership is another kind of positive leadership and as such creates positive outcomes that extend beyond employee performance or work-specific topics, such as employee well-being and self-efficacy (Arnold et al., 2007; Liu et al., 2010). In an experimental study on the role of positive emotions in the charismatic leadership process, researchers found that charismatic leaders have a direct effect on the moods of their followers and concluded that charismatic leaders enable their followers to experience positive emotions (Bono & Ilies, 2006). Researchers have attributed much of these positive outcomes to the trust that is established between effective transformational leaders and their employees. Trust in the leader is essential for followers to be vulnerable with their leaders (Liu et al., 2010), which then allows followers to adapt to and have faith in the four key behaviors of a transformational leader more readily.

There is a significant amount of literature that shows trust in the leader is a significant outcome of effective leadership (Casimir et al., 2006; Jung & Avolio,

2000; Liu et. al, 2010; Pillai et al., 1999; Podsakoff et al., 1990), and other research argues that one of the key reasons that transformational leadership is able to be effective is followers' trust and respect in their leader (Yukl, 1999). In their analysis of leader-member exchange theory, Brower et al. (2000) concluded that trust develops the perception of mutual obligations between leaders and followers and, as such, trust in the leader can be viewed as the obligation of the followers to be vulnerable to their leaders. It is this vulnerability that allows followers to try out new behaviors, take greater risks, aim for higher goals, find a greater sense of meaning and purpose in their work, and seek new solutions to solve old problems (Avolio, 1999; Bass, 1998; Bass & Riggio, 2006; Liu, 2010).

Leaders' care and consideration for their workers are the primary antecedents of this obligatory relationship (Dirks & Ferrin, 2002; Liu, 2010). Some research further segments this caring and considerate style of leadership into "compassionate leadership," which is leadership that is centered on empathetic listening with care for those they lead and shared (rather than imposed) understanding of the challenges they face (Foster, 2019). The behaviors in this definition effectively mirror the behaviors that define transformational leadership, and Liu (2010) asserts that this compassion is the foundation for leaders' ability to have individualized consideration and their ability to show concern for their employees' individual needs for growth and development.

The Relationship Between Transformational Leadership and Higher Purpose

A key factor that differentiates transformational leadership from other types of positive and effective styles is that transformational leaders respond to their employees' needs for meaning, development, and finding a higher purpose from, but also outside of, their work. In their examination of leadership in multilevel marketing organizations, Sparks and Schenk (2001) defined this idea of a higher purpose as being a broad concept, in that it did not measure any specific purpose, but it was clearly a "more important purpose than making money" (p. 858). Their study supported the idea that transformational leadership was associated with finding a "higher purpose" and found that it was at least one mechanism through which transformational leadership produces higher performing and more satisfied followers. Moreover, Arnold et al. (2007) found that workers finding a higher purpose in their work was associated with increased job satisfaction, perceptions of unit cohesion, and work effort. Sarros et al. (2002) conducted a study with fire department employees of all ranks on the effect that transformational leadership has on work alienation, which they defined as consisting of powerlessness, meaninglessness, and self-estrangement at work. The meaninglessness component was defined as "not being able to comprehend the relationship of one's contributions to a larger purpose" (p. 287), and they found that transformational leadership was negatively associated with alienation. Their study provided evidence that leadership style is a powerful contributor to more meaningful workplaces that encourage personal

growth and provide opportunities for individuals to exert some control over work activities. They concluded that the major finding of their study was that transformational leadership "plays a larger part in moderating levels of work alienation than does transactional leadership as a contributor to work alienation." (p. 298)

There is much literature on the importance of the above findings on the relationship between transformational leadership, higher purpose, and alienation. Price (2003) concluded that transformational leaders help individuals put both their personal and organizational values in line with their behaviors so that they are at once able to be true to themselves. Bass' (1985) seminal work on transformational leadership defined this relationship as the requisite transformation in transformational leadership. He stated that transformational leaders achieve this "[b]y raising our level of awareness, our level of consciousness about the importance and value of designated outcomes, and ways of reaching them" and concluded, "when this transformation is complete, value congruence within the group, organization, or society gives rise to behavior that is itself congruent with these values. Transformed followers can now act on the values they have come collectively to accept" (p. 20).

The Western Context of Transformational Leadership

The theory of transformational leadership is often studied in the context of Western societies and cultures and there is a body of literature that asserts that transformational leadership cannot be generalized to other cultures, particularly

those which score high on collectivism and power distance and are otherwise significantly different from Western societies (Walumbwa, Wang, Lawler, & Shi, 2004). With this said, there are also differences in the perceptions of and behaviors from transformational leaders and their followers of different races and genders within Western societies. In fact, a number of researchers have studied the ways in which the four main behaviors of transformational leaders – Idealized Influence, Inspirational Motivation, Intellectual Stimulation, and Individualized Consideration – are associated with people of specific races and/or genders.

Race and Leadership

Many scholars recognize that, in contrast to gendered organizational theories and the relationship between gender and leadership, which have been extensively researched, racialized organizational theories and the relationship between race and leadership are severely lacking. Researchers assert that, even into the present day, race has been written into the study of organizations in incomplete and inadequate ways (Acker, 2006 & 2012; Nkomo, 1992; Ray, 2019). In his seminal work on Racialized Organization Theory, Ray (2019) asserted that organizational researchers typically view organizations as race-neutral bureaucratic structures and that scholars of race and ethnicity have mostly overlooked the role of organizations in the social construction of race. Yet, as Ospina and Foldy (2009) underscore, if society, communities, and individuals are all significantly informed by race, then leadership must be as well.

In their meta-analysis of the existing literature on race-ethnicity and leadership, Ospina and Foldy (2009) found that traditional leadership theory and research assumes a "generic relevance of Western ideas that is reflected both in the preference for positivist methodologies and in dominant definitions of leadership" and that "existing leadership theories have taken those in positions of formal authority for granted (usually white people, often men) as the standard social identity in leadership scholarship" (p. 888). Other researchers have further suggested that people have schemas or prototypes for a good leader (Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Rosette et al., 2008), and Chung-Herrera and Lankau (2005) define a manager prototype as a "cognitive summary of characteristic traits, skills, and abilities that individuals attribute to the category of manager" (p. 2033). Some characteristics of the prototypical good manager include intelligence, aggressiveness, verbal ability, industriousness self-confidence, emotional balance, diligent, desire for advancement, energy, decisiveness, leadership ability, analytical skills, and task orientation (Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Nkomo, 1992; Rosette et al., 2008). In an experimental study on beliefs about leaders based on race, Rosette et al. (2006) found that "being White" is also perceived to be an attribute of the business leader prototype.

The Effect of Racial Stereotypes on Leadership

Much of the findings in the research and literature on race, organizations, and leadership tends to mirror societal beliefs about race and racial hierarchies

in Western societies (Nkomo, 1992). In a between-subjects experimental study, Knight et al. (2003) compared White and Black managers and found that participants gave negative ratings to Black leaders with White subordinates and positive ratings to Black subordinates with White leaders, thus "affirming these workers in their stereotypical societal positions" (p. 90). Furthermore, they found that participants used innocuous past mistakes of Black leaders to justify their negative evaluations of them, but the same was not the case for their evaluations of White leaders. Rosette et al. (2008) also compared White and Black leaders in an experimental study and found that Whites were seen as more effective leaders and as having more leadership potential. Lastly, Knight et al. (2003) add aversive racism as one of the barriers that leaders of color face and suggest that it is perhaps the single most difficult obstacle for Black managers to overcome.

Stereotypical Black-White racial dynamics are not the only ones affirmed in race and organizational leadership research and literature. Chung-Herrera and Lankau (2005) found that Asian-Americans may be similarly advantaged to Whites in leadership evaluations. Their study asked participants to compare profiles of a "successful manager" to stereotypical profiles of managers of different races and found a greater correspondence between ratings of White and Asian American managers and the successful manager prototype compared with Black and Hispanic managers. Latino leadership representation similarly mirrors societal dynamics in that, despite Latinos being part of the

largest and one of the fastest growing minority groups in the United States, they continue to be disproportionately underrepresented in more professional and leadership roles but overrepresented in service, farm, and blue-collar work (Blancero et al., 2018; Dickerson, 2006).

Research has argued that since it is unlikely that followers would allow someone that they do not *perceive* as a leader to exercise the necessary influence to perform their leadership tasks effectively, social perceptions of what a leader is are at the core of leadership as one begins to influence others (Martinez-Corsio, 1996). Research has confirmed that the perceptions of different races of leaders has an influence on one's ability to effectively lead and perceive oneself as a leader (Dickerson, 2006; Jean-Marie et al., 2009; Martinez-Corsio, 1996; Nkomo, 1992; Rosette et al., 2008). Other research has found that there is an underlying assumption that leaders of color are disadvantaged because, for various reasons related to perceptions and stereotypes about their race or ethnicity, they are not perceived as legitimate (Rosette et al., 2008). Ospina and Fodly (2009) found that perceivers or potential followers are less likely to authorize people of color as leaders, while other research has found that leaders of color may face challenges to and undermining of their leadership that White leaders do not (Richards & Jaffee, 1972; Sackett & DuBois, 1991). Lastly, how leaders of color manage their racial identities also plays a role in how they are perceived by their followers. Slay (2003) found Black leaders in predominantly White settings who emphasize their

social identity as executives rather than as African Americans are more likely to be seen positively by Whites but less positively by other Blacks; conversely, those who prioritize their racial identity are more likely to be seen negatively by Whites and more positively by Blacks.

The Relationship between Leadership Styles and Race

While leader and follower perceptions are an important segment of the research on race and leadership, there is another segment that finds that there are generalizations that can be made of different races' actual leadership styles. In her book "The Power of Latino Leadership", Bordas (2013) states that as a result of being a collectivist culture, Latino leadership is rooted in serving the community through collaboration. Research confirms this leadership practice and has found that Latino leaders tend to be profoundly aware of the need for leaders and followers to work together in some type of collaborative relationship which is established through mutual influence (Martinez-Corsio, 1996; Rost, 1993). Other research has found that Black leaders also tend to have collaborative leadership styles that reflect the historical Black movements and tendencies from the past (Dickerson, 2006). In their narrative inquiry studying the life stories of Black leaders, Jean-Marie et al. (2009) found that many Black leaders enact social and political activism in their leadership styles that is reminiscent of leadership practices of their predecessors of the Civil Rights Movement. Foerster (2004) also found that Black leaders have a tendency towards forwarding collectivism in their leadership styles. In the multiethnic labor union that she

studied, she found that Black leaders integrated changes that took into account the diverse cultural needs of their constituents, such as scheduling meetings around various religious holidays and offering foreign-language training (Foerster, 2004).

According to leadership categorization theory, leaders will be evaluated as most influential and effective when they are perceived to possess prototypical characteristics of leadership (Lord & Maher, 1991; Rosette et al., 2008) This has shown to be problematic for White women and women of color, as, per previously discussed in this section, the leadership prototype in Western societies tends to be an aggressive, self-confident, task-oriented White man with a analytical skills and a desire for advancement (Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Eagly & Karau, 1991; Nkomo, 1992; Rosette et al., 2008). The next section of this review will explore the literature on gender and leadership.

Gender and Leadership

Gendered organizational theories arose in the late 1960s and early 1970s as feminist scholars began criticizing traditional organizational research as inadequate because of its failure to acknowledge the importance of gender in working life (Acker, 2012). Research on gender and organizations has since explored a number of questions related to the ways that organizations produce and reproduce gender (Acker, 1990; Dema, 2008; Mills, 2002). Some scholars have focused on how gender is situated within organizational culture (Hearn, 2019; Mills, 2002; Rosette & Tost, 2010); many researchers have examined the

theoretical implications of gender within organizations, such as the sociological concept of gender as a social practice and/or construct (West & Zimmerman, 1987); and many others have studied the gendered dynamics created within organizations, such as discriminatory practices, the minority presence of women in organizations, as well as on their limited access to decision-making and leadership positions, and the effects gender stereotypes in organizations (Acker, 1990, 2006 & 2012; Bryant-Anderson & Roby, 2012; Dema, 2008; Eagly & Carli 2007 & 2012; Höpfl & Matilal, 2007).

Much of the research on gender in organizations does what research on social groups – such as race, class, and sexuality – tends to do, which is to focus on the minority. Research on gender in organizations is overwhelmingly related to the experiences that women have within them, and the limited gender-focused research on men in organizations largely examines how men and masculinity shape organizational culture for women to fit in (Acker, 2006). Some researchers argue that this tendency to focus on women in the literature is simply another example of the invisible power structure at play (Acker, 2012; Dema, 2008), while other researchers assert that organizational culture tends to generally be written about as if it were completely gender neutral (Mills, 2002). Regardless of the theoretical way in which organizational culture is being viewed with regards to gender, there are commonalities in researchers' empirical findings about gender, organizational culture, and leadership.

Gender Roles and Role Congruity Theory in Leadership

Sociological literature defines social roles as socially shared expectations that apply to persons who occupy a certain social position or are members of a particular social category (Biddle, 1979), and gender roles are shared beliefs about the attributes of women and men (Eagly et al., 2000). In their explanation of social role theory, Eagly et al. (2000) state, "These beliefs are more than beliefs about the attributes of women and men: Many of these expectations are normative in the sense that they describe qualities or behavioral tendencies believed to be desirable for each sex" (p. 13). Eagly and Karau expanded this body of knowledge with their research using Role Congruity Theory, which considers the congruity between gender roles and other roles, especially leadership roles. Empirical studies have found that women who violate gender role expectations by exhibiting agentic traits risk being judged as insufficiently communal (Eagly & Karau, 2002; Rosette & Tost, 2010). In an experimental study to examine how men and women top leaders are perceived, Rosette and Tost (2010) found that women's mere presence in a top leadership position was not enough to lead to more favorable evaluations for women like it is for women in middle management; rather, positive evaluations on both agentic and communal traits occurred only when the female leader was perceived as clearly responsible for the organization's success.

Though women in top leadership positions were positively evaluated as more agentic and more communal than men in Rosette and Tost's (2010) study,

other studies have shown that when women leaders are perceived as agentic, they are considered to be violating female gender role prescriptions and are therefore negatively evaluated as having low social skills (Rudman & Glick, 1999) and low warmth (Eckes, 2002). There are also gendered differences in leadership evaluations findings based on the leader's level in the organization's hierarchy. Some research suggests that female executives may face evolving stereotype biases in evaluations over the course of their careers depending on what level of leadership they occupy (Bryant -Anderson & Roby, 2012; Rosette & Tost, 2010; Rudman & Glick, 1999). Additional research has found that while working in lower and middle levels of management women face negative gender biases predicted by role congruity theory (Eagly et al., 1995; Rosette & Tost, 2010). Other research has found that as women progress to the higher levels of the organizational hierarchy and experience success in those positions, they may be perceived more positively in evaluations (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Eagly & Karau, 2002; Eagly & Carli, 2003).

Research that considers the intersecting impact of gender roles and organizational roles is sparse. That which does exist suggests generalizations about the similarity of women and men who are in the same organizational and hierarchical role (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001). Eagly (2001) argued that it is likely that leadership roles provide norms that regulate the performance of certain organizational tasks, which would therefore make them able to be similarly accomplished by male and female leaders. Particularly informative of

this idea is a study by Moskowitz, Suh, and Desaulniers (1994) that examined the intersecting influence of gender roles and organizational roles. This study used an event-sampling method in which participants monitored their interpersonal behavior in a variety of work settings for 20 days. They found that agentic behavior was controlled by the relative status of the interaction partners, with participants behaving most agenticly with a supervisee and least agenticly with a boss. Communal behaviors, however, were influenced by the gender of participants, with women behaving more communally than men, especially in interactions with other women.

Like interactional behaviors, evaluations of leadership efficacy are also affected by the gender of both the leader and the follower. Men are more likely to hold negative attitudes about women in leadership positions than are women and, as a consequence, evaluate women more harshly (McGlashan et al., 1995). Ayman et al. (2009) conducted a quantitative research study to investigate the impact of the gender composition of leader–follower dyads on the relationship between leaders' transformational leadership behavior and their employees' ratings of the leaders' effectiveness. They found the relationship between a leader's self-report on transformational leadership and their subordinates' evaluation of their performance was significantly less positive for female leaders with male subordinates than for female leaders with female subordinates. Furthermore, this was significantly more evident for female leaders than male leaders.

Eagly et al. (2000) argued that the influence of gender roles on organizational behavior occurs not only because people react to leaders in terms of gendered expectancies and leaders respond in turn, but also because most people, to some extent, have internalized gender roles. As a result of these differing social identities, women and men have somewhat different expectations for their own behavior in organizational settings (Eagly et al., 2000). Furthermore, gender stereotypes play a major role in creating the substructure of organizations that continually recreate gender inequalities in leadership. The impact of stereotypes on the perception of women and women of color as leaders will be further explored later in this review, but first we will explore the existing literature on race, organizations, and leadership. The final section of this review will explore the literature on gender stereotypes and perceptions of women as leaders.

Gender Stereotypes and Perceptions of Women as Leaders

Women in leadership positions face a precarious predicament in having to manage gendered stereotypes and the perceptions that others have of them based on those stereotypes. Based on a study of five multinational corporations to examine how men and women leaders lead and manage their teams differently, Wajcman (1998) found that there is a masculine organizational culture that sexualizes women and promotes stereotypes that exclude them from senior leadership positions. From both survey and interview data, she found that women in leadership or upper managerial positions face

difficult pressures to "manage like a man" (Wajcman, 1998). However, other empirical research has found that women who lead like a man run into other issues. Billing's (2011) interview data with female leaders revealed that women who are aggressive and competitive, like a stereotypical male leader, are perceived as too assertive. Conversely, if women leaders behave in more feminine and cooperative manners they are seen as too soft and ineffective (Acker, 2012; Billing, 2011). Other experimental research has found that women are evaluated with harsher standards than men, particularly when performing stereotypically masculine behaviors or when in a stereotypically masculine role such as a leadership position (Rudman, 1998).

Numerous studies that have researched perceived gender differences in leadership style have used the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire (MLQ), yet results have been conflicting. For example, Komives (1991) found no difference between male and female manager self-ratings of transformational leadership with the exception of Intellectual Stimulation, where women were found to be significantly higher than men. Conversely, Martell and DeSmet's (2001) results showed that men believe that female middle-level managers are less likely to engage in inspirational and stimulating activities than male middle-level managers, which is consistent with other past research that indicates that the Intellectual Stimulation section of the MLQ is perceived to be stereotypically masculine (Hackman et al. 1992).

Social scientists have researched and shown that gender and racial stereotypes affect perceptions of leadership and effectiveness and, furthermore, are a barrier to accessing leadership positions for both White women and women of color (Acker, 2012). For example, Méndez-Morse (2003) found that Latinas are subject to the stereotype that they are only wives and mothers, are dominated by the men in their community, and thereby are not capable of being leaders. Byron (2007) states that gender stereotypes can be separated into two categories: communal and agentic characteristics. Communal characteristics show a concern for others and include traits such as being kind and nurturing; agentic characteristics, on the other hand, show a concern for controlling and mastering the environment and include traits such as being aggressive and dominant. Much of the leadership research that examines gender stereotypes find that women leaders are both expected to be and perceived as more communal and men leaders are expected to be and perceived as more agentic. In their meta-analysis of female leadership advantages and disadvantages in masculine organizational contexts, Eagly and Carli (2003) found that women leaders who fail to perform stereotypically communal characteristics, such as being interpersonally sensitive and caring, are evaluated less favorably than male leaders. According to other research, male leaders are not subject to the same stereotypical expectations as female leaders, and do not receive negative evaluations for failing to exhibit communal characteristics (Martell & DeSmet, 2001).

Research has indicated that there are differences of perceptions and stereotype expectations of female leaders between male and female subordinates and that, in general, men have a more masculine prototype of leaders than women do (Ayman et al., 2006; Eagly, 2005 & 2007; Eagly & Karau, 2002). Men are more likely to hold negative attitudes about women in leadership positions than are women and evaluate women more harshly as a consequence (Eagly & Karau, 2002; McGlashen et al., 1995). In terms of stereotypes pertaining to the specific behaviors and competencies that embody leaders, men tend to believe that these are more natural characteristics of men than of women (Martell & DeSmet, 2001). However, women leaders can mitigate negative evaluations if they lean into the stereotypes and expectations that subordinates have of them, as several studies have found that females leaders who behaved stereotypically feminine, such as by acting cooperatively or displaying affiliative non-verbal behaviors, received higher ratings of likeability and were rated as more influential (Byron, 2007; Carli et al., 1995).

Research has shown that women's leadership styles and the issues they prioritize, differ from men's. Compared to men, women's leadership style is described as being organized around an orientation of care and help (Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001); more participatory, in that they tend to talk *with* rather than *to* constituents (Bryant-Anderson & Roby, 2012); and are less hierarchical and more collaborative (Eagly & Carli, 2007). More recent research

on gender and leadership has increasingly focused on women's greater tendency toward transformational leadership, which is characterized by behaviors such as role-modeling, mentoring, and fostering trust and confidence among subordinates (Bass, 2006; Bass & Avolio, 1994). Eagly and Johannesen-Schmidt (2001) found "helpfulness," fostering others' potential, and providing encouragement are leadership behaviors that are associated with effective and transformational leadership and are also associated with normative conceptions of appropriate behavior for women. Eagly et al.'s (2003) meta-analysis of research on leadership styles suggests that the styles more commonly practiced by women are in fact the most effective as they tend to be more interpersonally oriented, and to exhibit more transformational leader behaviors, particularly in providing individualized consideration (Eagly et al., 2003).

Despite the effective behaviors that women's leadership styles tend to follow, Ayman et al., (2009) found that transformational leadership does not work for women leaders when they have male subordinates. Studies of manager behavior have shown that workers often prefer female managers, and that this preference appears to be related to the interpersonal skills that women managers seem to bring to the role (Eagly, 2005; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Gipson et al., 2017). However, this does not hold true for studies of leadership, where research finds that women are judged on their performance as leaders using different behavior standards (Ayman et al., 2009). Ayman et al. (2009) utilized the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire to collect data from

nearly 109 leader-subordinate dyads and the results were telling: their study revealed that female leaders are perceived to lack order, logic, direction and rationality and as such are thought to lack necessary leadership skills. As paradoxical as this situation is for White women in leadership, it becomes somewhat of a paradoxical stalemate for women of color and, in particular, Black women.

Emotional Labor

Emotional labor, which prioritizes the relational rather than task-based aspect of work, was first conceptualized by sociologist Arlie Hochschild in her book "The Managed Heart" (1983). Researchers have argued that emotional labor is labor-intensive work; it is skilled, effort-intensive, and productive labor that creates value, affects productivity, and generates profit (Hochschild, 1983; Steinberg & Figart, 1999). In addition to performing mental and physical labor, Hochschild emphasized how employees in service sector fields are required to manage or shape their own feelings to create, in their interaction with others, displays that affect others in the desired ways of the organization for which they work. In her original framing of the concept, Hochschild (1983) pointed to the need for an employee to "induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (7). Thus, while focusing on employee skills and effort, Hochschild's definition of emotional labor involved both the emotions of the employees performing the labor and the emotions of others to whom these emotions are addressed. To

differentiate between the different actions required in emotional labor, Hochschild coined three related concepts: feeling rules, which are the expected emotional norms in a given situation; emotion management, which refers to the adjustment of feelings and emotions in everyday and private life; and emotional labor, which describes how employees, under explicit organizational requirements, are responsible for creating emotions in themselves and others.

Initially, Hochschild defined emotional labor as being performed through face-to-face or voice-to-voice interactions, but researchers have since expanded this conceptualization to include spoken word, tone of voice, and any other efforts that are expressed through interpersonal behaviors (Wharton & Erickson, 1993). Beyond this understanding of emotional labor, some scholars have expanded the idea to such an extent that it can be considered a separate segment of emotional labor research. These researchers conceptualize emotional labor to refer to the efforts that people make to understand others, to have empathy for their situations, the labor involved in dealing with other people's feelings, and the degree to which the emotions being performed and experienced by employees and customers is authentic (England & Farkas, 1986; James, 1989, Rafaeli & Sutton, 1991; Steinberg & Figart, 1999).

Regardless of the framework one uses to understand emotional labor, scholars tend to agree that there is a necessary amount of performativity

involved in it. Hochschild (1983) originally differentiated between surface acting, in which the employee feigns emotion so that the displayed emotion is different from what they actually feel, and deep acting, in which the employee invokes the actual displayed feeling. Rafaeli and Sutton (1991) examined the ways in which service workers use positive and negative emotions to bring about compliance in others and noted that many are trained to greet customers in a certain way, make eye contact, thank them, and close a transaction warmly. Steinberg and Figart (1999) note that researchers who examine emotional labor from that perspective tend to uncover "display rules," and organization-controlled, routinized, and scripted performances. They further assert that even "authentic" expression of emotion takes work, and cite studies examining nurses' deeply felt concern for their patients, as well as their desire to console, comfort, and empathize with them (Ashforth & Humphrey, 1993; O;Brien, 1994; Steinberg & Figart, 1999). A final expansion of the concept of emotional labor includes the consideration of what Wharton and Erickson (1993) termed "external boundary spanning," to refer to the above-mentioned actions and behaviors within the organization, such as between supervisors and subordinates.

Since the range of emotions most often captured in research on emotional labor is stereotypically associated with femininity, emotional labor has typically been identified with historically female jobs (Steinberg & Figart, 1999), and much of the research on emotional labor confirms the gendered dimensions of the work. Because the service sector is dominated by women, it

follows that emotional labor is extensive amongst female-dominated professions (Hochschild, 1983; Steinberg & Figart, 1999). Notable research has examined the role of gendered scripts in performing emotional labor and found that employers reproduce gender roles by constructing different scripts, as well as rules about demeanor and appearance, for male and female employees (Hall, 1993; Leidner, 1991, 1993). Other research has pointed to the fact that women are often expected, as part of the normal performance of their jobs, to look attractive and be exceptionally friendly, oftentimes particularly to male customers or coworkers (Gutek, 1985; Pierce, 1995). In her study of paralegals, Pierce (1995) found that while female paralegals were expected to give male trial lawyers exceptional support through deference and caretaking, male paralegals were not expected to be nurturing and, instead, were treated as though they were preparing for law school and often included in the lawyers' social gatherings. These expectations go beyond employee's day to day job expectations; annual performance reviews and job ratings have implicit evaluations of emotional labor, particularly for women (Grandey et al., 2019; Pierce, 1995). Women are expected to conform to a different set of emotional expectations and norms in male dominated fields, and performance reviews are one such way that organizations keep gender norms in check (Wingfield, 2021).

While the literature that examines gender and emotional labor is plentiful, scholarly input that examines the racial implications of race and emotional

labor has been slower to develop. Wingfield (2021) argued that because of the colloquialization of the concept of emotional labor, its potential to perpetuate various kinds of institutional, organizational, and structural inequalities may go overlooked. This same research criticized the lack of examination of racial dynamics in seminal works on emotional labor, using both Hochschild's original piece on flight attendants and Pierce's 1995 study on paralegals as examples. Hochschild emphasized the ways in which White women were tasked with making passengers feel cared for but didn't pay any attention to how this might be complicated for Black women, who are often stereotyped as domineering and emasculating (Collins, 2004; Wingfield, 2021). Pierce's study on paralegals argued that male attorneys are free to show emotions such as anger and belligerence but failed to consider the ways in which anger has been racialized for Black men in ways that could make this emotional expression dangerous or even life-threatening (Pierce, 1995; Wingfield, 2021). The rules that govern acceptable emotions at work are racialized in ways that specifically affect Black workers; even in places where feelings of anger or aggravation are generally accepted (such as law firms or investment banks), research has found that Black employees hesitate to show these feelings publicly due to stereotypes of Blacks as generally angry and violent (Wingfield, 2010). Outside of the feeling rules that govern norms for specific roles, Black and other minority employees often are subject to performing racialized emotional work to confront racial

aggressions from those from within and outside of their organizations (Cottingham et al., 2018; Wingfield, 2021).

The intersection of race, gender, and emotional labor is particularly ripe for further investigation. Wingfield (2021) noted that much of the research on race, gender, and emotion labor is categorized into either research that focuses on gender differences in emotion management among Black workers, or studies of racial differences among women workers. A major criticism of emotional labor that takes into account racial dynamics is that most of this work tends to fall into the Black/White paradigm (Chin, 2020; O'Brien, 2005; Wingfield, 2021). It is with this consideration that we now turn to the examination of the literature on Black, female leaders.

Triple Consciousness: Black, Woman, Leader

Despite the fact that women of color in leadership positions face unique challenges compared to their White counterparts, they have been largely ignored in the research and theory development until recently (Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). In their meta-analysis of the literature on race, ethnicity, leadership, and power, Ospina and Foldy (2009) found that women's leadership literature often notes that one reason women are at a disadvantage is that traditionally they were relegated to the private sphere of the home, rather than the public sphere of the workplace, and as such the domestic stereotype continues to affect them (Ospina & Foldy, 2009). However, Jean-Marie et al. (2009) asserted that, historically, "Black women almost never had the luxury to

work solely in their own house; instead, they have traditionally labored long hours working outside their home, both during slavery and in the many decades since" (p. 565). They concluded that because of this historical legacy, it is less likely that Black women would be disadvantaged by the stereotype that their "place" is in running their own home and raising their own children the way that White women are. Researchers who examine leadership from an intersectional perspective further criticize the larger body of women's leadership literature by claiming that when researchers examine and write about women and leadership, they implicitly refer to White women by rarely distinguishing between the experiences of White women and women of color, or between the different types of stereotypes they are subject to (Bell & Nkomo, 2001; Muller 1998; Ospina & Foldy, 2009; Rosette et al., 2008).

Researchers who specifically study the experiences and stereotypes that women of color in leadership positions face have found a number of barriers that White women leaders do not face. In a self-reflective narrative of their careers in academia, Bell and Nkomo (2001) name "racialized sexism," a "particular form of sexism shaped by racism and racial stereotyping" (p. 137) as the basic barrier to advancement for Black women leaders. Muller (1998) describes the alienating experience of "living in two worlds" in her qualitative study of Native American women managers. Focusing particularly on the Navajo, she interviewed 20 Native women and found that their culture raised them to be consensus-oriented, present-oriented, environmentally aware and

deeply committed to spirituality, which are qualities that are in stark contrast with typical White, Western culture. As a result, these women leaders "are not brought up to be assertive and competitive" which can put them at a leadership disadvantage (p. 12).

The strong black woman archetype is ardently prevalent in Western popular culture; it is a narrative that conceptualizes Black women as "indestructible, independent and almost superhuman" (Patton & Croom, 2017). As Welang (2018) asserts, "being superhuman means the Black woman becomes void of the tender sensibilities associated with the human experience. She is, as a result, deprived of empathy, and she ironically becomes subhuman" (p. 299). This becomes a problematic juxtaposition against both forms of role congruence for Black women, whose archetypal positionalities are incongruent with both cultural norms and expectations for the broader category of "women" and "leader."

Summary

Transformational leadership is a well-studied style of leadership that focuses on inspiring and motivating followers. Transformational leaders are charismatic and caring and provoke transformations in themselves and their followers. These transformations are related to topics such as job satisfaction and performance, trust in the leader and organization, belief in the organization's mission, increased perceptions of unit cohesion, heightened self-efficacy and improved individual well-being (Arnold et al., 2007). There is a plethora of

research that examines the styles of transformational leaders (Gipson et al., 2017; Kanungo, 2001; Podsakoff et al., 1992; Sparks & Schenk, 2001), the effects of transformational leadership (Arnold, 2007; Ayman et al., 2009; Liu et al., 2010; Sparks & Schenk, 2001), and that compares transformational leadership to other styles of leadership (Aarons, 2006; Eagly et al., 2003; Hackman et al., 1992; Kearney & Gerbert, 2009). Empirical research on transformational leadership has been conducted in a myriad of ways including quantitative and qualitative studies that span from survey data analyses to ethnographic narratives.

The relationship between gender, leadership, and organizations is another fairly well-studied topic, and researchers have examined the differences in leadership style between men and women (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Eagly, 2005; Eagly & Johannesen-Schmidt, 2001; Eagly & Johnson, 1990; Eagly et al., 1995), how organizational culture affects male and female leaders and their subordinates (Ayman & Korabik, 2010; Bass & Avolio, 1992; Foster, 2019; Martell & DeSmet, 2001), and the differences in the experiences of male versus female leaders (Billing, 2011; Bryant-Anderson & Roby, 2012; Ryan & Haslam, 2005). Research methodology that explores gender, leadership, and organizations is well varied; scholars have used the Multifactor Leadership Questionnaire in a number of studies to collect quantitative data, as well as conducted in-depth interviews with leaders and followers.

While race, leadership, and organizations have been the topic of a number of empirical studies, many scholars contend that not enough attention

has been paid to the relationship between race and organizations (Acker, 2006 & 2012; Nkomo, 1992; Ray, 2019). Instead, they assert that the literature has instead treated organizations as race-neutral structures and ignored the differences that leaders of color experience compared to their White counterparts. The research that does examine race, leadership, and organizations uses both qualitative and quantitative methodology, depending on what questions the researcher was trying to answer. For example, those that attempted compare and contrast perceptions of leaders based on race tended to utilize surveys (Chung-Herrera & Lankau, 2005; Rosette et al., 2008), while those looking to understand racialized experiences in leadership and organizations used interviews (Bryant-Anderson & Roby, 2012; Sanchez-Hucles & Davis, 2010). Research in this field could be expanded to get a better understanding of the experiences of leaders of color as well as how leadership styles differ based on race or ethnicity of leader.

There is a good amount of empirical research on stereotypes and perceptions of women leaders, particularly within social science literature (Carli et al., 1995; Rosette & Tost, 2010; Rusch, 2004). However, this field is extremely lacking with regard to understanding how these things relate to women of color in leadership positions. Of the research that does exist on stereotypes and perceptions of female leaders of color, nearly all of it is qualitative in nature. It is imperative that the gaps in this literature are addressed, as gaining an

understanding of intersectionality and leadership is essential to understanding leadership in the rapidly changing demographic landscape of today.

Areas for future research

Transformational leadership and intersectionality are being studied at large, albeit separately. Organizational leadership processes do not act alone, rather they intersect with and are shaped by race and gender processes. Gaining an understanding of how intersectionality and transformational leadership interact will allow organizations to gain insight into the importance of and the process to promote female leaders of color and how this will help to positively transform these organizations. Future research should focus on gaining insight into the unique stereotypes that female leaders of color face and how these perceptions act as barriers to and also shape their abilities to be successful leaders. Additionally, research should examine what strategies organizations can adopt to effectively encourage and coach women and people of color into leadership positions, and gain insight into what supports are necessary to make them successful. Lastly, more research must be conducted to gain an understanding as to how organizations can effectively change the stereotypes and prototypes of what makes a "good" leader so that we can begin to expand our larger cultural understanding of these things.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this study was to understand the ways in which race, gender, and conceptualizations of transformational leaders intersect to create a paradoxical situation for women of color and, in particular, Black women's ability to advance into leadership roles or otherwise be viewed as leaders. The research design and methodology aimed to illuminate the experiences of women, particularly female minorities, who are established in their careers and have different levels of experience in leadership positions at multiple types of institutions. To do so, this study used an exploratory case study methodology at one institution of higher education and one large healthcare organization, and included 15 observations, five semi-structured interviews, and two semi-structured focus groups. The goal of this methodology was to first identify interactions that exemplified hypothesized phenomena, which was that successful female leaders evoke emotional labor as a proxy for transformational leadership traits, in the observation phase. This was followed by semi-structured interviews with particular women from Phase One who stood out in various ways from their peers to more deeply examine their conscious use of traits identified in the observation phase. Finally, two focus groups were conducted using themes that arose from the observations and interviews to guide further questioning that further explored the shared experiences of all of the participants from each research site.

Theoretical Framework

Because existing theories did not directly address the above stated problem, this study used Grounded Theory as its framework (Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Creswell, 2005). Grounded Theory centers the research process around discovery; one enters the field open to realizing new meaning and, through repeated cycles of data gathering and analysis, progressively focuses on a core problem around which newly understood factors will be integrated (Heath & Cowley, 2004). This framework enabled an understanding of what was happening to participants, why they believed it happens as it does and what it means to them, and then allowed me to derive meaning from the data as it emerged (McMillan, 2012). The data analysis process used in grounded theory is known as the constant comparative method, which involves continuously comparing the emergent themes and the developing theory to newly collected data (McMillan, 2012; Mertens, 2005; Mertler, 2019). In this process, data are collected and analyzed, and a theory is proposed; more data are collected and analyzed, and the theory is revised; data continue to be collected and analyzed, and the theory continues to be developed until a point of saturation is reached (Mertler & Charles, 2011).

Research Questions and Design

The questions guiding this study were:

1. For women who have achieved formal leadership roles, what practices do they engage in that have helped them succeed?

1. How are these practices aligned with the conceptualization of transformational leadership?
2. How do women of color, particularly Black women, describe their experiences in leadership roles?

A qualitative exploratory case study research approach using observations, interviews, and focus groups were used to identify the practices that women perform which constitute transformational leadership, understand how these behaviors are aligned with emotional labor, and gain insight into how these practices were experienced by women of color. Jensen (2011) highlights that researchers need to give greater voice and power to participants in order to both steer the direction of the research and dictate the findings, and the design of this research will allow for the women to do exactly this.

The execution of this exploratory case study began with 15 observations of the participants in their roles within team or department meetings. These observations informed the researcher of some of the leadership practices and emotional labor that participants use in their day-to-day interactions with others and also allowed for the researcher to identify standouts for the interview phase. Upon the conclusion of the observation phase, field notes utilizing thick descriptions were coded into themes which informed the interview questions for Phase Two.

The second phase of this case study implored individual, semi-structured interviews of select participants from the observation phase. These recorded

interviews informed the researcher of the factors that contribute to women's success in leadership roles and how minority, specifically Black women's experiences vary, which then informed the focus group questions for Phase Three. Following the interviews, I wrote reflective memos aimed at identifying emergent themes, and through data analysis of the recorded, transcribed, and coded interviews and memos, I gained a better understanding of the factors and variables that contributed to women's success in leadership roles and an understanding of the difference in experience that Black women have in attaining these roles. Once I identified more specific themes between the observation phase and the interview phase, I crafted the questions for the Phase Three focus groups.

Phase three focus groups brought together the participants at each site, respectively, to discuss themes that arose in phases one and two. Because of the collective nature, focus groups gave access to certain kinds of qualitative phenomena that are poorly studied with other methods and also represent an important tool for breaking down narrow methodological barriers (Wilson, 1997). Upon the conclusion of the focus groups, I transcribed, coded, and analyzed the conversations as well as the field notes from the meetings to identify final themes and experiences between the women.

Setting and Context

This research study was conducted at two different sites that are representative of two different types of social institutions: healthcare and higher

education. The first site was a large, public health care organization that employs over 240,000 people across the United States. Nearly 66% of this organizations' workforce are members of racial, ethnic, or cultural minorities, and nearly 75% are women. In addition, their board members are 38% women and 46% people of color. The second site was a large public university in Southern California that employs over 2,000 staff members, not including its faculty. Of these more than 2,000 employees, 63% are women, which includes the university's president, and 51% are racial, ethnic, or cultural minorities.

Sampling and Participants

A sample of women were identified through the researcher's professional networks at the two research sites as well as purposeful snowball sampling through referrals via these networks (Maxwell, 2013). Participant recruitment was purposive, as this study was looking for a specific demographic and members of a particular subgroup of careerists, in this case a racially diverse group of 3-6 women from each site with at least 15 years of work experience, including at least two years in formal leadership roles. Formal leadership roles included roles in which the participant had been appointed to or had volunteered for and in which they oversaw the work of others and the direction of a team. This role could have been one that was their official position within the organization or a supplemental role, such as leader of a committee or project.

Instructions, expectations, and potential risks of the study were listed in a recruitment email to all potential participants and included an informed

consent form (see Appendix I). The consent form explained the study, provided information on what to expect, and other details related to the three phases. After the first phase, the participants that were identified as interviewees were contacted via email and invited to participate in Phase Two interviews. Upon the conclusion of Phase Two, all participants were emailed again to confirm participation in the Phase Three focus groups.

Data Collection

In qualitative research, data may consist of interview transcripts, observational notes, journal entries, transcriptions of audio-or videotapes, or as existing documents, records, or reports (Mertler, 2018). This study utilized a qualitative, three-phase exploratory case study including observations, interviews, and focus groups to better understand the experiences that women have in their leadership experiences.

In Phase One I conducted observations of each participant in a team, department, faculty, or other meeting that the participant decided would showcase their function as a leader, for a minimum of 45 minutes. During these observations I took field notes using thick descriptions to collect and understand the behaviors and interactions that participants had with their teams, subordinates, and/or colleagues. In most meetings I took the role of complete observer, as this role entirely removed the researcher from any form of participation. This method allowed me to observe, engage with, and analyze findings based on my target population in a natural and comfortable

environment for them and their teams. Because the women and their teams regularly participated in team, department, or faculty meetings, the setting and procedures of my methodology fit in with their everyday lifestyles and habits without much interference. Furthermore, given continued Covid-19 protocols, most teams were still having their meetings virtually, which enabled me to participate more conspicuously as an observer.

Phase Two involved five 90-minute, semi-structured interviews with five of the seven participants from Phase One's observations. The interviewees were identified based on stand-out characteristics and behaviors observed in Phase One. The participants that were selected to participate in the interviews exhibited greater transformational leadership traits and more emotional labor than participants not selected to be interviewed. The semi-structured interview format allowed me to give structure to the interviews with open-ended questions while still giving participants the opportunity to express themselves without excessive influence from the interviewer (Merriam & Tisdell, 2016). Following the interviews, I wrote reflective memos aimed at identifying emergent themes, questions, and areas for further exploration. In addition to identifying themes, the reflective memos were used to inform the focus group questions for Phase Three. Interviews were conducted via Zoom, a video conferencing platform, and were recorded, transcribed, and coded. Through data analysis, I gained a better understanding of the factors and variables that contributed to

women's successful leadership practices, and success factors that varied based on women's races.

The third and final phase brought the participants together with the other women from their same site to participate in a semi-structured, yet casual, focus group. Focus group designs open up the possibility of bringing together various perspectives into the discussion (Pöge et al., 2020), which was beneficial in constructing an understanding of how the participants conceptualized successful leadership and also the notable differences that arose between the participants. The focus groups were both conducted via Zoom and were semi-structured with questions formed from insights gained from phases one and two, per the grounded theory process. The questions sought to gain an understanding of the ways that the women interpreted the themes that had emerged from the data collected to that point. Based on the focus group protocol by Wilson (1997), I first briefed the participants by giving instructions about the topics to be discussed by the group. For approximately 20 minutes, the groups discussed the topic(s) with limited interruption from the researcher, and I took notes to aid the transcription of the recordings. After 20 minutes, I intervened to give new instructions and commenced the second half of the focus group. At the end of each session, additional time was given to answer participants' questions and for brief open discussion.

Data Analysis

The purpose of qualitative data analysis is to make meaning out of data by identifying, examining, and interpreting patterns and themes and determining how these patterns and themes help answer the research questions being studied (Merriam & Tisdell, 2009). The data from Phase One observations came from the field notes, thick descriptions, and "asides" that I took while observing. Emerson et al. (2011) described asides as "short, reflective pieces of analytical writing that clarify, explain, analyze, or raise issues about a single event or process recorded in a fieldnote" (p. 80). The field notes, thick descriptions, and asides that are written were double coded. The first round utilized open coding, which Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe as the process of breaking down, examining, comparing, conceptualizing, and categorizing data (p. 61). Following the open coding, I performed axial coding, whereby the data were put back together in new ways by making connections between categories after open coding (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Because I utilized grounded theory, data coding guided each subsequent theoretical sampling decision during the analysis process; in this case it informed both the interviewees and the questions they were asked.

The interviews from Phase Two were recorded and transcribed, then coded for themes. I used a manual process to organize and analyze the data from the interviews. After the data had been hand coded, I used selective coding, which Strauss and Corbin (1990) explain as "the process of selecting the

core category, systematically relating it to other categories, validating those relationships, and filling in categories that need further refinement and development" (p. 116) to connect themes from interviews to themes from Phase One. Once again, the data and insights from Phase Two informed the next iteration of data collection in the focus groups.

After connecting themes from the first two phases, I conducted two focus groups with the women from each respective site. The focus groups from Phase Three were recorded and transcribed using Zoom, then manually open-coded for themes. Upon identifying themes, I then compared incident to incident, incident to concept (Glaser, 1992) and, concept to concept (Glaser, 1978) so that a theory could be discovered. Through this repeated comparison, the data became saturated and categories and multivariate properties developed (Chametzky, 2016).

Instrumentation

The type of instrumentation used in this study allowed the researcher to enter the world of the participants and gain further understanding of the ways that women were performing emotional labor as an act of leadership. The observations did not allow for a restricted view of participants, rather allowed for an open-ended collection of data. Phase two of this study used one-on-one individual interviews with five of the women that participated in the Phase One observations. The interview questions were developed to analyze the ways in which the standout leaders conducted themselves and the meaning that they

made of the ways that they behaved and leveraged the Emotional Labor Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003) to help guide the question formation. Furthermore, the interview questions were informed by themes that arose from the observations and, as such, did a deeper and more specific inquiry into the actions of the women that were interviewed.

After identifying themes from Phase One's observations, I utilized the theoretical framing to develop a two-tier set of questions, including main questions and probing questions. The main questions built off of the Emotional Labor Scale (see appendix) and started by having the chosen interviewees reflect on their own beliefs about the traits they believe to be imperative for an effective female leader. Furthermore, I utilized a combination of interview approaches that included a conversational strategy that used an interview guide, which allowed for both structure and flexibility when appropriate. Each interview lasted approximately 90 minutes and also had a line of questioning related to emotional labor, and the researcher provided an explanation of what this concept meant prior to the questioning. The remainder of the interview questions were based on the conscious or intentional use of the themes that were identified from Phase One.

A set of focus group topics and questions were developed based on the most common themes across the interviews and observations. The two focus groups brought together the two sets of participants and were largely unmoderated. The researcher adopted a minimalist role in the group

interactions, which lasted approximately 90 minutes each. I first briefed the participants and gave them instructions about the topics to be discussed, explaining the themes that had been identified until that point and posed questions for them to discuss. Participants discussed each theme, topic, or question for approximately 20 minutes, at which time the researcher intervened to pose the next question or topic. For the final ten minutes, participants had an open discussion about the themes and topics presented and had time to ask any questions they had of the researcher.

Confidentiality

All participant data were recorded, transcribed, and kept on a personal laptop that was password secured. In accordance with Institutional Review Board (IRB) guidelines, all data received from the participants were collected with the explicit permission of the participants.

Addressing risks and inconveniences

This was a voluntary study, meaning participants could opt-in or opt-out. Participants were made aware that they were able to withdraw from the study for any reason at any time. Participants were offered a copy of transcribed interviews and focus groups to review, clarify, and confirm all parts of the conversations (Gubrium et al., 2011). During the interview, the web-based recording was offered to be temporarily turned off for the participant to take a break as needed. While there were low potential risks to the participants using the instrumentation that I used (Stanko & Richter, 2015), participants were made

aware that they may become emotional or uncomfortable answering questions that pertain to their emotion management in their interactions with subordinates and/or peers. Participants received a list of questions ahead of time to aid in their level of comfort with the topics of conversation and questioning. Furthermore, participants were asked to point out any questions that they did not want to answer ahead of the interview or focus group, and were given the chance during the interview or focus group to decline the line of questioning if they became uncomfortable during the process.

Payments or incentives

Participants did not receive compensation for their time. All participants received thank you notes after the study was complete for their willingness to participate in the research.

Summary

The research sought to understand the practices that female leaders engage in that have helped them succeed as leaders and to understand how these practices aligned with the conceptualization of transformational leadership. Furthermore, this research sought to understand how women of color, particularly Black women, described their experiences in leadership roles to see if there were differences between the practices that enable one type of leader to be successful from another. The research questions were explored through a three-phase methodology at two different research sites and utilized Grounded Theory to inform each subsequent phase. Participants were women

with at least 15 years of career experience, including at least two in a formal leadership position. Phase one consisted of observations of meeting settings that the participants identified to the researcher as ones that showcased their leadership role and lasted for a minimum of 45-minutes. Phase two involved five 90-minute recorded interviews with two participants from the university and three from the healthcare site. The interviews engaged the leader in a two-tiered line of questioning regarding their beliefs and experiences related to leadership, emotional labor, and their intentionality with using the traits and themes that had emerged from Phase One. Phase Three brought together the participants from each respective site to participate in a focus group to conversationally discuss the themes that had been identified from phases one and two. Each phase was coded for themes to guide and inform the format of the subsequent phases and were then analyzed and compared to previous phases' themes. Through this repeated comparison, the data became saturated so that categories and multivariate properties developed, and my findings were completed.

CHAPTER 4: FINDINGS

This study sought to better understand the practices that successful female leaders engage in that have helped them succeed and to examine how these practices are aligned with the conceptualization of transformational leadership. The intent was also to understand the ways in which race, gender, and contemporary conceptualizations of transformational leaders intersect to create a paradoxical situation for women and, in particular, Black women's ability to advance into leadership roles or otherwise be viewed as leaders.

This chapter explores and analyzes the findings that emerged from the data collected from this exploratory case study, which included observations, interviews, and focus groups that were conducted to examine and better understand the practices and experiences of 7 female leaders across two different institutions: a mid-sized, public university, and a large healthcare organization. As previously stated, Transformational Leadership and Emotional Labor were the theoretical underpinnings utilized in this research study.

The application of Emotional Labor as a theoretical underpinning allowed me to take a gendered, racialized, and emotions-as-currency-based sociological perspective to understand the practices that I observed and discussed with the leaders in this study. By using Transformational Leadership as a theoretical lens in tandem with Emotional Labor, I was able to consider the ways in which the practices that I researched – which otherwise may have been

assumed to be gendered and/or racialized traits – were in line with contemporary conceptualizations of successful transformational leaders regardless of gender and race. With the use of Grounded Theory to guide the entirety of the analysis process, themes were allowed to emerge throughout each phase by coding and re-coding the data and each phase was iterative and emergent in nature (Saldaña, 2015).

Profile of Leaders

There were seven participants, each fulfilling a different leadership role within one of the two institutions that were part of this study. The participants' career experience ranged from 20-30 years, and most had experience across multiple organizations within their particular social institution, healthcare or education. The participants varied in race; three were White, three were Black, and one was Asian American. All participants were assigned pseudonyms and all self-identified as women.

Table A: Participants' Background

Pseudonym	Years in Leadership	Race	Institution	Role
Amelia	20	White	Higher Education	Assistant Dean
Cecile	20	Black	Higher Education	VP
Monica	15	White	Higher Education	Assistant Dean
Adrianna	30	Black	Healthcare	Director
Joy	25	Black	Healthcare	Director
Kate	17	White	Healthcare	Chief of Staff
Rose	18	Asian	Healthcare	Chief of Staff

University Leaders

Cecile

Cecile is an African American leader who has worked in higher education at various institutions across the United States for 20 years. Her career in higher education started with her own academic journey, as she earned a Master's in Counseling in Student Affairs and a Ph.D. in Counseling and Student Services. This education combination has allowed Cecile to consider herself a generalist with a specialty is student affairs, which has enabled her to take advantage of opportunities that are not necessarily part of a traditional higher education administrative career pathway. She currently serves as the Associate Vice President for Student Life at the university in this study and has been in this role and on this campus since 2019. As a leader, she describes herself as action-oriented and forward-thinking and says that she is the type of leader who strives to always be a fierce advocate for her team.

Monica

Monica is a White leader whose interest in and exposure to careers in higher education started when she was still a child herself, as her mother worked for a well-known private university in Southern California. Growing up, Monica spent her summers on campus with her mom, meeting and hanging around college students, and she describes these experiences as the fabric that her career in higher education is made of. Monica has worked at the university in this study since 2006, starting as the Coordinator of New Student Programs and

eventually becoming the Associate Dean of Students, which she's been for six years. She describes her leadership style as that of an advocate for her people and takes pride in predicting and taking care of her team's needs so that they can do their jobs well.

Amelia

Amelia is the Associate Dean of Faculty Development and Inclusion at one of the largest colleges within the university. While only three months into the Associate Dean position at the time of this study, she was a tenured faculty member and served several terms as department chair during the 22 years she spent in her department within the same college that she now serves as the dean to. Amelia describes her leadership style as empathetic, kind, and non-hierarchical but explained that she's dealt with confusion and uncertainty at times from those that she leads due to her choice not to dictate goals and direction. Because she is White, Amelia is hyperaware of her presence as a leader in a field related to inclusion and equity and, as such, works that much harder to be egalitarian in her leadership methods.

Healthcare Leaders

Adrianna

Adrianna is a Senior Director of Finance who has been with the healthcare organization for 22 years. She oversees business operations and leads a finance redesign initiative for the entire enterprise and is one of this study's Black leaders. While Adrianna has spent her entire career in finance, she

has an educational background and personal life experience that adds interesting context to her current role and leadership skills. In addition to her tenure with the healthcare company, Adrianna spent 20 years in the United States Air Force working on financial contracts with international vendors and obtained her Ph.D. in Clinical Psychology to effect change in the Black community's perception on mental health. She credits much of her leadership style to her upbringing in a working-class family in Kansas City, Missouri, and her time in the military, both of which instilled in her the values of mutual respect, trust, and service-based leadership.

Joy

Joy is the Director of External and Community Affairs and Operations and Strategy in one of the largest regional groups within the health care enterprise. She is a Black leader that has been with the organization for over 22 years and is responsible for managing the administrative operations for external community affairs, managing the program that facilitates all incoming charitable contributions to the organization, and is also accountable for the community benefits funded internship program for high school and college students. Joy considers her leadership style to be collaborative, service-oriented, and coaching-based and was also adamant about developing within her team members the confidence to be self-sufficient and able to get their work done without needing to rely on her.

Rose

Rose is both the Chief of Staff to an Executive Vice President and a Senior Director within the Information Technology (IT) branch of the organization. Her scope of work is broad and ever changing based on the needs of the executive that she serves and her role as a senior director, but her general responsibilities include leading the IT internal communications organization, overseeing organizational change communications, and managing the executive committee that serves the Executive Vice President that Rose is Chief of Staff to. Rose is the only Asian American leader in the study and drew some parallels between her upbringing and her leadership style, which she described as transparent, honest, and diligent.

Kate

Kate has been the Chief of Staff to an Executive Vice President of the marketing, sales, and service administration branch of the organization for the last two and a half years and has been with the enterprise for 13 years total. She is responsible for overseeing goals, budgeting, communications, and emergency preparedness as well as managing the executive committee that serves the Executive Vice President that Kate serves as Chief of Staff to. Kate is a White leader whose leadership style is transparent, inclusive, and coaching based. She also described herself as the type of leader who prefers to lead from behind, meaning she doesn't consider herself to be a top-down, direction-setting style of leader.

Approach to Data Analysis

Data were collected within a three-phase, qualitative, exploratory case study, which included a total of 15 observations, five semi-structured interviews, and two semi-structured focus groups with the participants from each site. Each phase of data collection was done virtually over Microsoft Teams or Zoom, and the interviews and focus groups were recorded and transcribed using Zoom's internal capabilities. Field notes from the observation phase were handwritten and the transcripts from the interviews and focus groups were manually cleaned and analyzed using a knowledge management software called Roam Research.

Phase I: Observations

During the first phase, I asked each participant to identify at least three meetings that I could attend to observe them in their leadership function and encouraged them to identify meetings in which I could observe their leadership styles in different contexts (e.g., with the teams that they lead and separately with their own leaders). During and after each observation, I wrote reflective memos with my initial thoughts about the interactions and practices that I witnessed to allow later separation between my thoughts and what had objectively occurred.

This phase of the research took place over the course of about five weeks from February to March, and at the end of each week I read through the field notes and reflective memos from that week to get a sense of what had

transpired at each meeting that I had observed. Following my initial review, I went back through the fieldnotes and wrote descriptive, topic, and preliminary analytical codes in the margins (Rudestam & Newton, 2015). The initial codes included Using individuals' names or nickname, Remembering personal details, Humor, Joking, Laughter, Smiling, Expressing gratitude, Expressing praise, Expressing recognition of employee work, Sharing information, Providing thorough details, Validation, Inspiration, Talking about family and lives outside of work, Individualization of responses, Emphasizing learning and development, Curiosity, Sharing resources, Encouraging feedback from employees, and Asking for help. From these codes, five themes emerged from this first phase: a) Humor, b) Emphasis on Personal and Professional Development, c) Focus on Individuals' Whole Selves, d) Transparency and Vulnerability, and e) Gratitude.

Table B: Phase I Themes and Subthemes

Initial Codes	Final Theme
Humor	Humor
Joking	
Laughter	
Smiling	
Inspiration	
Expressing recognition of employee work	Emphasis on Personal and Professional Development
Emphasizing learning and development	
Using individuals' names or nickname	Focus on Individuals' Whole Selves
Talking about family and lives outside of work	
Individualization of responses	
Remembering personal details	
Validation	
Asking for help	Transparency and Vulnerability
Encouraging feedback from employees	
Sharing information	
Providing thorough details	
Sharing resources	
Curiosity	
Expressing gratitude	Gratitude
Expressing praise	

Humor

Research has shown that humor is a trait that matches well with the prototype of a transformational leader (Mao et al., 2017). Leaders use humor to accomplish several objects, such as stress reduction, communication enhancement, and motivation of followers (Davis and Kleiner, 1989), and those who use humor have also been found to be more effective leaders (Priest and Swain, 2002). Other research has found that because of the potential for humor to be both a weapon to harm others and a tool to build relationships, transformational leaders use humor as a mechanism to express their concern for others over themselves (Hoption et al., 2013). While the leaders in this study used humor in varying ways and in different contexts, each woman employed their sense of humor during at least one observation.

Some leaders leveraged humor to build a sense of camaraderie and to keep conversations light during regular check-ins with their teams. For example, during one observation of Kate and her team, one of the more serious teammates had been discussing her goal to read at least 10 books on topics that were unfamiliar to her within the year and then started telling the team about the book she was currently reading called "Drunk." Before she could finish telling the team what the book was about, another teammate chimed in and said "Oh, pffft, I can tell you all about that! No book required!" The entire team, including Kate and the woman that had started the conversation, all started laughing and Kate took the opportunity to pivot the conversation back to the

task at hand by saying "That's great! Let us know how the book ends up being or if we should just stick to practicing what the title is suggesting. And, on that note, does anyone have any other hot topics to cover before we wrap up for today?" Instead of taking the lightheartedness out of the moment, Kate made it an opportunity to connect with her team on a shared, fun and funny experience, thus setting a foundation for camaraderie and trust.

Other leaders use their humor to make work joyful and engaging for their employees and for themselves. Decker (1987) found that workers who rated their supervisors as being high in sense of humor reported increased job satisfaction and tended to also rate their supervisors as having more positive leadership characteristics than those rated as low in sense of humor. Adrianna and her team embodied these findings by being one of the most engaged, positive, and tightknit groups that I observed, and cited their team's sense of humor as being one of the reasons they all appreciated working together so much and have stayed on the team for as long as they each have. The team's sense of humor was evident from the moment I logged on during my first observation of Adrianna and her team (which consisted of one Black woman, one White woman, one Black man, and one Filipino man). Upon first entering the meeting, I was surprised to hear laughter and joking even though I had joined the meeting right on time and then heard one of the men making a joke about the other one deciding to wear a tank top in an effort to show off their "guns" to their special guest (me). The rest of the team joined in, making

references to various R&B singers and other well-known, muscular, celebrities, and all took turns laughing and getting in a joke at their teammate's expense. He took it all in stride and even made a few corrective comments about trying to look like one celebrity over another, and Adrianna wrapped up the joking by welcoming me to the team meeting and saying, "I bet you weren't expecting this!" Before turning to the agenda, one of her team members stated to me, "One thing about us is that we gon' always share some laughs before we get down to business!" As the meeting progressed, it became clear that the team's sense of humor was cornerstone to their culture, and that Adrianna not only welcomed it, but was often the leader of it. This quality lends itself to Holmes and Marra's (2006) findings that transformational leaders tend to use jointly constructed, collaborative humor, rather than singularly constructed, subversive and conflict-ridden forms of humor to create solidarity. Her team was the only one that I observed that regularly poked fun directly at one another and at her, and they also had more inside jokes than the other teams that I observed.

Self-deprecating humor

While jointly constructed humor was a regular theme amongst many of the teams that I observed, it wasn't the only type of humor that was displayed. Several of the leaders partook in a more self-deprecating type of humor, aimed at making fun of their own short comings in the moment. When leaders use humor to facilitate social communications, it reduces friction, awkwardness, and interpersonal barriers that often come with workplace formal hierarchies (Fine

and DeSoucey, 2005; Vinton, 1989). When these barriers dissolve based on a shared laugh at the leader's expense, bonds are more quickly formed, team member morale is increased, and coping skills to deal with the environmental context are formed more rapidly (Crawford, 1994; Gruner, 1997). I saw this several times during my observations, such as during one account with Joy and her team. Near the start of the meeting, Joy had me introduce myself to the team and shortly after she moved on to sharing a slide with the agenda for the meeting visible to all. Upon sharing her screen with the agenda, Joy said "Now I know you all think I'm just trying to impress Rachael (researcher) by being this organized today, but I'm really trying you guys! Can I promise there will be an organized agenda next week? Definitely not." She and the rest of her team laughed, and several members of the team made lighthearted comments about being surprised by her agenda producing skills and said I must be really important if Joy made an agenda for the meeting.

In several meetings that I observed, the leaders poked fun at their tendencies to get long winded in their explanations by calling themselves out. In one such instance, Rose had been talking for over ten minutes about a new process that her team needed to prepare for and, upon realizing how long she had been speaking, said, "Oh goodness! In just a minute I promise I'm going to shut up and open it up for questions about things that you guys actually want to know more about." In observing a meeting with Cecile and her team, I watched as she gave general updates for several minutes before stopping herself and

stating, "Sorry, I just realized I'm talking and waving this Emory board around like it's some sort of talking stick that only I can wield…please, anyone, jump in at any time!" In another meeting, she poked fun at her habit of sometimes forgetting that she's already talked about a topic and how that has turned into a joke about how she needs her team more than they need her because without them, "Who knows what [she] might forget!"

Research has found that self-deprecating humor is positively related to transformational leadership ratings for multiple reasons, each of which were made apparent in the aforementioned observations. Not only does self-deprecating humor de-emphasize status distinctions between leaders and followers, but it shows that the leader is willing to be honest and allow themselves vulnerable, thus fostering the development of trust between leaders and followers (Hoption et al., 2013). Finally, self-deprecating humor is a proxy for showcasing humility (Decker, 1987), which was a subtheme from subsequent phases and will be more thoroughly discussed in coming sections of this analysis.

Emphasis on Personal and Professional Development

One of the central ideas of transformational leadership theory is that effective leaders create transformation in both their followers and within themselves (Ayman et al., 2009). Transformational leaders also respond to their employees' needs for meaning, development, and connection a higher purpose from, but also outside of, their work. In this study, the leaders that I observed placed a great deal of emphasis on helping their team members find

opportunities within and external to their organizations to identify and participate in ways to acquire new professional skills and knowledge, and to take part in personal development opportunities.

During several observations, leaders promoted upcoming professional conferences that were relevant to their teams' work and provided their employees with the information and the necessary funds to register. In one instance, Joy brought up an upcoming three-day learning conference that her organization was sponsoring and, to encourage them to sign up, told her team that "it's one of the best conferences [she has] ever been to." A few weeks later, during another observation of Joy and her team, she followed up with those that had attended the conference by asking, "What did you folks that attended the conference learn? What were some of your favorite moments or biggest takeaways?" This opened a 10-minute conversation where employees that had attended the learning conference got to share some highlights with the members of the team that hadn't gone, thus providing them with some valuable insights from the conference as well. In another observation, Joy was even more blatant with expressing her desire for her team to continue to develop personally and professionally. During a conversation about performance evaluations and wanting there to be an open forum to discuss where members of the team were at with regards to their goals she stated, "I want to make sure everyone is learning and growing and knowing what

everyone's strengths are on the team so that you can leverage one another's brilliance."

Adrianna often promoted conferences, trainings, and courses to her team in addition to sharing new and relevant white papers to read with her team. Advanced learning opportunities were discussed often as well, such as when she brought up an optional certification course that would help her team prepare for the period of the year that their workload as a finance team increased. The additional efforts on her part to bring learning opportunities to her team did not go unnoticed and several times comments were made that alluded to the team's appreciation for Adrianna's dedication to their growth and development. On one account, when Adrianna was running late for a meeting that I was there to observe, one team member stated "We're always learning from Adrianna. It's so unusual to find at [healthcare organization] a manager who wants you to be the best, better than her." This comment prompted another to agree and say, "She wants you to just get better. It doesn't matter who you are, she wants you to be the best version of yourself and she'll do whatever she can to help support you in that."

Other leaders worked on developing their teams by cultivating a sense of altruism amongst them, such as when Monica shared with her team a list of resources to support those affected by the war in Ukraine, followed by leading a discussion during their team meeting about ways that they could work together to help those impacted. Adrianna also tapped into this philanthropic nature by

using team meeting time to talk about volunteer opportunities for Covid vaccine booster events and finding other ways to give back to frontline workers that had served their organization during the pandemic. During a week dedicated to social justice initiatives, Cecile shared during the agenda portion of a meeting that she would be ending the meeting 30-minutes early to give the team time to make it to the social justice symposium that was taking place on campus that day. In each of these instances, the leaders made it clear that giving back to society as a way to further develop oneself should be, at the very least, a consideration if not a priority for each member of their teams.

Focus on Individuals' Whole Selves

Effective transformational leaders practice individual consideration, meaning they treat each employee as an individual and focus on their humanity, they spend time coaching, rather than "bossing" their employees, and they show appreciation for their employees' achievements. The women in this study practiced individual consideration by remembering personal details about their employees and things that were meaningful or important to them, regularly using people's names or endearing nicknames when talking to them, using praise, validation, and recognition, and welcoming talk about people's lives and families outside of work.

Monica regularly started off team meetings by having folks share how things were going for them outside of work and often referenced or inquired about their children and partners by name. Furthermore, she often ended

meetings by asking questions such as, "What is one thing you're going to do this week to take a break for yourself? Even if it's something small, how are you going to take care of yourself?" Kate was another leader who regularly remembered and referenced family members of teammates, like when one of her employees mentioned that she doesn't know how to ride a bike and Kate responded with "Does [employee's daughter] and [employee's son] know how to ride a bike?" Sometimes leaders would talk about their own families, such as during one team meeting kick off when Monica connected with one of her employees who had just shared that she was an only child by talking about how her son, too, is an only child and spoke of the pros and cons of only having one kid. Joy also spoke of her own child during her facilitation of a larger, "all-hands" meeting and attendees were sharing stories of their recently graduated children; she spoke of how quickly the time passes and mentioned that her son had just recently graduated from college.

In addition to remembering familial details of employees, the leaders that I observed often recalled and referenced stories that they had been told in the past. In one such instance, Kate's team was talking about how the National Football League playoff bracket was largely dominated by California-based teams and wondering out loud if the Green Bay Packers would survive, when Kate chimed in, "Comes to think of it, [employee] is kind of famous! She met and took some pictures with Aaron Rogers last year." The team laughed and the employee that she had called out said, "Oh my gosh, I can't believe you

remembered that!" Similarly, during one observation of Monica, one of her team members noticed that she was smirking and asked her what was going on, to which Monica replied, "I'm sorry, I was just messaging [another employee on the call] asking her if she was putting essential oils on her face because I noticed she was massaging it. She told me a few months back that was one of her secrets to maintaining her qi, and she just told me I nailed it. Sorry for the distraction!"

One of the most frequent uses of individual consideration observed was the leaders' use of praise, validation, and recognition of their teammates. Rose almost always responded to her employees' questions with an affirmative, "Great question!" before moving on to the answer. Adrianna also started a few meetings with praise and accolades about the team, sharing with them the great things that had been said about them by senior leadership in other meetings that she had attended. This willingness to share stories and feelings were paramount to another theme in this phase of the study: transparency and vulnerability, which we examine next.

Transparency and Vulnerability

Openness and honesty are two key indicators of trust in a leader (Tschannen-Moran, 2004), and all of the leaders in this study displayed transparency and vulnerability with their teams on several occasions. While the two behaviors often complimented one another, transparency took several different forms during the observations and included things like sharing of

information from higher ups, providing an abundance of clarity, detail, and specificity, sharing organizational insights or information, and other acts of openly sharing or intentionally not withholding knowledge. Vulnerability was also displayed in different ways by each leader, but generally looked like being candid about feelings related to information being shared, openly sharing personal information and stories, and being open to employees' input or feedback.

During one observation of Amelia, she blatantly stated to her team that she is "not in the business of withholding information because [her] feeling is that we get so much further when we are all working with the same amount of knowledge." This idea was apparent in many other observations, even if it was stated as clearly as had been done by Amelia. For example, Kate was clear early on with her team about a member's pending departure and how it would affect the team's work and shared with them the entire plan and timeline to backfill the position. During another meeting, she provided the team with the updates that she was aware of and, ultimately, shared introduced them to the person that would later be backfilling the position well before the transition was to take place. Other leaders were equally transparent related to staffing or other team changes, and some even went as far as eliciting the team's participation in pending changes, such as involving them in the interviewing and/or decision-making process for new hires. Joy preemptively shared with her team their executives' desire to hire interns in the coming months (a process that

her team oversees) and stated that this decision would "put some additional pressure on them to get it right," adding, "but this is a great opportunity to show off our work!"

In addition to transparency related to staffing changes, the leaders shared information that they knew would affect, or could potentially affect, the team. In one instance, Rose shared details about the organization's leaders' recent discussion about a return-to-office plan and openly answered questions that her team had. In another she provided a detailed explanation of a soon-to-be-announced change to an internal process and explained, "I feel like you guys should know what's coming down the pipeline so that you're able to start thinking about ways to shift your work." Adrianna shared this practice of informing her team about changes that would be taking effect and, after sharing a plethora of detail, said, "I always wanna make sure that I'm preparing you guys to succeed with or without my presence." After this sharing moment, one of Adrianna's team members pointedly stated to me, "She doesn't keep anything from us. As soon as she finds out something, she tells us."

As previously stated, transparency and vulnerability were often displayed in tandem. For example, right after Rose shared the updates about the return-to-office plan, she stated "I wouldn't foreshadow this happening because too many of us are feeling the same way that I am…which is against returning to office given our proven ability to successfully work from home." She also took time in this meeting to get a sense of how folks were feeling related to workload

and shared that, while she was also feeling the pressure, she was "happy to take things off of anyone's plate," and expressed deep appreciation for the level and quality of work her team had been producing. Rose and Cecile were both leaders that were willing to ask for specific help with tasks, thus unashamedly exposing their teams to their own shortcomings related to their workloads.

At times the displays of vulnerability were more related to the leaders' personal emotions. When team members were sharing their experiences and feelings related to working with students during Covid, Monica openly shared one's statement about empathy being on overdrive really resonated with her. She continued by explaining how she feels a strong sense of empathy fatigue setting in amongst herself and her team, and let the team know that she was there for any of them in whatever capacity she could be of assistance in. Adrianna shared her excitement and optimism about a major pending change that she had preeminently shared with them and told her team that "while [she] knew it [was] going to be a big adjustment and there [would] be hiccups, [she was] feeling like this [was] a huge opportunity. [She] personally [was] feeling really excited because of how this leader operates."

One of the most salient ways that these women shared their feelings with their teams pertained to their expressions of gratitude and appreciation for them, which is the final theme of Phase I.

Gratitude

In addition to leveraging humor, transparency and vulnerability, focusing on developing employees personally and professionally, and prioritizing team members' whole-selves, the leaders in this study expressed and demonstrated gratitude in both minor and more meaningful ways. Expressing gratitude took form in various ways, some as simple as regularly saying "Thank you," others being more detailed and specific to individuals or situations. Each of the leaders observed thanked the members of their teams countless times for things like helping with technology, sharing stories or information, spending time in meetings and in other ways, and for the value they add to the team. Kate often thanked people individually for providing their updates in team meetings, while Amelia frequently thanked her team for being on camera and staying engaged throughout their meetings, and Monica often thanked her team members for their resilience and capacity to care for students on a regular basis.

Other expressions of gratitude were more detailed and specific, such as when Joy gave accolades to her newest team members for their hard work by saying, "They have really made my job so easy, and it's felt so great to have these two so seamlessly run this program so quickly." Upon hearing this, the rest of the team joined in on celebrating the work of the two newest teammates by posting GIFs of gratitude and/or using clapping and heart reactions. Adrianna also took time to give specific praise to her team for the work that they did to accomplish a project goal in record time by saying, "Collectively and

individually you're an amazing team. You came together so quickly in, what, six months? And accomplished all that you did on this work? I appreciate you all so much, you really have no idea." In addition to speaking on her own gratitude, she continued, "It feels really awesome to have [lists several different executives] give me praise on my team. I just want you guys to know how proud I am of you and everything you've done." Adrianna connected the work of her team to the broader, purposeful work of the organization and doubled down on her appreciation by ending with, "The value you bring is gonna go so far…all of these things we're doing are going to make care affordable for the communities. I hope you know how much that means to me and to a lot of other people that will never have the opportunity to thank you."

Summary of Phase I

The five themes from Phase One included Humor, Emphasis on Personal and Professional Development, Focus on Individuals' Whole Selves, Transparency and Vulnerability, and Gratitude. While each leader expressed these themes in different ways, they each focused on doing things like creating inside jokes or using self-deprecating humor to showcase their fun sides. Many of them remembered personal details or talked about family and lives outside of work as ways to connect to their employees on a wholistic level and they shared learning opportunities as well as personal and professional development opportunities as a way to help their employees grow. They all shared information openly and often, provided thorough details, and openly asked for help as a

way to be transparent and vulnerable with their teams. All of the leaders regularly expressed gratitude, praise, and appreciation for their employees and made it well known how much value they each brought to their respective teams. All of the themes that emerged in Phase One were used to help focus the interview questions on the observed phenomena. Phase II of the study consisted of five semi-structured interviews, which are detailed in the following section.

Phase II: Interviews

The five interviews that were conducted were semi-structured and were based on the themes that emerged from the first phase of the study, and the participants selected to be interviewed were those that expressed an exceptional amount of emotional labor with their teams during the observation phase. The interviewees – Rose, Joy, Adrianna, Monica, and Cecile – were asked questions pertaining to their intentionality around the use of the five themes that were observed and follow up questions were asked based on their responses to the initial line of questioning. Upon the conclusion of each interview, I read through the full interview transcript to get a feel of the entire discussion. While reading through the interviews, I tagged passages with preliminary meaning units and ended with a total of 154 meaning units.

After this step, I reviewed all meaning units and looked for trends across all participant interview data. During this step, I revisited the research questions and the analytical memos I took during and after each interview. I noted the

meaning units that answered the research questions and resonated during my initial analysis of the data—this resulted in the number of meaning units getting reduced from 154 to 140. Next, I refined the naming of the 140 meaning units to make them descriptive.

After this first round of coding, I did a second round of coding in which I used the meaning units to make themes and subthemes. The seven themes that arose were: (a) being a utility player, (b) emotional self-awareness, (c) conceptualization of responsibilities as a leader, (d) self-identified personal traits, (e) managing gendered expectations, (f) racialized emotional labor and (g) racialized emotional self-awareness. The themes and subthemes that emerged from the data align with and answer the research questions that guided the study (Table C).

Table C: Phase II Themes and Subthemes

Themes	Subthemes
Q.1: For women who have achieved formal leadership roles, what practices do they engage in that have helped them succeed? Q.1a: How are these practices aligned with the conceptualization of transformational leadership?	
Being a Utility Player	Bringing together different skillsets
	Being all things to everybody
	Making it look easy
	Maintaining a broad scope of responsibility
Emotional Self-Awareness	Putting pressure on oneself
	Managing burnout
	Managing perceptions
	Coping skills
Conceptualization of Responsibilities as a Leader	Understanding one's leadership style (evolution of one's style) Leading through relationships Managing vs Leading Coaching/Mentoring Advocate Leadership
	Helping others accomplish their goals
	Control team culture
	Caring about people's humanity
Self-identified Personal Traits	Humility
	Humor
	Gratitude
	Transparency
Managing Gendered Expectations	Looking the part
	Motherhood and leadership
	Comparing men and women

Table C: Phase II Themes and Subthemes Continued

Themes	Subthemes
Q2. How do women of color, particularly Black women, describe their experiences in leadership roles?	
Racialized Emotional Labor	Expected to do cultural work because of race
	Racial awareness and Accountability for how others view Black people
	Combating biases and Approaching differences head-on
Racialized Emotional Self-Awareness	Additional expectations due to Blackness

"What do you need from me?": Being a Utility Player

Each of the women spoke of their ability to multitask and exceed others' expectations as paramount to their success as a leader. Unpacking this theme resulted in four different subthemes including bringing together different skillsets, maintaining a broad scope of responsibility, being all things to everybody, and making it look easy. Joy described those that have these capabilities as utility players and explained,

> As a utility player, you have to be ready at any time to pivot. To be where you weren't expected to be. To be all of the things to all of the people. Be just enough of one thing, but not too much of another. You have to have all the answers, but not be a know it all. You're responsible for so many things and have to be a master at juggling. We (successful female leaders) do all of this and then some…and we make it look easy.

Some of the subthemes were identified as intentional from the leaders' perspectives. Two of the women explained that ability to identify skillsets and

capabilities within individuals was necessary in order to strengthen the team's capabilities overall. Adrianna described her intentionality behind bringing people with different skillsets together by stating,

> I tell people this all the time, there's so much talent in our organization that gets overlooked, because you're looking [points to skin] instead of looking at the person, and you know we have so much value to add. When they hear this they'll be like 'well you make it sound so simple'… but that is what it is…it's that simple. For you to be a leader, you should look at your talent, not look [at their skin] but look at what you have right in front of you and see the value that they bring to the table. I deliberately choose people on my team that have certain characteristics, because I know what each one of those folks with me brings to make a team what it can be. I also want to make sure we know why we're doing things like that. For me, I know I'm building leaders. I'm building people to replace me.

Joy similarly discussed the necessity of intentionality with this practice by explaining,

> If one person has, you know, analytical skills they provide that piece of it. If somebody else has the communication piece of it, and I think that's the case on our team, we all bring something different to those areas, and that's okay, that's good, that's kind of what continues to make the team cohesive. In order for everybody to be efficient, they have to understand the whole of it. So for any group that I'm leading that's usually where I start, figuring out what everyone's strong suits are and building the team around putting those pieces together.

Other subthemes, like maintaining a broad scope of responsibility, were not as intentional. Monica described the challenges with having such a broad scope of responsibilities in her job by saying:

> I mean we [women] don't have the luxury to give things up the same ways that others do. There are certain areas or perhaps people within higher ed that can say 'I'm not going to respond to an email for a week sorry I'm on a break,' but if we did that…I

> mean can't do that. I can't respond to someone and say 'sorry it's break time.' We don't have the – I don't know if it's, not even a luxury, it's just not something as a part of our day-to-day life that we. I'm responsible for so many different buckets of work that I can't drop things or not follow up. Ultimately, I'm accountable to all of the various work that we do.

Despite the lack of intentionality related to this subtheme, at least one of the leaders described a sense of agency related to it. Joy described feeling like, as a leader, she needed to have a lot of responsibility, and explained:

> …just enough to have my hand in a lot of little bits and pieces of it, enough so it feels like I understand the whole pie, right? Because at this point, I have enough knowledge about all of it that I could really do just about any of it. Especially in the external and community affairs arena I've really touched just about everything that they've done over the last ten years.

In addition to maintaining a broad scope of responsibility, all of the leaders alluded to feeling pressured to be all things to everybody, which included things like predicting people's needs, feeling responsible for managing people's feelings and emotions, and being the keeper of knowledge related to the institution, team, and things outside of work. Monica described her experience with feeling responsible for predicting needs and said,

> I feel like my role, one of my roles is to predict and then advocate for people if I feel like my staff doesn't have what they need. If I identify that there is a gap, I feel like it is my role and responsibility to make that known. So maybe it's, something like 'okay, I see you don't have the capacity to do x, y, and z, but it still needs to be done, so let me take some stuff from you. It's things like looking at where I can take things off their plate based on what I see coming up. Because inherently, again, I look ahead to say if I don't provide this support for this person, something is going to drop.

Managing people's emotions or managing contexts to meet the needs of people's feelings was another way that the women worked as utility players. Cecile explained that she "(has) to make sure that (her) people are feeling good in order for them to do their jobs well," and felt that she couldn't fulfill her charge if anyone on her team was feeling upset, scared, or in any way not feeling up to doing their job. She continued, "I don't have the expertise in all eight of these departments, or nine of these departments, so I need them to feel supported in ways that make them feel empowered to do what they do, because I can't do it all. It's my role to set the temperature for people's moods so that we can all succeed at what we do."

When it comes to managing the context for people to thrive emotionally, Cecile expressed,

> I also have had to come in and set a tone that's opposite of what they've been used to, that's tough when you try to create your own culture, internally and I've been very specific with setting the right tone. My intention has always been we are a unit and one brand overall. We are not neighbors. We work together. Okay, so we are one unit, we are not, we are not a unit of neighbors and I think that that has a different type of an impact because when they feel like they can trust one another and work together there's their own sense of power in numbers. It sets the tone to feel like people have their backs, so if anybody is going to come for them or spew a whole bunch of stuff, we've got to feel that support all around.

Rose felt like the desire to support employees' emotional well-being was an uncommon phenomenon, explaining,

> There just aren't as many leaders out there who, I think, stand up for their people and care about how they actually feel. You know? Or those who give them a safe space to make mistakes, and I feel that

> that's reinforced again as you go up the ranks, and the organization that sort of like command and control culture, so there's not a desire to cultivate a sense of caring.

While the women all agreed that cultivating a caring environment and managing people's feelings were an important part of being a utility player, the understanding of the root of this quality differed amongst the leaders. Rose, for example, felt that the expectation to readily be all things to everybody was an explicit requirement for female leaders. She said, "The more stuff proliferates these poor people [women leaders] are really trying to do it all, because they are never given the message that, you know, you can't be all things to everybody. Instead, they're being told, no, you have to be all things to everybody and do everything we tell you to do and do it well." Monica, however, explained that this quality was something more innate in women. She stated,

> Personally, I never feel like I'm doing enough in all the areas of my life. Where that's coming from, I don't know. It's like, if I'm at work – like when I first came back to work after having my son, you know, it was like 'Why do I feel so good about being here?' Being happy to take a break doesn't mean that I'm not this (a good mom). And then, when I would be at home with him it felt like 'Oh I'm missing something there,' and I think there's just this sense of having to be everything to everyone. And that all kind of…I don't know, I wasn't like explicitly told that in life. I think you just kind of see things and observe other women. But if I think about it, I don't feel like I was told this was how I was supposed to be. I just am this way. Most of us are, it seems.

The above qualities describing a utility player came up during each of the interviews and, while the leaders each expressed varying amounts of pressure that come along with these responsibilities, they each touched on the implicit

ability to make it look easy. Monica described the combined pressures that come along with the role of being a utility player while also making it look easy by stating,

> We can't function on a daily basis feeling like if I'm gone, even for a day, things are going to crumble. It's just not sustainable, it's not, and I think we (female leaders) have this inherent concern that something is going to be dropped if you're gone for a day or a week and it's like we need to get away from that. But part of the reason we can't get away from it is because we make it seem so easy for us by never, ever saying 'help' or letting any cracks show.

Rose felt that the notion of making it look easy was essentially a prerequisite to being an executive chief of staff,

> There is, there's just a connection there and I think we're follow-uppers, we track so many things, we have to be insightful about our leader, you know, we display EQ, you know? Those aren't necessarily traits that you see consistently in just in men in general. And you know, I think, most importantly, for Chief of Staff they're kind of guardians of people and I know that and there's a real connection to -- like you don't have to be a mom, but, you know, as a mom you understand that sort of guardian-protector sort of thing, and you also know that you have to keep it completely cool under all pressure. Never let them see you sweat kind of thing.

Joy shared the double-edged sword nature of making juggling so many things look easy, explained that it was likely at least part of the reason she and other female leaders aren't farther ahead in their careers. She expanded,

> So, if I go into a room and you know, everybody was like oh my gosh you did a fantastic job, I would never think of going into a room and saying, "look what I've done, I've done all this stuff!" But it's my own lack of confidence, I think, and probably a little fear in there. So I think I'm a little more intentional about doing it now -- nowhere near what I need to be doing, and I'm very well aware of that. And as I even think about what this 'one more promotion' thing (referring to her desire to be promoted one more time before she retires) looks like. I'm really conscious about it. It's like look you no one knows who you are. And sometimes that may even mean my

> boss. One of my colleagues, the one that's been with me the whole time, we always say that probably one of the worst things that we do and have done over our career is we make everything look easy. It's like, if you give me a project it's done, you have no idea what it took to do it. Even with my VP. She's like, "Just give it to her, she can do it, no big deal, she does everything." And I never go back and go, "Oh my gosh, let me tell you what it took me to do all that stuff!" Instead it's just like, "Okay here you go." And it's a done deal…and that probably has worked to my detriment over the last 20 years. So, I'm trying to be more conscious about it, but it's not natural it's not natural for me, I feel like I'm complaining if I say that I need more time or I need more of this or I need more of that.

The ability to be self-aware and to regulate one's feelings extended beyond Joy's explanation of her experience with making things look easy. The next theme identified in from the interviews was that of emotional self-awareness.

"Who do I need to be in this space to be able to get done what needs to be done?": Emotional Self-Awareness

Each of the leaders displayed at least some emotional self-awareness, and this awareness manifested in ways including how they described managing burn out, awareness of the pressure that they put on themselves, understanding of how they manage other people's perceptions of them, and the coping skills they use to navigate this all. When discussing the way she feels during times of high stress Rose explained,

> I am trying to be — I have to be really mindful to not pay that forward, you know. I want to pay forward something different. And I mean both to my team, as well as to my kids because, otherwise, if I'm left to my own devices in managing everything, I could probably be a real asshole. I can be really exacting about things, you know? Waiting for things to be perfect and expecting them to be perfect and making others do as I expect. In in our business, I

> can't afford that, and nobody has that kind of time, so I have to be really self-aware to keep that tendency in check in myself.

Monica discussed the relationship between putting pressure on herself and managing burnout. She underscored that it "shouldn't get to the point that we are burnt out (to) finally make a decision to do things for ourselves, because that's how resentment and other things come about." She also explained the importance of leading by example and having to "show how we take care of ourselves, like by giving ourselves a break," because of the potential positive impacts that example could have on others. Monica expressed that it was important to lead her team to the realization that, on a work-level, "none of us are irreplaceable." She explained, "None of the work we're doing, and I mean I know I'm good at my job and the work we do is really important, but someone else could come in and do my job. But me as a human is not replaceable, and it's important to show awareness of that."

Cecile shared a similar sentiment about managing burn out, both within herself and with her employees, and touched on the idea that it was largely a women's tendency to do several things at once to the point of burnout. She asserted, "I think folks are getting to the point, people are so burned out that we're having to make the decision to do things for ourselves and not think about how it may affect others. We (women) have this tendency where we don't do things for ourselves because of the impact to other people, and we just can't do that anymore. You can't pour from an empty cup, and I have to lead by example on that front."

In addition to unpacking the tendency to not prioritize herself at the risk of impacting others, Cecile explained how she's managed her presentation of self to manage others' perceptions of her. She explained her persona shapeshifting abilities as a necessary part of getting her work done, stating:

> You know, I've had to, each time I went to new places, I had to kind of figure out how do I…who am I in this space? Who do I need to be in this space to be able to get done what needs to be done? It's always me, more or less, but there's this… how do I make myself, how do I, how do I operate in the way that you want to see me. You know, or your definition of me. How do I match that to an extent and act just so in order to accomplish what we need accomplished?

Rose expressed a similar experience to what Cecile described when she's in meetings with high-level executives. Regarding her need to mold herself based on what an executive-level situation requires of her she said, "I am myself with them, but when I'm in a meeting with the…Executive Committee, I feel very self-conscious about my place…I'm not an SVP, I'm not a VP, I'm not even an ED…I'm there as (senior executive's) right hand person who she has entrusted to act in her place. So, I think I have this like mentality of 'I don't have the right to speak up in this group, but who do I need to be in order for you to perceive me in a way that enables me to get the work done and in the way that my leader expects it done?' I need them to have a certain level of respect for me, so I have to manage their perception of me and interact with them in ways that will lead to that."

Emotional self-awareness also prompted the women to develop a set of skills to draw from to help them cope with the fatigue that comes along with managing burnout, self-pressure, and other people's perceptions. Monica often uses humor as a coping mechanism, explaining,

> I think it's, um, you know the - the area that we work in, we're literally caregivers, we're dealing with - we have secondary trauma, we have compassion fatigue, we're hearing students' trauma daily basis and so it's from a place of just pure survival and mental and emotional care. So, you know, I think humor is used as a major coping mechanism. We constantly say that we laugh so we don't cry.

Joy expressed the necessity to set boundaries with her team in order to cope with the struggles of constant emotional self-awareness. While underscoring her desire to make her employees feel completely supported in their development, she also expressed her desire to maintain clear boundaries. She said, "I want them to feel like they can depend on me and trust me and as much as I try to ensure they're feeling supported and cared about, I also keep my boundaries with them, you know? Work is work, and I want them to feel that way, too. I need to keep those boundaries in place, so I don't feel completely depleted by giving too much of myself emotionally."

Much of the women's decisions around how to act in order to garner their desired perception from others, which coping mechanism to use, and what tactics to employ to manage their own self-pressure depended upon how the individual conceptualized what their roles and responsibilities were as a leader.

The conceptualization of each woman's leadership role was one of the most varied sections of phase two, which we will turn to now.

"I have their back no matter what and I will always set them up to succeed": Conceptualization of One's Responsibilities as a Leader

Each of the women had their own understanding of what it meant to be a leader, and each discussed the evolution of their leadership style and their conceptualization of their current style. They had varying beliefs about what made a leader effective or good, and each also had different ideas about what effective leaders are responsible for. When discussing how their own personal styles were shaped, all of the leaders brought up both positive and negative examples of leaders that they had had in their lives. Rose explained that her experience with both command-and-control and empowering types of leaders led her to her present leadership style,

> There aren't many leaders out there who, I think, stand up for their people, you know, or who give them a safe space to make a mistake. And I feel that that's reinforced again as you go down the ranks and the organization that sort of like command and control. And it's hard because we're all being told to accelerate and to adapt and to be more agile, but there's very little tolerance for making mistakes. At any of the high-tech firms, if you break something they treat it as a learning experience, they see it as an opportunity for the organization to learn from those failures and then to not repeat it, but to improve. So that's what I'm trying to teach my team, and so the way I teach it the way I try to model that for my team is.

Cecile felt like prior leaders she had worked under provoked a sense of fear to control their teams and explained that this places limitations on people's abilities, causing her to do the opposite as a leader. She stated,

> "A culture of fear creates insecurity. It confines people. And I don't think you get the best work. Because people feel like they have to constantly look over their shoulders. Now fear could be fear of retaliation. It can be fear of being yelled at. It can be fear of losing your job. It could be fear of public humiliation, I've seen all these things. And that does not create a workforce that can be all that they can be. At the end of the day, it's about power, what can I get people to do, how can I assert my dominance and how can I almost like make people jump is a way that I see it. But I've also seen the opposite. I had a supervisor at one point who I just knew was pretty much was going to protect me at all costs, and that did wonders for my capacity to thrive and grow, which I think is where my fierce protection of advocacy stems from."

Adriana's prior military experience made her initial transition into civilian leadership roles challenging. She explained that the lack of transparency she experienced early on in her leadership tenure at the healthcare company frustrated her because she felt she knew a better leadership style was possible. She said,

> It didn't operate that way in the military, because we really had to share information immediately because our responses had to be quick. So, when I came over to (healthcare company) and they had those type of you know, to me, gaps in how you communicate with your staff, that kind of bothered me and I was stuck there a lot. And I was reporting to (senior executive) at the time, and he was like "Well, you know, that's just the way it works here," and I said, "But you didn't explain to me, why?" and then he was like, "I gotta tell you why?" and I was like…This, to me, makes no sense if you're holding me accountable to make sure this gets done, and I want to take the accountability and be successful at it. I need my team to help me do this and drive what you're asking, but if you can't tell for like another couple of weeks or months why we're doing this, how is it supposed to work? I was like man you're killing me.

Regarding leadership culture overall, Adriana also criticized traditional hierarchies and, like Cecile, felt as though that style leads to a culture of fear

and the inability of employees to succeed at their highest level possible. She said,

> I think that there's always been this culture of superiority, you know what I mean? It's "If I'm the boss, I'm up here and you're down here and there's no in between." And I think that concept has never worked for me. As a leader, yes, but also as just as a person. In general, I think it goes back to accountability and treating people the way you want to be treated, which, I think is another reason why my leadership style is different. I want that transparency; I want them to see me just like they see their colleagues. You know, there shouldn't be this fear. If you fear me then I'm not doing the right thing. I don't want you to fear me. Respect me, but don't fear me. Fear and respect are two very different things and I tell people that all the time.

She continued on to explain how this expectation of respect sets the tone for her team culture. She underscored the need to allow the space to make mistakes and said that she "give(s) (her team) a whole lot of room to let (her) know if expectations are too high for them." She also expressed the importance of giving them the tools or resources needed to succeed, stating, "I will give them all the tools they need to be successful, and if they're missing anything I always give them an opportunity to let me know what that is so I can get it for them…the most important thing I want them to know is that I have their back no matter what and I will always set them up to succeed."

Joy's evolution of her own leadership style was also a reflection of how she conceptualized and responded to other styles that she's experienced. She explained,

> I think currently in our organization the mindset around leadership is not necessarily about the quality of the work, it's about climbing the ladder. It's about making sure you're the most important or you're the smartest person in the room…And then this idea of being the smartest person evolves into having people just waiting to tell them what to do because there's this idea that no one besides the all-knowing leader has the answer. So, I definitely don't want to be that way with my team or even with my own higher ups. It's about what people think about their own agency, right. And in their own power. How they look at their own power which effects their ability to actually get the work done. I want us to all feel empowered with own our own work and be able to get it done.

Joy also brought up the concept of managing versus leading and how she felt there was a disconnect between what her organization's culture conceptualized what it means to be a leader compared to what she called being a "people leader." She explained that, in her experience, organizations used to hire managers to manage people, not processes, and that she has seen this shift over time. She explained how this model is problematic, stating, "(just) because I have all the content knowledge does not mean I'm going to be able to manage people and support their development. And I think that, especially at (healthcare organization), has really become the culture. The more content you have, the more you produce, you're going to get promoted and have more people to lead...But nowhere along that way has anyone taught you how to manage, develop, or effectively lead actual people." When asked to describe how this conceptualization shapes her own leadership style, Joy asserted that she focuses on building relationships to prioritize the people on her team so that they, in turn, can prioritize the work. She said,

> For me, I think it's about relationship. You can certainly say that people will follow if you kind of have this strong personality and you're pulling them along the way. But I've learned that the relationship that you build with people allows them to want to go along with you. If you're sincere and you're true and you're concerned about them and you're trying to help them accomplish what they want to accomplish, people are happy to follow you.

Joy's explanation of actively supporting her employee's goals was a sentiment that many of the leaders shared. Rose realized after her first few years of being in a manager position that she wanted to be the type of leader that coached, supported, and encouraged her employees to continue to grow and find new roles. She expressed that early in her leadership tenure, she took departures from her team personally until she realized that her role as a leader meant helping others reach their full potential even if that meant losing them as an employee. She further stated,

> I want to be someone who's supportive of my employees' careers. You know, make sure that they get the feedback that they need to continue growing and developing. But I also learned that I don't want to just blow sunshine at them about their development because that doesn't actually help. The way to provide feedback is, you know, it needs to be constructively done. And in terms of coaching or mentoring them through that, I have had situations where people have said "I'm interested in this other position," and instead of being like a jerk like I was in the early years, or whatever, now I will take the time to understand what is the position that they're looking at, find out why are you interested in it, and, you know, most times I'm like this sounds like an amazing opportunity and I'm going to do what I can to help you. I don't want to lose you, but you know, this is a great opportunity!

In addition to placing significant value on helping their teams accomplish their goals, several of the participants felt that one of their biggest roles as a

leader was to set the team culture, both from an internal and an external perspective. Cecile had talked about the importance of setting the internal context for people to thrive in by creating a team culture of trust and community, but she also underscored the importance of setting the culture and expectations of her team from those outside. She called herself a "fierce protector of (her) people," and explained "because I know their capacity, I know why I brought them in, I know what my charge has been and that's what I've been working towards. But not everybody knows that. Because of various transition or whatever may be so, I have to be that person who serves that role and…I strongly believe that the narrative about my team has to be set by me."

The things that the women believed were their responsibilities as a leader were varied and the evolutions and conceptualizations of their individual leadership styles differed as well. However, the leaders all shared the idea that their leadership styles were influenced by experience, context, and other, self-identified, traits that they shared in common.

"Maybe it's just who I am": Self-identified Personal Traits

According to the participants of this study, being a successful female leader requires the conscious use of certain traits. When asked about the themes that had come up from the observation phase, all five interviewees discussed how humility, humor, gratitude, and transparency are all key practices that have helped them succeed in their leadership careers and, beyond that, are a conscious choice of their leadership styles.

Humility

Morris et al. (2005) defined humility as "a personal orientation founded on a willingness to see the self accurately and a propensity to put oneself in perspective" and found that leader humility was positively associated with ratings of transformational leadership. Several of the participants shared the value and importance of humbleness as a leader, particularly related to knowledge and information and related to their hierarchical positions. Related to having all of the answers or information, Joy stated,

> I learned somewhere along the way, that I don't have all the answers. So, what became important for me is to -- since I don't have all the answers and I'm trying to accomplish something or implement something -- that I need people who have that. And I think I'm open enough with people to say 'I don't know how we're going to get there, but that's what you guys are here for.' And so, with all the different pieces you start to kind of build the vision, and you build that vision together, and that includes my team being able to tell me 'Yeah, guess what that's not going to work, we're not going to do it like that, because it doesn't work that way.' So, I don't know, I just don't come into a leading position with an out of check ego.

Humility related to leadership position was another important factor for several of the leaders. Adrianna was clear in her desire for her team to view her as "one of them," and Cecile shared the importance of her team seeing her on "an equal playing field to them" in order to trust her as a leader. Humility was also necessary to include more voices in conversations, which for Rose was paramount to her team's ability to succeed. She stated,

> I just think it's unfortunate when leaders claim to be the know all, end all, because that's really where things fall apart. I try to always

> be open about not knowing all the answers and, you know, saying we need to include individual contributors in the conversation, because I'm going to guarantee you that's where a lot of stuff is happening and they are the ones that will know, or know how to get, the answers. It can't be a one person show if you want to succeed.

Monica shared that she believes humility to be a necessary part of being a good leader, but also felt that there was a problematic side of being humble as a female leader. She struggled with the notion that some view humility as a weakness and expressed concerned that if "(she doesn't) do something in a way that's more overbearing that (she) won't have a lot of leverage compared to folks that have voices that are heard more loudly because they say they claim to have all of the answers and demand to be taken seriously." Despite this, she explained that humility was an "invaluable trait" to her because she "never want(s) to be seen as or perceived as being self-absorbed, or unreliable or otherwise just not doing what needs to be done because (she's) too wrapped up in what (she) thinks is important."

Humor

Humor was a theme that came up several times during the observation phase, and all of the women that were interviewed expressed that humor was an imperative trait to leading successfully. How, when, and why the leaders leveraged their and their teams' sense of humor was varied, but it was a notable trait amongst each of the participants. Most of them admitted to using humor to connect with their employees or as a way to flatten the perceived

hierarchy between them and their teams. Adrianna and Monica both discussed using humor to "break the ice" with people and to give folks early insight into their personalities and leadership styles.

Both leaders in higher education discussed how they consciously used humor as a coping mechanism to help deal with the pressures, empathy fatigue, and sadness that their roles and those of their employees can experience. Monica shared,

> You know I think humor is used as a major coping mechanism, because we say a lot that we laugh so we don't cry…When the time comes, because there are times where there's–there's just such heaviness that if we don't give that space and humor, I feel like we're making things too transactional, and we have to find that balance… like if a student passes or something like that, I want to take the time and create the space to acknowledge that and honor that, and also make it okay for us to be human and bring laughter into our pain.

Cecile shared that prior to work-from-home mandates due to Covid-19, she and her team "liked to laugh and giggle" often and that she prioritized moments of silliness, giving the example of how, on the last May 4th (Star Wars Day) she took a series of pictures with Baby Yoda around campus and sent them out to everyone on her team. Cecile then discussed how the pandemic had created a renewed need for humor in the virtual work environment, stating:

> I think humor is so important either way, but I will say, especially in the Zoom world—and I already have kind of that type of group where we crack jokes all the way all day—but during Covid I think our humor increased even more, because it was a way of coping way of trying to create whatever we considered our normal

> interactions if we were in person. So, with the introduction of (Microsoft) Teams and GIFs and everything… it was something that kept us, or at least the idea of being engaged, so think there have been different types of humor that have evolved. But I do find it important that I created an environment where folks can be funny and have that sense of humor because we're so much in the thick of things, and especially with a lot of my people having to deal with the daily interpersonal challenges with students…and you need a break, and sometimes that break is, you know, in light, upbeat, humorous ways that we can find or make throughout the day.

In addition to using humor as a coping mechanism, some of the leaders discussed using humor as a tool to educate folks during what might otherwise be a tense moment. Monica talked about making a quick joke "just to give us a chuckle on something when it's a tense moment and it breaks the ice" and opens up the flow of the conversation. Adrianna talked about her use of humor to deal with racially charged situations, sharing a story about a time that she was in a meeting with leaders at various levels within the organization:

> … somebody made a comment about Black women and how, you know, 'you gotta be careful when you're talking to them, because they can get sensitive' and my camera was on and I guess I made a face, so (senior executive) said "Wooo, Adrianna, I *know* you have a comment to that"…I was like "Oh my gosh!" She smiled and so I was like, "Well since I guess my Rock eyebrow went up and gave it away that I was thinking something, let me share with you what's on my mind," so I use humor to explain my position (as a Black woman), but it was also to educate and I also didn't want the person to feel like what they said was so completely inappropriate that, you know…you want people to be as vulnerable as they can be so we can get past those biases and educate them without them feeling bad.

While humor was a trait that all of the leaders claimed to consciously use, Rose and Joy both expressed caution in the use of it depending on one's

leadership level, caution which Rose attributed to a gendered difference in expectations between men and women leaders. Joy expressed that for Black women, in particular, using humor or being seen as a funny person while trying to get promoted into a C-suite position would likely not be appropriate or appreciated by those in that circle. Adrianna, likely the funniest leader in the study, felt that leaders should be authentic to who they are, including the use of humor, and shared an interaction that she and a senior executive had once had. The executive said, "People laugh all the time, but what I like is how you make your funny comments right when I don't hardly know how to make the worst meeting end on a good note." And Adrianna replied, "Well yeah…it's not that hard because at the end of the day… none of us have it as bad as we think we do in that moment."

Gratitude

As Adrianna alluded to in the last statement, many of the leaders felt that there was a lot to be grateful for, not the least of which were the members of their teams. Rose stated, "gratitude, for me just feels natural and organic in my leadership style," and many of her peers also felt that gratitude was the most natural trait of their styles and a key factor in their success as a leader. The ways in which the leaders expressed their gratitude varied slightly, but most discussed the conscious use of praise, recognition, validation, and candid expressions of gratitude to convey this sentiment to their employees. Joy, for example, stated "I have to consciously praise my team and let them know how grateful I am for

them because, again, I don't know everything, so if it wasn't for them none of the work we do would be possible. And I need them to know that, and I need them to know that I know that, and I don't take them for granted. So, I praise them, I recognize their hard work. And I think those are all conscious decisions."

Monica discussed the value that infusing gratitude into her team's culture had on her employees. For her, making gratitude a conscious practice was something that her team had grown to appreciate and look forward to amongst the rest of their emotionally charged work with students. She explained,

> I think gratitude, for me, is so important as a leader and is also important to my team overall. Just this morning during our team meeting we went around and talked about things that were, you know, the things we have gratitude for and one of the members of the team said, "I have gratitude for the sheer fact that we have a group that is intentionally able to talk about what we feel grateful for." Like it's interesting, um, now they like look for those opportunities to express that feeling and look for outlets to express what they're grateful for.

Cecile discussed the ways that she practices and expresses gratitude with her team and underscored the importance of putting an action behind recognizing the quality and quantity of the work that they do. While her methods for expressing her appreciation varied, she emphasized the importance of being genuine regardless of the expression of gratitude, stating:

> It can be anything from a little chocolate to I'm just going to pop in and just say "hey I just want to say thank you"… I find that to be

> very important to acknowledge all the work they do. So I'll say—I just told this to a team member— "What are you doing on Monday? I don't think you have any meetings…why don't you take the day off because you've had programs every day this month." And so that I think it's about caring about them and showing the gratitude… all of it leads to creating that space and ability to perform at their best and for them to take time off or for me to give them a little whatever and is hopefully indicates and shows how I am genuinely interested in them, it's not forced and that's really important.

Being genuine with praise and gratitude was a sentiment that Adrianna also shared, and she explained that validating her employee's ideas with praise and excitement, as well as acknowledging her gratitude for their efforts, was part of her daily practice as a leader.

Transparency

While methods for using humor, expressing humility, and practicing gratitude, varied, the women shared similar ideas around both the importance of being transparent and how to use transparency with their teams. Each of the participants also spoke of having had prior experiences with teams or leaders that lacked transparency and the negative effects that had on teams' cultures. Rose, for example, spoke of the lack of trust that grew from a team whose leader was always hesitant to share information as a means to hold onto power. Cecile shared a similar experience from her early days in higher education and how it shaped her desire to be transparent with her employees, stating:

> I once had a manager who was, you know, so wrapped up in wanting to maintain the power that he felt he had that he would keep everything super close to the vest. Our team would always

> find things from other teams or just through the grapevine before hearing from him and it led to us feeling like we had to fend for ourselves. It was an early lesson in what not to do for me as a leader.

Monica spoke about how in her current role important information from the leadership level above her is often bottlenecked before it gets to her, which makes her feel powerless to set her team up for success and also diminishes her self-confidence as a leader. She expressed frustration in how the lack of transparency made her feel as well as its effect on her ability to respond to situations effectively and mentioned that, because of this experience, she "go(es) above and beyond to try and share whatever information [she has] that has even minimal effects on [her] team."

When asked how her tendency to be transparent with her team developed, Adrianna shared that, again, her prior military experience had a large effect on her choice to use this trait. She spoke of her background working with international vendors and the importance of transparency when negotiating with people from different countries and cultures and said, "There was not a lot of room for a lack of wanting to be transparent or collaborative or working within a silo. If you those things you would not be successful in your mission, period. People need to be able to trust your word." After this explanation, I asked her how that relates to the work she does in the healthcare organization and she said,

> I know throughout (healthcare company) I've had a problem with the fact that leaders tell us things too late, and then it becomes a fire drill, you know. When information gets shared or disclosed we should have time to react to that information in order to be able to come up with a good solution together. I never want that lack of information for my staff. I didn't operate that way in the military because we really had to share immediately, because our responses had to be quick but most importantly well thought out, which you can't do if you don't have all the pieces of the puzzle. So when I came over to (healthcare company) and they had those type of, you know, to me, gaps in how you communicate with your staff that bothered me. I've been stuck a lot there in our organization's culture.

Joy spoke of the positive influence that her transparency has on her team's culture. She attributed much of the team's ability to collaborate and identify opportunities to leverage different members' skillsets to her willingness to share information early and often, stating, "I think it's worked for me because it really does allow collaborative work, it allows everybody to bring their own strengths to the table and allows us to be honest about what's at hand, what is going to be required of us, and then allows us to be able to strategize early on about who should do what based on each other's strengths."

When asked about what types of information they each deemed as important to be transparent about, the leaders also shared in the sentiment that transparency related to organizational change or information in any way related to the work of the team was a priority. Adrianna posed the question, "How am I supposed to expect you to do your job to the best of your ability if I'm only giving you bits and pieces of the information that you need to do it?" Rose felt that transparency related to organizational changes, which are

constant in her part of the healthcare organization, was necessary to allow her employees time to pivot accordingly. Joy said that while it was important to "openly and honestly share changes coming down the pipeline," she was starting to work on being less transparent with her team because of the information overload that her transparency sometimes lends itself to.

Leading while Female: Managing Gendered Expectations

The women in this study each expressed an acute awareness about the role that gender plays in the perceptions and expectations that others have of them as leaders, how they lead, and how they conceptualize what it means to be a good leader. They placed particular importance on looking the part of a leader, motherhood's relationship to leadership, and how women leaders compare to men leaders.

When asked about how gender shows up in their roles as leaders, all of the participants brought up feeling like many of the expectations that people have for them are shaped by the fact that they are women. Furthermore, they expressed that these gendered expectations have an effect on how they each present themselves as leaders and is something that they often think about. Joy discussed the delicate balance that she and other women in leadership positions have to strike in order to come across as knowledgeable and assertive, but also caring, kind, and vulnerable with their employees. Rose brought up that she felt like a lot of the recent focus on vulnerability and leadership was a result of seeing more women in managerial positions and doubtfully questioned if the

characteristic would be as popularized if men were still dominating the managerial and leadership workforce. Monica expressed a similar sentiment about the capacity for empathy for her employees she feels she's expected to have and exhibit as a woman in a leadership role and asked, "How many men think about all of this on a daily basis, or need to?"

Several of the women commented on how they either feel expected to behave in a mothering way to their employees or compared their leadership style to their roles as mothers outside of work. Most often this comparison was in relation to actively nurturing their employees, caring about individuals' overall wellbeing, prioritizing their employee's mental health, and making them feel like part of a community. Monica compared certain interactions with her male counterparts and higherups to interactions that she's had with her husband regarding the burden of certain responsibilities. She explained,

> I've told my boss that it concerns me that there have been many times when I've been the one that has raised the alarm on certain situations, and no one else has even mentioned it or pays any attention to what would happen if I hadn't been the one to take care of it, whether it comes to a student situation or otherwise. It isn't until I've raised the alarm, which in turn makes me feel more of a responsibility to pay attention to things to make sure something is not mess because there's not anybody else around me who has been like 'hey, something seems off about that' or whatever. It's like, I'm the one that says, 'have we thought about this?' and it's always 'no.' And nothing I'm saying is rocket science, by any means, but it makes me feel the burden to have to always be the one to catch things. It's like at home. My husband, while he is fantastic father, is never going to be thinking about things that I think about…and it's never going to cross his mind to consider. I'm the one that keeps track of all the things we're doing, where we're going, when, all those things. I'm the reminder, you know, I think

> about when we travel… I'm packing for myself and our son in detail. He packs for himself and that's it. Now if I *didn't* do it there's gonna be this just natural assumption that I did it and then we're going to scramble. One of my favorite things is did "we" bring this and I'm like yes, *I* did. It's the same at work.

Joy also drew parallels between her role as a leader and her role as a mother when she shared that she advises her teammates the same way she does her son because she wants to see them all reach their highest potential. She spoke about how, at this point in her career, she feels a sense of responsibility to be a voice of reason to her employees that are earlier in their careers and to encourage them, as she does with her son, to prioritize their happiness and wellbeing over material things and focusing too hard on moving up the corporate ladder. Rose compared her responsibilities as a chief of staff to those of a protective mother, stating:

> I think, most importantly, for Chiefs of Staff they're kind of a guardian of people, you know? And I know that and there's a real connection between that to— I mean, you don't have to be a mom, but, you know, as a mom you understand that sort of guardian protector sort of role better. I see a lot of parallels between my role at work and what I do for my kids.

With all of the comparisons to the role of a mother to their respective roles at work, Monica considered how the lack of recognition of all of the extra and unseen work plays out at work compared to at home. She pondered,

> What happens when "mom" is not there in all of these (work) spaces? And I'm using that as obviously a metaphor in this space, but it's like... What are you doing to show that you recognize all of this extra mental load we're taking on?... At home there's, you know, Mother's Day and that's like the one day out of the year that people really kind of tell you how valuable you are, but that doesn't

> exist at work, instead it's *maybe* a quick 'thank you' if you really save the day, but then nobody's behaviors actually change.

In addition to the comparisons between motherhood and leadership, the participants also each spoke of the element of physical presence and presentation of self related to leadership. They discussed the expectations that people have regarding how women leaders should look compared to men and two of them spoke of their own expectations to 'look the part' as a leader. Joy spoke about how she developed her personal expectations to dress professionally to be taken seriously as a woman leader:

> I remember, you know, back in the day -- even way back when I was growing up my mother would always say 'if you're coming to my office you have to look like you should be in a public space.' So as I've gotten older, you know, sometimes the millennial generation will come in and I'm like wait what…what, what are you wearing to work?! But it even feels like when I go into the office now, although I may not be dressing like a millennial I do feel much, much more casual, right? I'm still wearing heels and putting on makeup though because there's this idea, at least to me, right, that in order to be taken seriously, you have to kind of look the part, dress the part.

Adrianna discussed how her curvy and tall stature (she is about six feet tall without heels) caused her to have at least three outfit options in her office so she could change clothes at a moment's notice depending on her audience. She shared:

> I've got like three wardrobe changes worth of clothes in my office. I was always that person that stayed buttoned up, you know. I always had heels but, you know, based on who I was meeting with because I'm a very tall person. So, you know, there were people that I met with that I could always tell they had issues with me being taller than them, especially males. So, I'm like, okay well where's my closet because this person is feeling weird because I'm so tall, so

> I'm going to try to fit in for them, but then I got my outfit switch for later on because I'm meeting with such and such at whatever time, so I'll have my heels.

Joy and Adrianna both spoke of the impact that the pandemic has had on their self-expectations to look the part of a leader. Though Adrianna had spoken of her in-office back-up wardrobe, she also shared that since working from home during the pandemic she has relinquished some of the pressure she puts on herself to be "fully put together" and will now settle for a professional top and put make up on if she knows she will be on camera. Joy shared that she feels like she is evaluated more on how well she does her job and less on how well she looks the part. She said:

> There is a sense of ease, and you know, for me, now it's much more about I just need to get the job done. I don't, you know, I don't have to *look* the part anymore, just know I'm the content expert, I know what I'm doing, so just let me get it done. It doesn't really matter what I'm wearing.

Rose said that she felt that, even behind work-from-home computer screens, men in leadership positions are able to present themselves professionally more easily, stating:

> You know men are still wearing their button-down shirts and are still - they have like that corporate look going on even online. But I think it's easier for guys, you know they just throw on a shirt and that kind of immediately changes how they look, you know, but with women it's different. How far do you have go to present yourself how you want people to receive you? You know, you change your shirt, and then you put a little eyeliner and mascara, then you put on lipstick, and then you throw on a shoe or whatever, right? And before you know if you've gotten fully office ready to sit behind a screen, for what? It's just…I don't know, I think this would be a very different conversation if I were a man.

There were a number of other comparisons that the participants made between men and women in leadership positions that extended beyond physical expectations. Cecile, for example, felt that students and staff at her university tend to address men and women differently despite the fact that many of the leaders have the same title. She explained that "there's a tendency to be more formal with the use of 'doctor so and so'" with her male counterparts compared to herself. Monica felt that women tend to worry about how their emotions come across when their work is challenged but was doubtful that men experience the same worry. She explained,

> There is a group that I work with that has a balance of men and women, but there's different levels of positions and I find that when I feel my work or my credibility is being threatened, wherever that may come from, I shut down. But then I get upset because I'm not being this, you know, polished, serious professional or whatever… I don't know how much men worry about any of that.

The differences between men and women in leadership positions were not the only notable distinctions in this study. The Black women had varied experiences as leaders from their White counterparts, which we will now further examine.

Leading While Black: Racialized Emotional Labor

The three Black leaders in this study, Joy, Adrianna, and Cecile, each had their own stories of "Leading While Black," and there were a number of similarities between the experiences they shared. They each spoke about the explicit and implicit expectations that their organizations have for them to do

"cultural work" because of their race, the regular awareness that they feel of their race in work interactions, the informal work they do to help others work through their biases because of their positionalities, and the sense of accountability they feel for how others at work view Black people.

All three of the Black leaders in this study discussed the expectation that has been placed on them to do cultural work because of the assumption that, as Black people, it's their responsibility or their pleasure to do so. Cecile noted that opportunities for advancement that are brought to her are typically those that relate to her positionality as a Black woman instead of her positionality as a successful and capable leader. She expressed that there seems to be a general understanding that "that work" is valued by and should be done by minorities, even if the individual has no interest in it. She explained in detail her frustrations with cultural work being assumed to be of interest to her, stating:

> I think because of my blackness there's an assumption that cultural work is what I do. Umm…my background is in crisis, my background is in accreditation, my background is in strategic planning, so there is not there is not a natural bone in my body to do cultural work. But there's this assumption that there is right. When I came in, I have the Student Centers under my umbrella, so I have these centers and I will tell you...Center work is very different work -- it's going to sound, this is going to sound very insensitive, but I can deal with a student tragedy, I can deal with environmental issues, I can deal with all these things so much easier than I can deal with emotions around cultural issues, even though I teach all about helping skills…so there's this assumption that *that* is the work that I do and *that's* what I'm skilled at, which I am not. And so that comes to play a lot. When the chief diversity officer position opened, I had a number of people from higher up asking me to apply. This is not my passion. I said it's not my passion…but even in saying that's not really my passion I'm still contacted again and I'm like…that's a lot of labor. That's a lot of labor that I'm not committed to. I've always said that.

> There are people who this is their passion, let them do that work. I will advocate and partner and do whatever I can. But it's the assumption. So then the way that it looks when a position that comes open for what I *actually* have a background in and that same push doesn't happen like it did for the other position, that says a lot. That says okay, I'm valued, but if you see me in a more senior role, it's only that which reflects my cultural background, ethnicity, gender, whatever it may be.

Adrianna and Cecile both discussed how the murders of George Floyd and Ahmaud Arbery led to them being expected in various settings to share their feelings and coach others through theirs related to these racially charged events. Adrianna had joined a new team shortly before the murders and suddenly found herself responsible for guiding a conversation amongst White senior-level leaders about the happenings. She explained,

> Now I am a part of one of those senior-level groups…so I've been in multiple settings and let me tell you. The very first meeting I had they were talking, and you know this was right after the George Floyd situation, and you know they were all going on and on and on and so I'm just listening. And then it's like they noticed I'm there and then they were very quiet. Nobody really wanted to talk anymore or anything like that… I'm a facial expressions type of person, I pay attention to that. I like to look to see how they react to certain responses, questions, answers, that whole thing, especially as the new kid walking in. And so I'm like…who has that body language of 'oh, I'm relaxed' and who doesn't? And so we just went from there. Having a real conversation about how they were all really feeling, you know, like 'are you good? Let's talk about how you're really feeling about this stuff and get it all out there and see what we got.'

Cecile expressed frustration about her experience during this same period of time, explaining that she was processing her own feelings while being put on the spot to help guide the campus conversation around what had happened. She shared,

> In this exploration happening during the time where the institution, the country, of course, is going through George Floyd and Ahmaud Arbery and there's this question of, 'what do we do?' I was working on finding my voice and shaping my own understanding of it, but then it's suddenly becomes 'my voice and my perspective, as a Black female and senior leadership' and, at the time, the only one (at the university), so it was this very complicated.

She explained that these events were both near the start of her tenure at the university, so it caused her an additional struggle in navigating her own feelings while being expected to do race work for others, stating:

> (At that time) I'm trying to figure out what *is* my voice, what *is* my point of view, what is all of this? But then I'm also being tasked and put on the spot, to share my opinions about something that I really hold very private. It's clear I'm a black woman. I don't lead with that, because of, I think, some of my experiences, so I keep it very close. And to be put on the spot, at the time, where I'm also trying to figure out, who I am professionally in this role where I'm the only one, at the time was a lot for me.

In addition to feeling the expectation to do cultural work at their institutions, the leaders expressed feeling a steady state of awareness about their blackness at work.

Racial awareness and Accountability for how others view Black people

The Black leaders in this study shared in their racial awareness at work, both for themselves and how blackness operates for and between other people. Joy explained the unspoken relationship felt by Black people in the workplace, stating:

> Globally, I always feel like African Americans are a little bit—we get along, you know, we…there's something in the culture that says, especially in the workplace, where we're going to get along. You're

> not rocking the boat too much and you try not to bring too much conflict, I think there's probably a little bit of that. And we've kind of had to make our own way, whatever that means.

Cecile shared a similar sentiment reflecting on how her positionality as a Black woman appears and appeals to other Black staff. She stated,

> I realize it's more about acknowledgement…And that goes a long way. Sometimes I have to sit back and remember what my role is and who am I. Because I just see myself as me. So when I walk into a room, or if I say something...I have to remember like, oh, I may be doing this or I may be joking around or no I'm not going to go to this (event) or no I'm not going to show up to the Faculty Staff Association, but I realized that I need to do some of these things because symbolically it is more impactful. It may be symbolic, for me, at times, but it's more impactful on those individuals because I've taken the time to do this or to say hi or to extend or to say congratulations. So I find myself having to be more intentional and doing that, whereas it wouldn't necessarily be the first thing that comes to mind at times…I've got to do more because when I got here, I did not realize that I was the only person—the only black female at the time. All these people coming to my office and it was almost kind of like us, was it "This is us" that first movie. Get out get out because people are coming to do like I am so happy, you are here.

Adrianna spoke of her experience with leaders not wanting to work with her and showing a clear preference for her White male counterparts, adding that they (her counterparts) "probably didn't know half of what [I] knew," but it didn't matter when it came down to a choice between her and them. From her perspective, the organizational culture promoted this type of behavior, making it all the more important to build a sense of solidarity with Black colleagues. Cecile felt that while building this sense of solidarity was important there was another side to sharing in racial awareness. She explained,

> During certain meetings it can feel like one person has to speak for everyone. And a lot of times Black senior leaders do not feel comfortable talking. So I feel like okay if you're not going to talk, I have to talk, right. But then, in the background I'd be getting text messages like "Oh that was a great point, oh thank you so much for saying that," when I put my neck out. During this one period they asked me to close out something and I said I don't know if this is gonna, you know, cause people to look at me differently. But I felt like I had to put myself out there and afterwards I shut off my camera and cried. Absolutely broke down because there's a vulnerability with that that opens people up to think potentially criticize you, especially when it's personal like that.

In addition to feeling a sense of responsibility to be the voice of many, Cecile and Adrianna both shared a sense of accountability for how others view Black people at work. Adrianna said that it was important to her to do what she can to help people want to "work together…be cohesive…[and] have join accountability." She felt a sense of duty around informing the majority's views on Black people and Black women. She said, "People see black people and think all these types of things about black women. We need to get past some of those things and if I have to be the one to lead that fight, I'm fine with that. I'd rather do that than to sit back and wait for somebody else to do it, that's just me and my personality." Cecile shared in the idea that she was responsible for being the representative for other Black people at work, explaining:

> Specifically, I have black women on campus who are coming to me saying, or saying publicly, "I don't even know what it's like to be in your shoes." You know staff members who don't even report to me publicly saying things about me and the difficulty of my role during this time, which then makes me feel like, okay I gotta step into this. Because there's this whole generation of folks who need to see what we can do. Right so there's a part of me who really wanted to be quiet, but then there's this other component that says, I can't. Regardless of how I feel I can't.

Combating Biases and Approaching Differences Head-on

The women all felt a sense of responsibility to combat biases at work in various ways and attributed this sense of responsibility to their positionality as Black women. Cecile, for example, shared her role in the university's progress towards having meaningful conversations about race, stating,

> I think... well I'll say, the institution, as in collectively, is not ready to have those conversations. I think we're starting to get there with the students. Because when I got here, we had students who were telling other students whether they were black or not. That doesn't create belonging, it doesn't create value, so I think we've tried to, we've slowly switched that culture within to something different. I think, from an institution perspective, I still think that a lot of its performative. With the different the different groups, I think we have a lot of promises. But I also feel like it's my role to make progress on these things because of who I am. A lot of it is symbolic.

Adrianna sees people's biases at work as an opportunity to help people work through their issues related race. Early on in her career she had some foundational interactions with White colleagues that helped shape her current desire to rehabilitate people's biases. She shared that she had a series of mentors of different races that helped open her eyes to the opportunities she had in a career in finance while simultaneously helping her realize the number of times she had been slighted and had opportunities blocked by others in her field. She said, "That was the first thing it hit me. I was like dang, I feel like they're telling me 'no' because I'm black or because I'm young or because they don't think that I would ever be experienced enough to catch on, or smart enough to catch on, and so I did start to prepare, I started to learn a lot very quickly. That

way, the next time we interacted I could be an example of what's possible and help change their mindsets about Black girls."

Adrianna also shared that, more recently in her career, she struggled with how people perceived Black women but had found the motivation to make a positive impact through her sadness. She shared,

> And that (people's biases against Black women) used to make me feel sad. But as years went on, it makes me happy to know that I'm able to change that person's perception and influence a more positive outlook for the next black woman that they interact with. I had to get out of that selfish sadness. Because you know I can't do anything about the past right, but then it allowed me to start to absorb a more positive approach to it. And be like, you know, what I'm glad I did that, so the next person that you deal with, if she does get upset and even if she is, you know, you don't consider her combative or defensive. Just helping people learn to not think that way give her the benefit of the doubt and let her be passionate about how she's feeling versus calling her defensive aggressive or combative.

Joy recognized the sense of responsibility for combating biases based on watching other Black women leaders navigate it as part of their job role. She felt like the key to helping break biases was Black women's abilities to build relationships. She explained,

> I really think it's about building that emotional intelligence it's just, it's the key to understanding how to maneuver those biases. Because it's not always about what you know. It is absolutely about relationship building and understanding how to move and maneuver your relationships… obviously that looks different for everybody, but it really is understanding that everybody's different you need to relate to people differently. And you have to hold your own because you've got to bring something to the table.

Related to the importance of building relationships to tamper people's biases, Adrianna shared an example of how her capacity for emotional intelligence helps to address differences head-on:

> The one that always still kicks me to this day, is at the end of the conversation somebody said, you know, I have to tell you something. And I was like oh, go ahead and share it, and she said, "I thought that you would have got defensive when I didn't agree with the way you wanted to do this work and I just automatically assumed that you would be upset or that you would be aggressive and defensive about this outcome." And then she said, "but you were the exact opposite. You were like let's talk about this, let's figure, out how we can come to a happy medium. Your tone didn't change you didn't yell at me." I said, "you thought I was going to go angry black woman?" and she said, "I was going to say that, but I didn't want to say that," and I was like "I figured." And she was surprised and just like, "oh my gosh, thank you for being patient and allowing us to just express this." And I said, "yeah and now that we've all done this and we've all had you know got this out I think this is going to allow us to work together so much better and more collaboratively." And to this day all those people that are still here…they all have my number, they are all pick up the phone and call I mean you know we talk about anything.

Racialized Emotional Self-Awareness

The Black leaders in this study talked about having to maintain a certain level of emotional awareness in order to be perceived in a desirable way by their colleagues and employees. They shared similar experiences of having to control their facial expressions, their tone of voice, and consider whether or not they could fully be themselves and still be respected. Joy shared a story about a fellow Black female leader who was working on getting a promotion but was cautious about being her authentic self in fear of not being taken seriously as an executive. She said,

> "She's a black woman and she's just like, "I want to make sure that I am doing everything right and I want to make sure that I put my best foot forward." She's trying to go for is her first executive level role and she is wondering 'should I use humor'… and she has a beautiful personality, she's very funny. And she's like I don't know or, should I use that or, should I, should I refrain, you know? Should I try and be more buttoned up as an executive and not show that side of myself? I don't want to jeopardize my chances."

Similarly, Adrianna shared experiences she had earlier on in her tenure at the healthcare company when she "came on too strong" and how that caused her to reevaluate how she showed up in the workplace. Despite her extensive career in military leadership, she said that peers and mentors told her, "Oh, you're not going to last honey, because you know you're too headstrong. You got to be -- You have to you have to let them believe they came up with all the ideas if you want to be successful here, because if you think they're gonna let you put anything out there in your name you're mistaken."

In addition to having to be cognizant of how people are perceiving their behaviors, Adrianna and Cecile both also talked about having to maintain an awareness of their facial expressions. Cecile shared that she had to learn to control her reactions to be more palatable to people, explaining:

> The first time was when I was in my master's program, I had a supervisor that said, "I have facial expressions, too, so I am not going to evaluate you on that." Because everything else was 'you are amazing, you are a solid administrator, you're this, you're this, you're this, you're this," but for this particular thing (her facilal expressions). That caused me to push you know, are you using my facial expressions in my evaluation. Because I have facial expressions are you trying to do other things? And I don't know if I'm assuming, but some of it had to definitely be cultural.

Adrianna shared that she has used remote work tools to monitor her facial expressions, stating, "I literally know in certain meetings, especially if I know ahead of time who's going to be in there, when I can and can't I have my camera on because I can't control my facial expressions." She's used other remote working tools as tools for authentic self-expression, such as when she changed her virtual background to a picture that displayed pictures and quotes from prominent Black historical figures for Black history month but faced resistance for doing so. She shared,

> I had a background up behind me for the month of February and someone sent me a message saying "your background offended me… I don't understand why you wouldn't just find something else (to use as your background)", and I said "Interesting. Well, I'm sorry that this offend you, but you might just have to be uncomfortable for just 28 days this month" and I said, "I'm Black 365 days and I this doesn't change for me. There's nothing inappropriate here, there's nothing offensive here, no profanity." The only thing it said was, it spoke about Martin Luther King, spoke about Malcolm, Maya Angelo, Marcus Garvey, you know just strong people, Rosa Parks. Strong people that made changes in our culture as Black people…But it wasn't something that should have been made to, as she said, made her feel offended. I think it was just the fact that I had it posted. She felt like, "Oh my God, how dare you.

Additional expectations due to blackness

All three of the Black leaders in this study shared experiences that highlighted other people's expectations of them or of other Black people to perform certain roles or behave in certain ways because of their Blackness. Joy spoke about how her organization conceptualizes the role and responsibilities of one of the only Black female vice presidents, sharing:

> She's a familiar resource. Her job is to manage relationship with between the organization to the community. that's her job. And she's extremely good at it. I tell people she's probably the best I've ever seen for that piece. But for the organization her value is her relationships with the (minority) community. And it in their view, it makes sense, right? A black woman, she should know everybody. She has a connection to the community all those, you know, black, Latino, whatever *those* organizations, are she'll know them.

In addition to being presumed to be a natural community builder amongst minority groups, the women shared that they deal with expectations from others to mentor students or employees from similar racial backgrounds without any consideration to individuals' interests. Cecile shared her experience of dealing with expectations to mentor Black students because she's a Black woman:

> The reason why I keep, I really kind of keep all of this – and for your transcript I'm pointing to my face – and my blackness is that I've had so many people throughout my career point it out. And pointed out that, because of my identity, there are things that should "naturally" happen, or connections "should" be there that are not. So I've had to kind of provide this kind of culture active there or even the way that I operate, because once you do that thing and box me in – for example, when I went to my previous institution, and it was like 'that's crazy, so happy you're here,' and it's constantly pointed out to them that I'm the most senior African American female… like I didn't even think about it right? You don't think or notice, but again it's pointed out to me. Pointed out that 'Oh, *you* can mentor a particular athletic team!' but I can't even dribble a ball without traveling (laughs). Like there are things that just, there may be individuals in these different programs that look like me, but they're very different, they have different experiences.

The women also spoke of the added emotional burden that the expectations to perform these additional duties puts on them. Cecile provided context related to managing people's expectations of her to perform

caretaking responsibilities and explained how these expectations turn into self-pressure to regulate her emotions. She stated:

> I think I can overly care and at times I just shut off, you know? And I don't know if that is gender related, I don't know if that's more socialization…I have gotten to this point where I can't be everybody's caretaker because history says the Black women have always put themselves in a different space to take care of other people. And they put themselves last so there's this component of me that at times is battling that thought process, like I'm not going to wear myself down for all these other people because that's what we're known to do…it can make me shut down very quickly, because I want to protect my own wellbeing.

Beyond having to navigate expectations to mentor and foster strong relationship ties with and for minority communities, the women spoke about how they handle managing other people's prejudices and preconceptions about who and how they are because they are Black women. Adrianna explained how generalized assumptions about Black women has had an impact on her organization's lack of Black women in executive leadership roles as well as how people have interacted with her:

> In our organization there's not a lot of Black, female, senior vice presidents and above. We're just now beginning to expand into SVP roles. I think historical perceptions and cultures of how people see Black women, I think, that plays a role. It's just a fear of the unknown or intimidation. You know, people they just don't know. They're afraid, you know, like 'is she gonna come in and just shut it all down or is she gonna give me attitude?' I think sometimes people think we're just so aggressive and so combative, and when they finally meet you and work with you…I can always tell when someone has thought that about me and then when they work with me they're like 'wow, you're just, I was so wrong about you!' And I know exactly what they mean when they say that.

Summary of Phase II

The interviews conducted in Phase II of this study provided insights into how the participants made sense of their use of the themes identified from the observations in Phase I. The women highlighted their intentional use of the observed themes and from the interviews seven new themes arose: a) being a utility player, (b) emotional self-awareness, (c) conceptualization of responsibilities as a leader, (d) self-identified personal traits, (e) managing gendered expectations, (f) racialized emotional labor, and (g) racialized emotional self-awareness. These themes explored the ways in which the women understood their roles and responsibilities as leaders, how they were expected to conduct themselves based on their race and/or gender, and how the Black leaders' experiences were different in navigating these ideas.

Phase III: Focus Groups

The two focus groups that were conducted were semi-structured and included questions that were based on participants' understanding the themes that emerged from the first and second phases of the study. The participants were grouped together based on their institution: Rose, Joy, Adrianna, and Kate were the healthcare leader focus group participants and Cecile, Monica, and Amelia were the higher education focus group participants. The groups were asked questions pertaining to the use of two themes, transparency and leading while female, which were most salient across phase one observations and phase two interviews. Participants were also asked follow-up questions that were

based on their responses to the initial line of questioning and inquired deeper into the subthemes.

Upon the conclusion of each focus group, I read through the full focus group transcript to get a sense of the entire conversation. While reading through the transcripts, I tagged passages with preliminary meaning units and ended with a total of 61 meaning units. After this step, I reviewed all meaning units and looked for trends across the focus group data. During this step, I once again revisited the research questions and the analytical memos I took during and after each focus group discussion. I noted the meaning units that answered the research questions and resonated during my initial analysis of the data—this resulted in the number of meaning units getting reduced from 61 to 45. I then refined the naming of the 45 meaning units to make them descriptive and did a second round of coding in which I used the meaning units to create subthemes. Within the theme of Transparency there were five subthemes: Information as Power, Transparency and Trust, Effect of Lack of Transparency, and Organizational Culture's Effect on Transparency. Within the theme of Leading While Female, three subthemes arose including Motherhood's Effect on Career, The Joys of Feminine Leadership, and Women vs Men Leaders. Because there were notable differences between the sentiments of the leaders at the two research sites, the results in this section are segmented out as a case study of the respective institutions.

Table D: Phase III Themes and Subthemes

Transparency	Information as Power
	Transparency and Trust
	Effect of lack of transparency
	Organizational Culture's Effect on Transparency
Leading While Female	Motherhood's effect on career
	The joys of feminine leadership
	Women vs men leaders

Healthcare Leaders' Focus Group

The leaders at the healthcare organization underscored the importance that transparency and embodying femininity had to them as leaders. While the university leaders discussed the impact that a consistent lack of transparency from leaders higher up in the university system has had on them, the healthcare leaders mostly shared stories that highlighted the positive impacts of having a culture that values sharing knowledge and information. Furthermore, while both groups talked about their appreciation for femininity and feminized styles of leadership, only the healthcare leaders spoke of the physicality of feminine leadership and the value that a feminine aesthetic brings to leadership.

Transparency

Transparency was a central theme in the conversation between the healthcare leaders. During their discussion, Joy, Adrianna, Rose, and Kate spoke about how access to information is access to power, with Kate sharing:

> I've always tried to foster a learning environment, and I very much I'm free flowing of information. I think information is, you know, information is power. There are people that retain it but for me I'm like get it out, I want everyone to be their best, to be informed, to know exactly what's going on, and then to use that information to help all of us together rise.

She continued on to explain her reasoning and the result of prioritizing this free flowing of information, stating:

> I like the decentralization of power very…unhierarchical, if that's a word…To me it's not a threat at all to have somebody speaking more in a meeting that maybe is junior to me or someone who is on my team. I'm like "yes, that's great! This person is getting in there!" And for a long time, I have been like that leader from behind really trying to help people be their best however, I can and I think sharing and using knowledge as power is key.

Adrianna and Rose both agreed with Kate's sentiment and talked about how the free sharing of information was an important part of her team's culture and a cornerstone of their foundation of trust. While Adrianna explained that "it's important that they (her employees) know that they can trust each other as much as they can trust me and that that builds that cohesiveness," Rose questioned, "How can I make sure that you understand what you're seeing and hearing? It's by me being open and honest with you about the things that I'm seeing and hearing and sharing it, right? And then from there showing that I really am trusting you to do your work and it's kind of this back and forth of openly sharing information and building trust." Adrianna also felt that leaders should lead by example with being transparent and honest with information, and while Joy agreed that sharing information is important, she also felt like

there was a line between sharing the right amount of information to allow her team to effectively do their jobs and oversharing to the point of information overload. She stated,

> Yeah, I'm actually working on being less transparent. I often tell my teams things before I really should. It's like, okay, wait you guys! Don't, don't tell anybody because I wasn't supposed to tell you, yet." So I'm working on that, that's my, main thing is I gotta be a *little* less transparent so I'm not oversharing for the sake of wanting them to just always be prepared but really it's just TMI.

Upon hearing this, Adrianna concurred that she was at times guilty of a potential oversharing of information but insisted that it was always to the benefit of the team to know more instead of less. She explained,

> Yeah, I'm guilty of that too, sometimes, Joy. I'm very transparent, especially with things that I know are coming down and I know eventually I'm gonna have to pull them in on. And it may be something they (higher ups) are like "Oh, you can share it share it in a week" or whatever. But I'm like if I'm on the phone with them today -- you know, that's different if it's like a month or six months down the road that's different, okay – but I'm not gonna hold off a week just to later have them scramble. I think the reason I'm that way is because I know throughout [Healthcare organization] I had a problem with the fact are telling us things way too late and then it becomes a fire drill. When the information was shared or disclosed and we needed time to react to that information but couldn't because now it needs a response now… I never want that for my staff.

Kate agreed that the organization's culture did tend to have a last-minute approach to sharing information and briefly discussed the restrictions that can put on her and others. Rose, who has worked with Kate through cross-functional collaborations in their roles as Chiefs of Staff to Executive Vice Presidents, praised Kate's transparent leadership style, telling her that despite the

organization's limitations around transparency, "You're just so open with sharing ideas and sharing the work that your team has done and just really sharing knowledge and information to lift everybody up around you."

Rose's high praise of Kate's leadership style was far from the only compliments that were given during the healthcare focus group. The group joyfully discussed and praised different female leaders from around their organization who managed to "lead like a boss while looking like a babe," and other elements of leading while female, which we turn to now.

Leading While Female

All four of the leaders in the healthcare focus group were mothers, which was made apparent during at least one of the phases of the study. During the focus group, the leaders regularly referenced their children or spoke about the effects that becoming or being a mother has had on their careers or their leadership styles. Rose explained that she became a mother a bit later in her career and, as such, she felt it had more of an impact on her leadership style than those who may have had children earlier. She shared,

> It (becoming a mother) just changed things for me, like I had to slowed down a little bit, it really made me think about, you know, the kind of person I am and want to be and really think about what has caused me so much personal, you know, happiness or things that have caused issues up to that point. I was so much harder before having my kids, just like go go go and pushing people all the time. It wasn't like a 180 change but I definitely shifted as a leader after having my kids.

Adrianna and Joy both likened their roles as a leader to her role as a mother, with Joy explaining that she felt a sense of obligation to lead from a place of prioritizing her team's individual well beings and setting up her team for success for when she's not there, a sentiment that the rest of the women agreed with. Rose expanded on Joy's idea, stating:

> One hundred percent. It comes down to empathy, right? I think we all are, well hopefully we are, bringing all of our whole selves and I think when you do that it makes you more empathetic manager or more empathetic leader. I remember before, this is such a stereotype, but before I got married and before I had kids it was like yeah, if I could work all day long I would. I would do it because, you know, that's what was the big thing in my life. But then I think once I got married and once I had kids it just brought a totally different experience and it wasn't so much the experience about having children that affected my leadership style so much, I think it was just this…for once, this experience of having this other pressure in my life that *had* to take priority. Just growing of a life, you know, like needed to take priority, and for the first time in my life, I had to be able to establish boundaries and that was hard. And so I think now as a manager, as a leader with my team, because I went through that experience, it has made me a more empathetic manager in terms of making space for them to prioritize things in their lives, and take the position of yes, like you said Joy, it's not that I don't want you to do a great job…but I want you to *want* to do a great job and feel like you can do it. We can't do that if we've got other things with. So, it's my job to create that space for them.

Kate spoke briefly of the somewhat limiting effect that motherhood has had on her career growth opportunities, but then discussed the equalizing effect that she perceives the pandemic has had on working mothers, about which the group agreed. She said,

> For many years before the pandemic, I always had trouble with proximity bias and feeling like people are getting together and they're networking and it's mostly men, because women had to go home and take care of small children and, like, it just felt so unfair,

> you know? And here I am, in southern California, and I'd have to fly to Oakland and try and like arrange things, but when everyone went remote, I was like wow this is equitable, for the first time.

While the pandemic had some perceived benefits for women in leadership, one drawback the women agreed upon was the lack of getting to witness the feminine aesthetic that some of the executive women demonstrated in-office. The focus group leaders shared excitement about one female executive in particular, and their conversation veered off to talking about her in-office presence after I asked about who the person was that they were talking about, starting with the following dialogue between Adrianna, Rose, and Joy:

> Rose: "EB Chou (pseudonym)…Okay, she is amazing.
>
> Joy: "A fashionista."
>
> Adrianna: "Now she is a total bad ass, let me tell you. I tell you, when she walked in it shuts down. She just… from head to toe and she do this little catwalk. I was like, oh, girl! With the catwalk?! Like… *she*'s like a leader."
>
> Joy: "She would be doing that catwalk but she's *sharp*."
>
> Rose: "SO sharp."
>
> Joy: "You know, Adrianna, when you brought up EB earlier, I was thinking about how I would be thrilled when I knew I got to see her because I want to know, I want to see what she had on. What she was wearing. Oh, my God. That was the joy, right? It's like oh wait, I get to see EB! Like, what's she gonna wear today?! And even (another senior level executive) a little bit, I mean she's you know, very stylish and professional, but it still was more feminine than we had been used."

When pressed about what made EB so sharp, the group continued on to express the multitude of things that made EB more than just a fashion icon. The following conversation transpired:

> Adrianna: "It's the way she commands respect. She comes in she's so knowledgeable and she's so sharp and, personally, I like to see them in cringe when she tells them what she wants and when she wants and how she wants it. You know, and they know it's coming. And then when we're in meetings and they've prepped to meet with her it's like "Look, we know if we do this she's not going to be satisfied, so we can't do this." And I just feel like… that's right, show her the same respect you show everybody else (the men)...Because she's in charge and everything about her…is just respect. She's got the beauty and the brains type of thing, and she's not afraid to be feminine, she's not afraid to share that she knows she's a bad B up in there, but she also she demonstrates how smart she is, she backs it all up. And at the same time…she takes accountability if she makes an error or something isn't right she'll say it, like "You know what, that was my misunderstanding, let us let's go back and look at that again." I love that she doesn't have a problem with being wrong.
>
> Joy: "Yeah, I know! I've not had to work with her directly in terms of content because she's in finance. But I tell you, when she's in the room, and just like Adrianna was saying, she demands the respect and you can tell that right away, you can tell that when you're in a meeting and she's very clear about what she wants. You know, talking to the finance folks that I do work with on a regular basis they're very clear that what they need to get to her is needs to be right, it needs to be on point. And so, for me, it's the visual of the level of respect that she demands and she's ultra-feminine. There's just something about it, I think Adrianna kind of articulated it but there's just something about that it's empowering to say that she's she knows what she's doing she demands that respect *and* every day her outfit is *amazing*.
>
> Adrianna: "Amazing."

Joy: "You know I'd always be like, 'the four-inch heels that she's wearing today, I want those.' But it's affirming to say, oh my gosh there is this level of femininity that that is okay it's okay to do that and be smart. And to run stuff and to lead it it's really okay to do that and she's she's one of the few in the organization.

Rose: "So she's really gracious, too, really gracious. I mean, I'd worked with EB …a long time ago, like eons ago, and even then she was amazing. You know time did not touch her, basically she's just gotten better. Anyways, so she had moved on (to a new role) and then recently I was in the meeting with her for something we're working on with (the leader Rose works for) and I hadn't actually seen her in like five or six years or since she left IT. But even though we were on the call with (senior executives) and other people, she actually stopped and in the beginning of meeting to say to me "Hi Rose!! How are you? It's so nice to see you!" Like I didn't think she remembered me. And so just she's so gracious, right? So in addition to being a total bad ass in a good way, you know, takes accountability, super smart, really sharp, presents herself well she's just also so nice. She has this charisma, she has a way of combining these hard and soft qualities that I think not everybody gets right and she's just one of those women who gets that perfect balance.

When I asked Kate if there was anything she wanted to add she said, "I don't know her that well, but from a distance all I can say to all of that is "yes."

University Leaders' Focus Group

While the themes from both focus groups were similar, the focus group with the university leaders had a stronger emphasis on the culture of lack of transparency and information sharing in higher education compared to the healthcare leaders, and the women in the university focus group spent no time talking about the feminine aesthetic, instead spending more time comparing

men and women leaders and leadership styles. Despite the fact that two of the three women of this focus group were mothers, there was no discussion of motherhood's impact on their roles as leaders like there was in the healthcare focus group.

Transparency

The university leaders shared the sentiment that information is a conduit for power in their organization but struggled with their perception that the culture of the organization was veiled in secrecy and a deliberate lack of transparency from one level of leadership to the next, all the way down to employees and students. Amelia discussed how she has grappled with having to keep more information to herself in her new role as an assistant dean compared to when she was a tenured professor. She explained:

> I literally have post it notes on my (computer) screen to remind me not to talk about certain things with certain people, because I've only been in the job a couple months, and I've run into things that lead to bullying by some people. It's been fascinating to me and I'm trying really hard to learn who I can say what to without causing major problems.

Amelia's sharing of her experience resonated with Monica, who shared that, despite her long tenure as an assistant dean for the university, she still struggles with the university's tendency to withhold or limit information from her and her peers. In spite of the obscure university culture, she explained that she tries to be as transparent as possible with her team but is often unable to due to the lack of information getting to her. She said:

> I think my perspective is, in my role, I try to be as transparent as possible…but the thing I struggle with is I feel like there's a wall at some point, this invisible wall of how much information is able to trickle down beyond where my supervisor is…I wholeheartedly trust him as a human and a supervisor or leader. He is a man, I don't know if that is – I don't know how much of his ability to be at the table of things is because of the fact that he's a man or if it's because of his positionality on campus, but not a lot of engagement with decision making bodies are brought to folks beyond him in our department. We are solely the receivers of information.

Monica's explanation prompted Cecile to reflect upon her own experience with the organization's culture and how it has required her to be limited with sharing information. She shared:

> Transparency in the way that Monica is kind of framing it, I think that my introduction to the campus community is what helped me learn quickly and is what made me kind of keep things to myself early on. I support my team, I make sure that they have what they need, but when I came onto campus and I had people who were itching and clamoring to get to me to tell me things about my departments, to tell me things about staff, to tell me things about how things were going. And it wasn't because they wanted to help me. It's because they wanted to be able to spin a particular narrative about whatever it is, and so I because that was such a big thing, and I noticed it really quickly, I held a lot of people at bay…I think you have individuals who are trying to connect with you so that *you* can be transparent with *them* so then that way they can use that information in ways that won't necessarily be the most forthright. And then I think you have those individuals who the term transparency is really about ensuring that everybody is on the same page, but we need to know what that page is. I agree with Monica…that the communication flow as it is, it's a clogged drain.

When prompted to discuss how this lack of transparency and the organization's culture impacts their ability to lead effectively, the participants all shared varying degrees of frustration with how it limits them. Monica expressed how challenging it is to lead from her place as a middle manager because, she

explained, she has to work with limited information while trying to support and prepare the people-managers that report to her. She talked about finding workarounds and other channels to gather information but explained the effect that having to identify different information flows has had on her. She shared, "I think information flows differently in divisions or areas on campus because I'll hear things, say, from academic affairs colleagues about things going on in my area that I'm like 'hmm, that is really interesting' and it can be very demoralizing to have to learn about what's going on in my department, the department that I'm supposed to be a leader to, from other people." Amelia added some of her perspective, stating, "The funnel idea is very interesting and so is thinking about what happens when there's not a lot of information. I think that's when people start to create their own narratives – right, wrong, or indifferent. And it's hard to lead effectively when people are experiencing information differently."

Leading While Female

The university leaders discussed the impact that having a majority-female campus in terms of students, staff, and faculty, has had on their conceptualization of how to lead. They spoke about how men often dominate the disciplines that have the most power and influence on campus, as well as in higher up leadership positions. Amelia shared that this concentration of power makes her feel like those that are in more feminized departments or colleges, such as hers, don't get as much respect or decision-making influence and that, in turn, has an effect on women's leadership styles in higher education. She

explained that she's seen women in leadership positions "either try to lead like men, or the worst version of femininity comes out and they become catty and manipulative." When the group was asked about the difference between men's leadership styles and women's, Cecile shared that she views men's leadership styles to be "at the end of the day, [it's] about power, what can I get people to do, how can I assert my dominance and how can I almost like make people jump?" This caused Amelia to reflect and share,

> That reminded me of something that happened yesterday with our dean… (there was a controversial situation taking place and) she had gone to a meeting and she wasn't really confident yet to do anything about what was happening, so I said don't worry, I can go because I know not to react immediately to situations, I just kind of switch modes and go to stone, I can go on faking, you don't need to worry about it. And it occurs to me I can't imagine a man saying that. They (men) have to be authoritative and are generally allowed to be uninspiring, not exhibiting any vulnerability, whereas I'm always thinking and analyzing, "how is how I'm behaving going to be perceived?" and doing the mental gymnastics.

The idea about mental gymnastics that women do compared to men resonated with the other participants and prompted Monica to wonder out loud, "How many men think about all of this on a daily basis or even need to?"

Monica shared that she felt that women's tendency to focus on cultivating relationships and a sense of community was a benefit to their leadership style over men's. She believed that the social capital that many of the women leaders on campus have, including herself, is where their power as leaders comes from. She explained:

> I would say my biggest tool, and the biggest tool that a lot of us (women) have on this campus are relationships. I think that is one

> thing that, if I was ever to go, would probably be the biggest impact because of the relationships that I have built. I mean that's how I get a lot of things done for our area and that's how I get a lot of support.

Cecile agreed that prioritizing relationships was a crucial part of women leaders' abilities to get things accomplished at the university and compared this to how, in her experience, men prioritize demonstrating or asserting their power as a means to gain respect and influence. She said,

> You can't come in just demanding people respects you, you know. You have to build, you have to spend time really investing in getting to know individuals, Whether they're your colleagues, they're students, or direct reports. That is going to make or break people wanting to work with you and follow your lead or be a fierce advocate for you. If you skip some of those steps…they seem small, but it's going to make or break your success because you can't lead without others. (Any type of influence) is all relational, so that investment at the beginning is important that camaraderie in that collaboration is key. And women prioritize all of that in ways that men just don't.

Summary of Phase III

The two focus groups in Phase III brought together the participants from each research site to have a conversation about the meanings they made of the two most salient themes from the first two phases: transparency and leading while female. From the theme of Transparency, the five subthemes that emerged were Information as Power, Transparency and Trust, Effect of Lack of Transparency, and Organizational Culture's Effect on Transparency. Within the theme of Leading While Female, three subthemes arose including Motherhood's Effect on Career, The Joys of Feminine Leadership, and Women vs Men Leaders. Because the experiences and beliefs around the two themes varied based on

the institution, the results in this section were segmented out as a case study of the respective institutions. The leaders from the university setting spent more time discussing the organization's lack of transparency and comparing men and women's leadership styles, whereas the leaders from the healthcare organization focused on discussing the joys of femininity in leadership and the power they have gained by using transparency as a leadership tool with their teams.

CHAPTER 5: DISCUSSION

Summary of the Study

This study sought to better understand the practices that successful female leaders engage in that have helped them succeed and to examine how these practices are aligned with the conceptualization of transformational leadership. The intent was also to understand the ways in which race, gender, and contemporary conceptualizations of transformational leaders intersect to create a paradoxical situation for women and, in particular, Black women's ability to advance into leadership roles or otherwise be viewed as leaders. This study utilized Bass' (1985) theory of Transformational Leadership, Hochschild's (1983) theory of Emotional Labor, and Grounded Theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) to understand and analyze the findings.

Data were collected within a three-phase, qualitative, exploratory case study, which included a total of 15 observations, five semi-structured interviews, and two semi-structured focus groups with the participants from each site. Each phase of data collection was done virtually over Microsoft Teams or Zoom, and the interviews and focus groups were recorded and transcribed using Zoom's internal capabilities. Field notes from the observation phase were handwritten and the transcripts from the interviews and focus groups were manually cleaned and analyzed using a knowledge management software called Roam Research. The research questions guiding this study were:

1. For women who have achieved formal leadership roles, what practices do they engage in that have helped them succeed?
    a. How are these practices aligned with the conceptualization of transformational leadership?
2. How do women of color, particularly Black women, describe their experiences in leadership roles?

Phase I included 15 total observations of all seven leaders across their two institutions, one large public university and one large healthcare organization. Five themes emerged from this first phase: a) Humor, b) Emphasis on Personal and Professional Development, c) Focus on Individuals' Whole Selves, d) Transparency and Vulnerability, and e) Gratitude. Phase II was comprised of individual interviews with five out of the seven participants. The women highlighted their intentional use of the observed themes from Phase I, and seven new themes arose: a) being a utility player, (b) emotional self-awareness, (c) conceptualization of responsibilities as a leader, (d) self-identified personal traits, (e) managing gendered expectations, (f) racialized emotional labor, and (g) racialized emotional self-awareness. These themes explored the ways in which the women understood their roles and responsibilities as leaders, how they were expected to conduct themselves based on their race and/or gender, and how the Black leaders' experiences were different in navigating these ideas. The final phase, Phase III, included two semi-structured focus groups that were based on the themes that emerged from the first and second phases of the study. The

participants were grouped together based on their institution and both groups were asked questions pertaining to the use of two themes, transparency and leading while female, which were the most salient themes across phases one and two.

Discussion of the Findings

This study began what should be a long line of research into understanding the complex relationship between and the intersections of transformational leadership, gender, race, and emotional labor. The findings from this research suggest that successful women leaders perform emotional labor (Hochschild, 1983) as a proxy for transformational leadership (Bass, 1985). Hochschild (1983) emphasized how employees in service sector fields are required to manage or shape their own feelings to create, in their interaction with others, displays that affect others in the desired ways of the organization for which they work. In the case of this research, the management of feelings is to affect the ways that others within the organization view them as leaders. Furthermore, Black women are doing this emotional labor in order to positively shape others' views of them as leaders who straddle both the gender and racial minority in higher leadership. Altogether, the leaders in this study were also aware of the stereotypes that plague women and people of color in society and, as a result of this awareness, proactively manage relationships and perceptions of them as a leader who occupies at least one marginal positionality in a senior leadership role.

Gendered Findings

Previous research argued that leadership roles likely provide norms that regulate the performance of certain organizational tasks, which would make them able to be similarly accomplished by male and female leaders (Eagly, 2001). However, the women in this study consciously chose to perform their roles based on how they believed traditional leadership roles would dictate what they should do. Depending on the situation, they either chose to align with or reject traditional leadership scripts and decided how to lead based on whether or not they felt that style was what their teams needed in the given context. Furthermore, the women found ways to consciously strike a balance between the stereotypes assigned to men and women leaders and worked to leverage the perceived strengths from both masculine and feminine styles of leadership. This cognizance and conscious consideration highlight the emotional labor that the participants engage in to think through what others need and then adjust their emotions and behaviors accordingly.

While previous literature has also found that women behave more communally than men, the women in this study made it clear that their use of feminine behaviors was intentional and not necessarily a result of internalized gender roles as suggested by researchers like Eagly et al. (2000). Moreover, while prior researcher has found agency to be a masculine leadership behavior that is both demonstrated and controlled by the relative status of the interaction partners (Moskowitz et al.,1994), the participants in this study encouraged their

employees to take agency and coached them towards autonomy and self-sufficiency. They saw these capabilities as ones that would allow their teams to run like a well-oiled machine and set their employees up for long-term success, as opposed to feeling threatened by a supervisee being agentic or viewing it as a trait that was off-limits for them to utilize because of its presumed masculinity. The intersection of these gendered behavior choices demonstrates the participants' conscious use of emotional labor as a means to shape gender norms and expectations into a transformational leadership tool.

Though prior transformational leadership research has criticized early trait theory research for having too narrow of a scope of considerations for what makes an effective leader, the leaders in this study believed that they indeed possessed certain traits, learned or innate, that made them effective leaders. One key difference between the participants' conceptualization of the traits that enable their efficacy compared to early trait theory is that many of the traits that the leaders in this study claimed to possess were those that traditionally align with female gender roles. This idea is in direct opposition to a key scholarly criticism of trait theory, which is that the theory focuses on leadership traits that are masculine (Eagly et al., 2000). The women in this study viewed feminine traits such as humility and gratitude as assets, and they also practiced a more feminized version of the other identified traits. For example, the use of self-deprecating humor by the leaders was often used as a way to show that they were not aiming to be the know-all, be-all type of leader, and

instead were working to build trust and show their employees that they were self-aware of their own weak spots. Martin et al. (2003) classified self-deprecating humor as a form of affiliative humor, which accentuates the relational and other-orientation that also characterizes individualized consideration. Characteristically, individualized consideration, one of the four tenets of transformational leadership, is exhibited by leaders who make an active contribution to follower development through coaching, mentoring, and putting oneself last by de-emphasizing one's superiority (Hoption et al., 2013). Considering this, along with the fact that other research has found that found that women leaders tend to use this type of humor more often than men (Greengross & Miller, 2008), the self-deprecating humor observed in this study can be associated with individualized consideration because of its equaling effect on leader-follower relationships.

While transparency may be viewed as a more gender-neutral trait, women and men use it differently. The leaders in this study overwhelmingly saw and used transparency as a key to develop trusting and transformative cultures on their teams. This finding aligns with the literature on how men and women varying in sharing information which has found that women use more of a "rapport" style of communicating that aims toward relationship-building, sharing more personal information and emphasizing the inclusion of all speakers (Wood, 2017). The leaders treated transparency as a means to arm their teams with the information that they needed to succeed and entrusted their employees with

managing and utilizing the shared information appropriately. In many ways, this conveyed more trust and furthered the strength of the relationships on the team, which allowed them to work more efficiently and effectively with one another.

Other previously researched gendered leadership differences were supported and expanded upon in this study's findings, including that of Komives (1991) findings that women scored significantly higher than men in the transformational leadership pillar of Intellectual Stimulation. This study found that the use of this pillar was yet another conscious decision by the women to stimulate their employee's intellects by providing opportunities for them to learn, grow, and develop based on their interests. They took time to get to know what their team members were interested in and had going on outside of work in an effort to find ways to make work meaningful, as well as to identify opportunities for them to partake in learning opportunities that were individually relevant and of interest. This suggests that women set the foundation for transparency and openness about personal and professional goals and desires by modeling this behavior and being transparent in other ways with their teams, and then use the information, rapport, and trust that is generated from this behavior to identify ways to invest in their employees and to help them invest in themselves. This suggests that organizations are getting the benefits that intellectual stimulation has on employees' longevity, well-being, and overall job consciously curated stimulation.

The feminine aesthetic in relation to leadership was an unexpected element of the findings of this research. The degree to which the women were enamored with and inspired by the feminine aesthetic of certain women leaders was entirely separate from any consideration of how they might appear to any men in their organizations. For example, during the focus group with the women from the healthcare organization, the leaders never once mentioned how the executive woman leader whose outfits and general presence they were fawning over may be physically perceived by men; the only gaze that they concerned themselves with were their own adoring ones. While research has highlighted the fact that women are often expected, as part of the normal performance of their jobs, to look attractive and be exceptionally friendly particularly to men(Gutek, 1985; Pierce, 1995), this study found that there is at least an element of non-objectification by, nor consideration of, the male gaze to this feminized physical representation. While research has indeed shown that women leaders can be negatively or stereotypically objectified by others, the ways in which women in this study were riveted by other women's physical appearances makes me wonder if the feminine aesthetic can be reconceptualized as a source of power, instead of weakness, for women leaders and furthermore makes me think we should be leaning into our feminine presentations of self, if so inclined.

Racialized Findings

Research has argued that since it is unlikely that followers would allow someone that they do not *perceive* as a leader to exercise the necessary influence to perform their leadership tasks effectively, social perceptions of what a leader is are at the core of leadership as one begins to influence others (Martinez-Corsio, 1996). Moreover, research has confirmed that the perceptions of different races of leaders has an influence on one's ability to effectively lead and to perceive oneself as a leader. The Black women in this study expressed their lived experiences related to these prior research findings and, furthermore, expressed the additional emotional labor this requires of them. The leaders each spoke about the work they must do to mitigate negative stereotypes and biases against Black people more broadly in order to have people perceive them positively and, ultimately, to trust their leadership capabilities. Additionally, Black women leaders are having to regularly and consciously manage their own emotions based on the situational contexts to ensure that they are performing in ways that hold space for others to work through their racial biases. This means that successful Black women leaders must employ both gendered and racialized emotional labor in order to positively shape others' views of them as leaders that straddle both the gender and racial minority in higher leadership.

In her original framing of the concept of emotional labor, Hochschild (1983) pointed to the need for an employee to "induce or suppress feeling in order to sustain the outward countenance that produces the proper state of mind in others" (7). This was discussed numerous times by the Black leaders in this

study as they detailed experiences in feeling obligated to stifle their true feelings related to racial injustices and/or stereotyping in order to positively effect others' feelings about Black people more generally. It was in these interactions that some of the most blatant acts of emotional labor and its related concepts – feeling rules and emotion management – were exhibited. Moreover, the Black leaders' understanding of these concepts were, in certain ways, even more acute than the leaders of other races. For example, Cecile's awareness of others' feelings when discussing the racial tensions of 2020 dictated how she interpreted her responsibility to engage in racially charged conversations. Despite the fact that these conversations were incredibly difficult for her on a human level due to her proximity and sensitivities of the issue as a Black person, she adjusted her emotions to match what the situation was dictating in order to create the necessary emotions in others to foster a productive conversation about race in the United States. The consciousness and sensitivity to other people's feelings paired with the intent to modify her own emotions related to racial conversations showcases how successful Black women leaders have to do double the amount of emotional labor to evoke positive emotions and evaluations from others about them as leaders.

Outside of racially charged conversations, the sentiment is the same for Black women leaders. As research has shown, the rules that govern acceptable emotions at work are racialized in ways that specifically affect Black people. Research has found that even in situations where heightened emotions would

be warranted, Black people hesitate to show these feelings publicly due to stereotypes of Blacks as generally angry or violent (Wingfield, 2010). As Adrianna showed on numerous occasions, Black women are not only conscious of these stereotypes, but may also actively and consciously work to dispel them by calling them out in a manner that suits the environment (further leveraging feeling rules, emotion management, and emotional labor). Furthermore, the ways in which Black people, and Black women in particular, are expected to fulfill what may be deemed as positive racialized emotional work, such as Joy's leader's work as a minority-group networker and community builder, further extends this conceptualization of racialized emotional work.

Researchers who have examined leadership from an intersectional perspective have criticized the larger body of women's leadership literature by claiming that when researchers examine and write about women and leadership, they implicitly refer to White women by rarely distinguishing between the experiences of White women and women of color; the historical legacy of these implicit references and aforementioned expectations were not lost on the Black women participants. For example, Cecile felt that Black women are well aware of their historical positionality and the historicity of their role in society as the care takers of all, regardless of treatment by any. It is my thought that perhaps this awareness instills in them a sense of obligation to continue on centuries' long work towards racial and gender equity that Black women have long fought for (as Adrianna put it, "If not me then who?"). It seems as though

Black women see their positions as successful leaders as the ultimate opportunity to be a force for good; a source for social justice and change by using their organizational positionality as an opportunity to facilitate racial and gendered growth and awareness in others by using their femininized leadership styles to serve as the accoucheuse to others' personal growth, development, and humanization. The leaders in this study were also viscerally aware of the ubiquity of the strong Black woman archetype, the narrative that conceptualizes Black women as "indestructible, independent and almost superhuman," in Western popular culture (Patton & Croom, 2017). They shared an understanding of the paradox that this creates for them as Welang (2018) asserted: "Being superhuman means the Black woman becomes void of the tender sensibilities associated with the human experience. She is, as a result, deprived of empathy, and she ironically becomes subhuman" (p. 299). Though I earlier asserted that this becomes a problematic juxtaposition against both forms of role congruence for Black women given that our archetypal positionalities are incongruent with both cultural norms and expectations for the broader category of "women" and "leader," the findings of this research have illuminated that becoming a woman-leader instead of a "woman" separate from "leader" may just be the key to success for Black women because it allows for the myriad strengths that Black women possess in both role scripts to be on display and put to transformational use for individuals, teams, organizations, and society at large.

Positionality and Proximity

I am a Black/White biracial yet racially ambiguous woman who has been navigating the labor market for over 15 years. With leadership experience in different capacities across various social institutions, I have first-hand experience with the complexities of being both a woman and a minority in leadership roles. As I imagine my future in leadership, I wonder about those who have come before me have navigated the intersection of being female in male dominated spaces, a racial minority in White dominated spaces, and those at the intersection of these minority categories at the intersection of these hegemonic spaces. With more organizations desiring and prioritizing leaders with transformational characteristics, I wondered how emotional labor was situated in these traits and, furthermore, how women may embody the desired traits of a transformational leader while simultaneously balancing the expectations of performing emotional labor because of their gender. Beyond this, I wondered how being a woman of color, particularly a Black woman, complicated these expectations and experiences because of stereotypes related to both race and gender.

I had seen a number of women left unconsidered for leadership promotions for reasons one can only assume and had also had conversations with these types of women about their beliefs about why they weren't higher up in their organizations' hierarchies; many cited their gender and/or race as a limitation and shared stories about how stereotypes about femininity, race, and

the intersection of these things had limited their ability to advance. Those that had progressed seemed, on the surface, to have somehow struck the perfect balance between femininity, leadership and, if applicable, racialized social roles. Though social scientists have traditionally been warned to remain distant from their participants in order to remain objective, I see my proximity to my participants as an asset to my research. My background provided a form of attachment that allowed me to more deeply understand the experiences that my participants shared with me (Patton, 2015).

Limitations

This study had limitations that were addressed, including the small sample size of participants (Creswell, 2005). Furthermore, the research methodology was limited to virtual observations and video interviews because of continued COVID-19 protocols at research sites. To mitigate the effects that the virtual nature had, live-time video conferencing software was utilized to allow participants to speak more freely as they would have in a face-to-face interaction (Creswell, 2005). The video conferencing software also allowed for embedded recording and transcription, which participants had the option of opting out of.

In order to adhere to confidentiality protocols, the researcher conducted the observations, interviews, and focus groups in her home office. Electronic communications were safeguarded within a login-only accessible computer where the researcher was the only person with access and pseudonyms have

been used. A copy of the transcribed interviews was offered to the participants to review, clarify and confirm all parts of the conversation. The researcher also provided findings upon any of the participants' requests.

Finally, the researcher's positionality as a member of the community being studied may have set forth biases, however these were considered as an asset to this study instead of a limitation. For example, the researcher encountered narratives that were reflective of her own experiences and as such she decided to share vulnerable experiences with participants. Particularly because of the Grounded Theory approach to constructing this body of knowledge, all interview data were viewed as a collaborative product of interactions between the researcher and the participant.

Implications and Recommendations

The changing ways in which organizations serve society combined with the rapidly changing demographics of the people that these organizations are comprised of requires us to reexamine what we need from our leaders. While transformational leadership has received a lot of attention in organizational leadership research and organizations have placed increased attention on shifting their leaders' styles to being more transformational, not enough effort has been made to understand how to develop transformational leaders from traditionally marginalized communities. As this study has shown, women leaders, and particularly women of color, are likely amongst the most innate transformational leaders that society has to offer. Despite this, feminized styles of

leadership are dismissed as inferior and inefficient, or exploited by organizations without proper promotion of women into the highest ranks of leadership.

It is imperative that organizations that claim to seek transformational leaders look within their organization to identify and promote the untapped treasure-trove of leadership talents that the women within their institutions have to offer. Instead of relegating highly capable women with "feminized" styles of leadership to positions in which they are supporting men or those with otherwise traditional leadership styles, organizations need to embed these women into positions with authority and power to allow them to flourish and transform the organization in ways beyond comprehension, as they are currently doing with their individual teams. To do this, organizations must begin allocating resources that will support the development of women's leadership potential from within. By dedicating both time and financial resources to cultivate these traits in women, organizations can prove their commitment to both gender and racial equity and inclusion in leadership and transformational practices, which is to the betterment of the entirety of the organization. By seeking out development practices that encourage aspiring women leaders to look within themselves and the broad range of leadership skills that they already possess because of their positionalities and life experiences, organizations and those that do the work to nurture this talent can encourage this development and realization more rapidly. The difference between current leadership development practices or offerings and what the women that fall into this demographic need is that

traditional leadership development tends to focus on behavioral or contextual styles of leadership, offering more of a blanketed approach to teaching and learning how to lead effectively. This approach also tends to neglect a deeper examination of the self in relation to one's multiple, varying, and intersecting social identities, insofar as it goes beyond contemporary organizational notions of diversity that are covered in the company mandated diversity trainings. This style more often than not examines diversity in ways that detach it from what true diversity of lived experiences means, which is that there are as many individual ways of experiencing something as there are people in the given situation, and no one version of experiences typically reigns supreme. What these women need is training that teaches them to shed the biases they may have against *themselves* and/or the ways that they have since ignored their own life experiences as the perfect training grounds to be a deeply transformative leader. These women need the opportunity to experience what power truly feels like, but power cultivated in ways that leverage our strengths in relation to community and relationship building, humor, and transparency. In other words, in addition to a reformation of leadership development training and practices, we need to simultaneously reconceptualize how power *can* function.

Related specifically to Black women-leaders, organizations must stop using and assuming Black women to be built-in EID educators. Not only is this an incredible waste of precious talent and ability, but it's an insult to the historical

evolution and legacy of Black women who are now more poised and readier than ever to be the pinnacle leaders of systemic change. The ways in which Black women are able to delicately yet masterfully straddle the minefield that is the intersecting expectations of leadership, womanhood, femininity, and Blackness within organizations is the result of lifetimes of doing this on a daily basis in society. Ignoring or denying this skillset that is, for many, a seemingly inherent quality of Black womanhood is to severely impede opportunities for systemic organizational and societal change. To achieve this, organizations must invest in developing Black women leaders by providing them with coaches that will teach them how to leverage their life experiences of moving through this triple consciousness as a unique and powerful leadership trait. In addition to providing coaches, Black women leaders need to be given the space and time to be in community with others that are similar to them to share their experiences and to learn from and draw strength from one another. Because of the strength that comes from simply spending time in community with people who have similar lived experiences to you and where one can openly share without fearing judgement, misunderstanding, or, gaslighting, Black women leaders will be able to grow exponentially if given the space to do so.

Companies that focus on developing leaders must begin to pay more attention to the effect that intersectionality has on how leaders –-especially female leaders—lead, how their followers perceive their abilities to lead effectively, and how organizational culture recreates social norms, stereotypes,

and expectations related to race, gender, and other social demographics. These effects have far reaching implications on the ways in which women will be able to successfully lead and to ignore the ways in which gendered and racialized norms affect the ways that leadership operates is to ignore fully understanding the leadership potential that women of all races have. By examining and sharing the ways that gender norms operate both in and out of organizations, experts can help individuals recognize how their own socialization related to gender and race are operating in the ways that they may be blind to and, in turn, help people begin to reconceptualize their understandings of what leadership looks like and how it can function.

Future research on this topic needs to further examine how women of different social backgrounds operate within transformational leadership. Gaining deeper insights into the ways in which women lead from the feminized behaviors in which they have been socialized to behave is imperative to understanding the key differences between masculine and feminine styles of transformational leadership. Similar insights need to be made related to socialized racial behaviors and stereotypes in order to uncover the ways in which biases operate in the transformational leadership space. Furthermore, forthcoming research must do deeper examinations of the overlap between the theory of emotional labor and the theory of transformational leadership as it seems that, though the two are closely aligned as shown in this research, the

difference in epistemological subject matter has allowed for the assumption to arise that men are the default transformative leader.

Conclusion of the Study

This study sought to better understand the practices that successful female leaders engage in that have helped them succeed and to examine how these practices are aligned with the concept of transformational leadership. The intent was also to understand the ways in which race, gender, and contemporary conceptualizations of transformational leaders intersect to create a paradoxical situation for women and, in particular, Black women's ability to advance into leadership roles or otherwise be viewed as leaders. Much is to be gleaned from understanding how women who have achieved success in higher-level leadership roles, including how they leverage behaviors that are socially deemed as feminine - such as gratitude, self-deprecating humor, and caring about the humanity of others - to effectively transform their teams and the work that they do. As described in complete detail above, women have within them the skills to transform institutions effectively and completely into human-centered organizations that connect purpose to power and ultimately foster large-scale systemic change. The proof of this can be found in the pages above, on the teams of the women that participated in this study, and, more than likely, by observing the women around you.

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Appendix I: Participant Consent

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, SAN DIEGO -Consent to Act as a Research Subject

Transformational Leadership, Femininity, and Race: The Complexities of Transformative Leadership at the Intersections of Gendered and Racialized Expectations

Rachael McGlaston Espinoza, Ed.D. candidate, is conducting a research study to find out more about the practices of female leaders that have helped them succeed in their leadership careers, as well as any racialized nuances that may appear. literacy practices of TK-2 students in their school and home. As more organizations seek out transformative leaders and aim to diversify leadership ranks with regards to both gender and race, the information gained from this study will provide an important glimpse into the traits that set successful female leaders apart and give insight into how organizations may be able to develop similar characteristics in potential leaders. You have been asked to participate in this study because you are an established female leader in your field. There will be 8-12 participants in the observation and focus group phase, and 2-4 participants in the interview phase of this study.

If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to allow the researcher, Rachael McGlaston Espinoza, to attend and observe at least one meeting, of at least a 45-minute duration, that showcases you in your leadership function. The researcher will not participate in the meeting, and instead will be there to observe your interactions and dialogues with your subordinates. Upon the completion of all 8-12 observations, you may be contacted by the researcher to participate in a 90-minute interview to gain further insight into your skills as a leader. If you are selected and agree, you will participate in an interview lasting approximately 90 minutes. The interview will be audio recorded and transcribed. If you wish, you will be able to view and assess the accuracy of the interview transcription. If you do not participate in the interview, then your participation will continue during the focus group phase, during which you will engage in a 90-minute conversation around the themes that emerge from the first two phases of the researcher's data collection. The overall duration of your involvement with this study will end upon completion of the focus groups in May or June of 2022.

If you agree to participate in this study, the following will occur:

1. You will identify at least two meeting options for the researcher to attend between January and mid-March of 2022. Rachael will select from the

options provided and you, or your assistant, will provide the link or location to attend. This observation will not be recorded.

2. If you are selected to participate in an interview, Rachael McGlaston Espinoza will arrange a time to meet with you for an interview lasting approximately 90 minutes in March or April of 2022. During this interview, Rachael will ask you questions about your background, your regular leadership practices, and your perceptions about your perceived leadership skills. You are not required to answer any questions during this interview. Rachael will audio record this interview if you have given permission and have agreed to participate. Audio recordings will later be transcribed and analyzed for this study. All audio recordings and transcriptions will be kept secure and confidential.
3. The overall duration of your involvement with this study will end upon completion of the focus group in May, 2022. During the focus group, you will engage in a moderated conversation about women and leadership, and share your experiences with other female leaders in similar positions to you.

Participation in this study may involve some minimal risks or discomforts. These include:

1. A potential for feeling discomfort, stress, boredom, or fatigue when participating in the observations, interviews, or. To mitigate this, the survey and interview questions have been revised based on feedback in order to minimize their duration and the potential for discomfort, stress, boredom, and fatigue. No questions are mandatory and you are free to skip any questions that you do not feel comfortable answering.
2. A potential for the loss of confidentiality. Rachael will make every effort to ensure that all of your answers will remain completely confidential. All data will be stored on a password-protected computer in an encrypted and password-protected folder. Audio recordings of interviews will be stored on a password-protected computer. Rachael will remove all identifying information from transcripts and other documentation of your participation in this study. Rachael will assign pseudonyms to all participants and will keep the pseudonym key in a password- protected file. Rachael will never use your name or any other identifying information, or the name of your work site in any publication or presentation. Rachael will safeguard against any risk of loss of confidentiality by using pseudonyms for all research participants as well as the names of your subordinates, colleagues, and/or anyone else mentioned during your participation in this study. All digital records will be stored in a password-protected computer account accessible only to Rachael McGlaston Espinoza. All paper documents will be locked in a file cabinet. Research records will be kept confidential. Research records may be reviewed by the UC San Diego Institutional Review Board.

3. A potential to feel uncomfortable while answering interview questions. At any time, you may decline to answer an interview question or you may direct Rachael to delete a portion or the entire recording of the interview in progress. Furthermore, you may withdraw your consent to participate at any time during the duration of this study, at which time all recordings would be erased and all records of your participation would be destroyed.

Because this is a research study, there may also be some unknown risks that are currently
unforeseeable. You will be informed of any significant new findings. The alternative to participation in this study is simply not to participate.

There will be no direct benefit to you from participating in this study. Rachael McGlaston Espinoza, however, may learn more about the ways in which successful female leaders lead and what traits support effective female leadership.

Participation in research is entirely voluntary. You may refuse to participate, withdraw, or refuse to answer specific questions in an interview or on a survey at any time without penalty. If you decide that you no longer wish to continue in this study, please inform Rachael McGlaston Espinoza and she will delete any evidence of your participation in this research project. You
may also be withdrawn from the study without your consent if at any time, based on
subjective assessment, Rachael McGlaston Espinoza determines that it is in your best interest to do so. You will be told if any important new information is found during the course of this study that may affect your desire to continue.

If you have other questions or research-related problems, you may reach Rachael McGlaston Espinoza at 619-922-4746 or by email at rmcglast@ucsd.edu. You may call the UC San Diego Human Research Protections Program Office at (858) 657-5100 to inquire about your rights as a research subject or to report research-related problems.

This page is a record of your consent document.

By signing below, you agree that Rachael McGlaston Espinoza has explained this study to you and answered your questions. You agree to participate in the observation and focus group portions of this study, and you may be selected to participate in an interview. You can indicate by
checking "yes" or "no" below if you are interested in continuing your participation

_____
Participant's Name

_____ _____
Participant's Signature Date

_____ _____
Researcher's Signature Date

___Yes, I give consent for Rachael McGlaston Espinoza to observe me in at least one meeting setting, to potentially be contacted for an interview, and to participate in a focus group

___No, I do not give consent for Rachael McGlaston Espinoza to observe me in at least one meeting setting, to potentially be contacted for an interview, and to participate in a focus group

You have received a copy of this consent document to keep.

Appendix II: Emotional Labor Scale & Sample Interview and Focus Group Questions

This scale was adapted from the Emotional Labour Scale (Brotheridge & Lee, 2003)

Duration
A typical interaction I have with a customer takes about ___minutes

Frequency
Display specific emotions required by your job
Adopt certain emotions required as part of your job
Express particular emotions needed for your job

Intensity
Express intense emotions
Show some strong emotions

Variety
Display many different kinds of emotions
Express many different emotions
Display many emotions when interacting with others

Surface acting
Resist expressing my true feelings
Pretend to have emotions that I don't really have
Hide my true feelings about a situation

Deep acting
Make an effort to actually feel the emotions that I need to display to others
Try to actually experience the emotions that I must show
Really try to feel the emotions I have to show as part of my job

Sample Interview Questions

1. Tell me about the traits you believe are important for an effective female leader.
2. Why are those traits important?
3. On average, how much time do you spend per week communicating one-on-one with your employees?
4. What topics do you typically cover during these one-on-one conversations?

5. Tell me about any specific emotions you display that are needed for you to do your job effectively.
6. Can you tell me about a time that you had to resist expressing your true feelings in a situation?
7. What are some emotions that you try to deeply or genuinely feel as part of your job?

Sample Focus Group Questions

1. Discuss the traits and behaviors you believe to be important for an effective female leader to have and why.
2. How are female leaders expected to display and express certain emotions?
3. What about these emotional expressions is beneficial for successful leaders?